

# Modern Review

(A Monthly Review and Miscellany)

Founded by: RAMANANDA CHATTERJI

EDITED BY

KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

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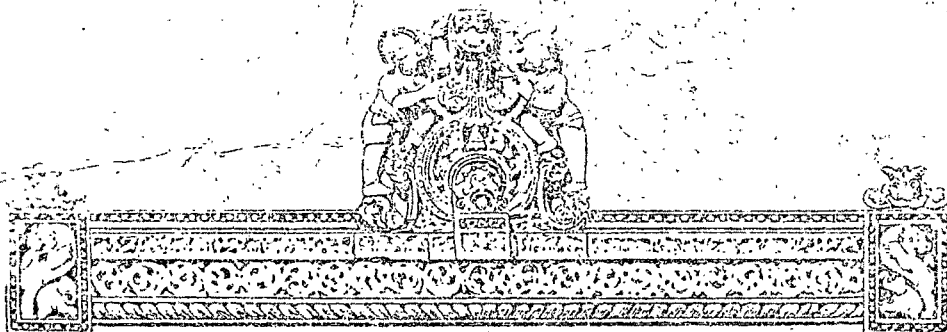
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### THE MILKMAID

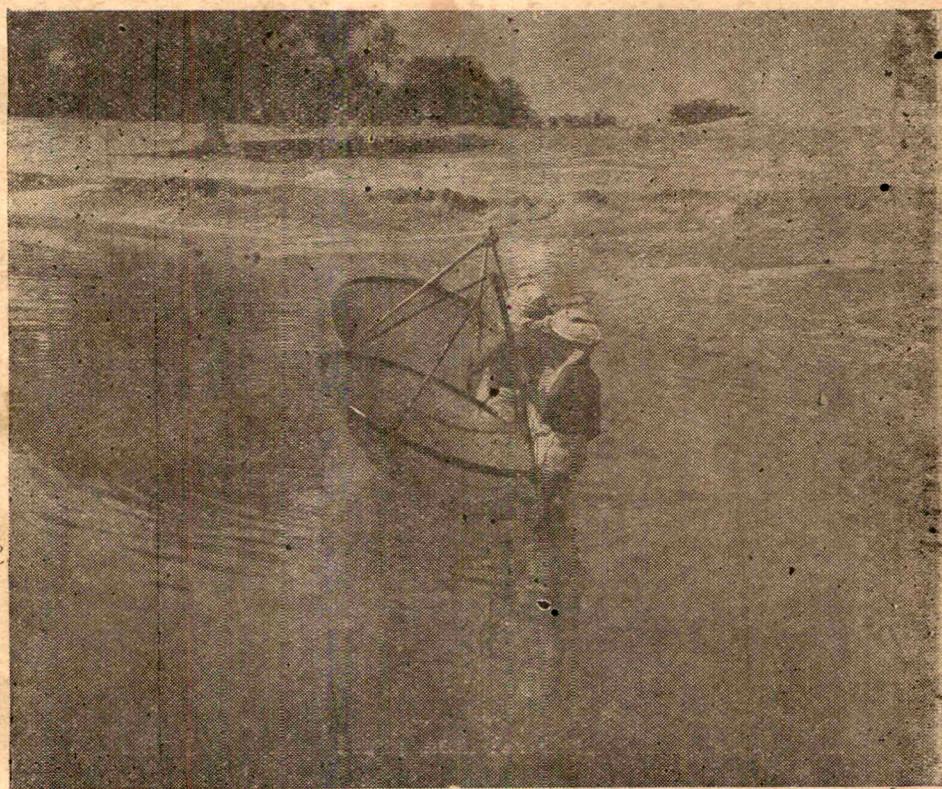
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Lachmanjholi  
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Hopes and fears



# THE MODERN REVIEW

JULY



1958



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## NOTES

### THE WORLD AND OURSELVES

At the time of writing, the world, particularly the Arab world, is in turmoil. There was a period at the start when it seemed that the question of war and peace hung on a thread. The crisis not over by any means, but there is a glimmer of light, which may indicate the dawning of sanity in the counsels of the mighty.

The situation was precipitated by the military *coup de etat* in Baghdad. The U.S. President took action on the spur of the moment, and it seems to us that at that moment the soldier in the Chief Executive of the U.S., prevailed over the statesman in President Eisenhower.

We do not as yet know the full details of what led to this precipitate action, we are merely told that the only counsel that prevailed with the President was that of Secretary Dulles, whose ignorance about the East is becoming proverbial. We have given the full explanatory statement of Ambassador Lodge, before the Security Council of the U.N. elsewhere in these notes. It is too early to assess its logical sequences as yet, but in that also emotion seems to have predominated over reason—which is rather unusual for Senator Lodge. Perhaps, the unconfirmed news about the murder of Fadil Al Jamali, sometime spokesman for Iraq in the U.N., had disturbed his poise. This would not be at all extraordinary, as the killing of that highly polished intellectual and raconteur, if it has taken place, would undoubtedly be a political crime.

The killing of Nuri as said, is without

doubt a bitter blow to the Anglo-American Bloc in the Middle East. He was not only a "strong man," he was also, perhaps, the last of those legendary figures that staked all and suffered untold agonies, of body and soul, in their desperate fight for the freeing of the Arab race from Turkish domination, under the leadership of Emir Feisal (later King Feisal I of Iraq) and guidance of Lawrence. As such he knew all the cards that were in the hands of his rivals. After the death of his leader Feisal, the grand-father of the 23-year-old boy-king just killed, he was the virtual man of destiny of Iraq and it was because of him that Iraq became the key-stone in the Baghdad Pact.

We do not know whether Iraq will keep to the Pact. There are conflicting news about the matter and in any case the whole of the Middle Eastern situation is in a state of flux. But it is undoubtedly time that our very complacent powers-that-be took a more realistic view of our own position re internal and external security.

There are increasing signs that the internal situation here, which of late has badly deteriorated due to the stresses and strains of living costs and conditions having been heightened, has encouraged our neighbours in their designs on our territories. There does not seem to be any awareness of our great ones to this positive fact. The raids and incursions on our territory and the "March into Kashmir" staged by our loving neighbours all point to the fact that some nefarious plot is being hatched under our noses.



*Appraisal of Second Five-Year Plan*

In its Memorandum, "Appraisal and Prospects of Second Five-Year Plan," the Planning Commission has emphasized upon the crisis in the foreign exchange position of the country. Strain on resources, both internal and external, has been felt continuously since the commencement of the Second Five-Year Plan. The balance of payments deficit over the two years from April 1956 to March 1958 was Rs. 821 crores. Although the various measures have been adopted to check these trends, the stresses and strains, the Memorandum observes, in the system are basically related to the development effort and are expected to continue throughout the Plan period. The draft of the Second Five-Year Plan assumes that for the successful fulfilment of the Plan, the following conditions are essential: namely, (1) a substantial increase in agricultural production; (2) a steady increase in domestic savings; (3) external assistance for meeting the foreign exchange gap on account of the Plan; (4) maintenance of a stable price level, fair both to producers and consumers; and (5) efficiency of administration and, in particular, the efficient utilisation of assets and resources created under the First and the Second Plan. These conditions are closely inter-connected and are even more vital today than what they were when the Second Plan was drawn up.

The Memorandum states that the financing scheme accepted at the time the Plan was drawn up showed a gap of Rs. 400 crores. Since then there have been other demands on the resources both of the Centre and of the States which have added to the strain, although this was not an unexpected development. The level of investment in the Private Sector has also been high in the initial years of the Second Plan and in consequence the acute stringency that developed in the money market reacted unfavourably on the loan operations of the Government. But behind the inadequacy of financial resources lies the major limiting factor to developmental effort, that is, the lag in food production. High domestic prices as well as the large import requirements are related in part to the insufficient response of food production to the pressure of demand. It

is to the extent that success in this regard can be secured that the rate of investment in the economy—and hence the expansion of employment opportunities—can be stepped up.

The Memorandum's remark that owing to the heavy investment in the Private Sector, there has been a strain on the domestic resources and as a result the loan operations of the Government were not so successful as was expected,—is not at all supported by facts. All the Plan bonds floated by the Union Government in recent years have been fully subscribed by the people. Even the loans floated by the State Governments have also been fully subscribed. The recent development loans floated by five States, namely, Bombay, Mysore, Madras, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan are fully subscribed. The loans amount to Rs. 24.50 crores in the aggregate. Therefore, there is no stringency in the domestic money market. Rather it is somewhat puzzling as how so much amount of public debt could be available in recent years notwithstanding the alleged heavy investments in the Private Sector. The recent taxation measures have not also been able to mop up surplus funds from the market. The present public borrowings by the Government sufficiently indicate that there is no stringency in the internal money market of India. There is enough money, only it lies in hoarded forms.

As regards the employment opportunities, the Memorandum observes that they do not appear to be expanding sufficiently to absorb the increases in the labour force. This is because the investment effort in the economy is still low relatively to needs. Steps are being taken to strengthen the employment potential of the Plan at particular points, as for example, the scheme recently approved for appointment of 60,000 teachers. But there is much difference between a scheme and its implementation and the intervening time lag creates further problems. The Planning Commission finds it difficult to make any estimate at this stage about the difference in output and employment so as to make adjustments in Plan outlays in the initial targets. This estimate depends upon a number of variable factors including the success of the food production drive, the levels of investment activity in the Private Sector, the

availability of imports sufficient to sustain a rising level of production)

The cost of the Plan has gone up considerably relatively to the original estimates of outlays. But the financial ceiling has not been raised to the corresponding extent. The aggregate cost remains fixed at Rs. 4,800 crores. The maintenance of this ceiling would mean a lowering of the physical targets. The problem before the Planning Commission at this stage is whether the balance of resources necessary to complete this financial outlay of Rs. 4,800 crores would be available. The requirements of the last two years of the Plan would be about Rs. 2,344 crores. A higher amount is not altogether ruled out in view of the persistent upward trend in the price level. As against this requirement, the present estimates show an availability of not more than Rs. 4,260 crores. This already postulates external assistance at a level of Rs. 300 crores a year and also a better response to the offers for public loans and of the small savings efforts. If the target of financial ceiling is to be maintained, then additional resources shall have to be raised to the extent of about Rs. 240 crores,—through additional taxation (Rs. 100 crores), loans and small savings (Rs. 60 crores) and economies in expenditure (Rs. 80 crores).

What is most disconcerting is the crisis in our foreign exchange position. During the last week of June India's foreign exchange reserves came down alarmingly to the level of Rs. 217 crores. In the second quarter of 1958, the draft on foreign exchange reserves was about Rs. 70.66 crores and in this amount there was included a sum of Rs. 21.33 crores received from the British Government as advance payment due on sterling pension annuities account. If this amount had not been received, India's foreign exchange reserves would have come down below Rs. 200 crores. Besides these foreign exchange reserves of Rs. 217 crores, India has a reserve of gold coin and bullion for Rs. 117.76 crores. For the purpose of currency reserve, the value of foreign securities and gold coin and bullion must not fall below Rs. 200 crores in the aggregate. Of this amount, the value of gold coin and bullion must not be less than Rs. 115 crores.

At present the aggregate external reserves of India stand in the neighbourhood of Rs. 336 crores. The average monthly requirements of foreign exchange for external payments are about Rs. 24 crores. The outstanding commitments on account of capital goods on order under the Second Five-Year Plan amount to Rs. 880 crores. Of this amount, Rs. 220 crores will be available in the form of foreign aid. The balance amount of Rs. 560 crores will remain as outstanding commitments and will create a gap in our balance of payments. The position is apprehended to be further worsened during the coming year when the repayment of India's foreign loans will become due. India will be required to find Rs. 23 crores during 1958-59 being the first instalment towards the repayment of her external debt. The position calls for serious consideration and unless India is able to secure necessary foreign exchanges, the Plan would be in jeopardy.

In a recent talk made by Shri H. V. R. Iyengar, Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, to the Bombay Progressive Group, the implications of India's foreign exchange crisis were held to be the inevitable result of a developing economy. Shri Iyengar says that the real problem in India is that in addition to the pressure exercised on our external reserves on account of the import of foodgrains, the external reserves of India have been called upon to sustain a massive development programme, meaning nothing less than the rapid introduction of high-level industrial technology in the country—the making of steel, of heavy machinery, including heavy electrical equipment of machine tools, of chemicals and the like. The following figures were quoted to give some idea of the impact of this programme on our balance of payments. During 1955-56 India's import bill was Rs. 751 crores; in 1956-57 it rose to Rs. 1077 crores, and in 1957-58 to Rs. 1174 crores. Shri Iyengar states that it would require an enormous accumulation of external reserves to enable India to finance a development programme of the magnitude that India has undertaken. Even such reserves as India did accumulate were the result of great rigours and the compulsory cut backs in consumption

that took place during the war. Given the basic facts of the Indian economy—a low per capita income, a very limited margin of saving and the rising pressure of population, there is no escape from the conclusion that large-scale industrial development would require, for some years to come, a good deal of external assistance. The Governor of the Reserve Bank points out that this is also historically the experience of countries which are now highly developed.

The history of economic development of Western countries indicates that one of the major influences in the industrial revolution of the United Kingdom was the immigration of foreign settlers who brought both capital and craftsmanship. After the industrial revolution, the United Kingdom exported capital on a large-scale. In the fifty years from 1825, half of this went to Continental Europe. In their turn, both France and Germany became exporters of capital and it is these countries and the United Kingdom which were responsible for a sustained flow of capital to the United States. Japan too became a great industrial power with the assistance of a massive inflow of capital, a good part of which came from the United Kingdom.

Shri Iyengar pins down his faith on the inflow of foreign capital to India for her economic recovery, besides increasing our exports and curtailing our imports. India's export possibilities have a limit beyond which they cannot be extended in the immediate short period. The long period view is essentially one that depends on the success of the economic Plans of India. As regards reduction in imports, there is a danger if the availability of consumer goods are cut drastically. That would shoot up the price level further. Since the commencement of the Second Five Year Plan, external assistance given to India or committed amounts to Rs. 832 crores. The Governor of the Reserve Bank hopes that in view of the changed attitude of the USA to the pressing needs of capital to India, this country can reasonably expect to receive more aids from the foreign countries and international institutions. India's own resources are totally inadequate to finance her Plans and the failure of the Indian Plan would be shattering blow not only

to Indian economy, but also to the world economy in general.

#### *Trend and Progress of Banking in 1957*

The latest Report on the Trend and Progress of Banking in India, recently released by the Reserve Bank of India, refers to the corrective measures adopted by the Government of India and the Reserve Bank to bring about an improvement in the economic situation which in the earlier months of 1957 was marked by an intensification of the stresses and strains which had emerged in 1956. The Reserve Bank in this report points out that the heavy investment programme under the Plan and the growth in money incomes which was associated with it tended to raise aggregate demand in the economy at a greater rate than the increase in national output although the latter made a marked progress in agricultural and industrial production. This gap resulted in a rise in prices so much so that the index of wholesale prices (base: 1952-53=100) went up from 105.1 at the end of March 1957 to 113.1 early in August. The imbalance between the growth of demand and the supplies available, mainly those of the consumer goods, affected the economy in general resulting in an upward tendency in the price level. Foodgrains were the outstanding instance of such a strain which was reflected in an increase of 10 per cent in food prices between December 1956 and August 1957.

The impact of the steep rise in investment was acutely felt at another sensitive point in the economy—its external payments. The balance of payments deficit increased sharply from Rs. 82 crores in the first quarter of 1957 to about Rs. 150 crores in each of the two subsequent quarters, excluding transactions relating to repatriation of lend-lease silver. The increased import of foodgrains and the higher level of imports of capital goods and industrial raw materials were responsible for the mounting deficit in external payments. The situation was further worsened by the decline in exports in certain commodities. The heavier imports and the high level of private investment resulted in an expansion of bank credit to a record figure in the earlier part of the year 1957.

The situation called for effective and urgent corrective measures. An all-out effort was made by the authorities in all sectors of national economy to keep the rising price level in check. On the fiscal side, the Union budget for 1957-58 imposed additional taxation to the extent of over Rs. 100 crores in a full year principally raising the rates of excise duties on a number of articles. The taxes on wealth and expenditure were designed to reduce the money income of the community. In the field of foreign trade, there were drastic cut and restriction in imports. To ease the food position, Government built up stocks of foodgrains both by importation and local procurement and released stocks of grain through an extensive network of fair price shops, while steps were taken by the Reserve Bank through selective controls to curtail the supply of credit to finance speculative stockpiling of foodgrains. Corrective measures were similarly initiated in the monetary sphere also. In addition to the selective credit control measures, the Bank followed a policy of restricting credit through an enforcement of higher lending rates and moral suasion. The effect of these measures was seen in the abatement towards the latter part of the year of some of the inflationary pressure.

Turning to the banking situation, the Report states that the exceptionally large deposit expansion was the most striking feature of the year. Net deposits of scheduled banks rose by Rs. 245 crores (23.3 per cent) as against Rs. 77 crores (7.9 per cent) in 1956. The more important of the factors responsible for the deposit increase were the placement by the U.S. authorities in India of funds representing the initial reimbursement by the Government of the cost of foodgrains imported into the country under Public Law 480 and the tight import restriction which might also have induced business concerns and other bodies to seek temporary investment of their reserves and other surplus funds in the form of time deposits. The long-term factors accounting for this deposit expansion might have been the further hardening of interest rates in the year on fixed and savings deposits which might have induced a switch from non-banking to banking accounts. Again, there is reason to be-

lieve that some portion of the money incomes generated in the last year must have gone into bank accounts, although belatedly. The branch expansion of banks, notably that of the State Bank of India, also contributed to the expansion of deposits.

The Report states that over the year, though the scheduled bank credit increased by Rs. 75 crores only as against the 1956 figure of Rs. 151 crores, the increase in the first half of the year was as much as Rs. 135 crores. This increase was, in fact, greater than in the corresponding period of the previous year and, though seasonal in character, was of significance in that the busy season demand of 1956-57 was itself super-imposed on a high-level of bank credit. Substantial as this increase was, the rise in credit against certain commodities like paddy and rice, wheat, gram and sugar was of particular concern. Speculative holding of some of these commodities financed by bank credit was tending to aggravate inflationary pressures and in order to stem them, the Reserve Bank took various credit control measures. A general restriction on the quantity of credit was sought through raising the cost of borrowing by banks from the Reserve Bank. Though this had a general restraining effect on banks' borrowings from the Reserve Bank, the underlying trend was still one of credit expansion indicating the need for further restrictive measures. Accordingly, the Reserve Bank insisted on reduction of the bank credit against foodgrains by October 1957. The banks succeeded in bringing about a substantial reduction in outstanding credit but not to the full extent desired.

The general measures of control and the use of moral suasion had primarily the object of bringing about a quantitative reduction of credit. Along with these, further use was made during the year of selective restriction on credit. As a combined result of these measures of credit control and a delayed onset of the busy season of 1957-58 accompanied by a sharp reduction in the volume of exports, the level of advances at the end of December 1957 at Rs. 820 crores was barely 10 per cent higher than at the end of 1956 as against an increase of a little over 25 per cent in the preceding year. The slower growth of advances relatively

to the deposit increase enabled banks to increase their investment portfolios, by as much as Rs. 89 crores.

The Indian banking system has an important role to play in relation to the working out of the economic plans in the country. In this connection the Report states that the present seems to provide an opportunity for banks to take appropriate measures to develop banking so as to keep pace with the growth of the economy. The most important among these is the paramount need for banks to continue to seek more avenues to expand their deposit base. This would require a more intensive effort to spread the banking habit and to attract further deposits in centres where bank branches are already established and a programme of branch expansion in areas where banking is comparatively under-developed or not at all developed. In 1957, a part of the rise in deposits was perhaps due to the higher rates of interest offered by most banks on savings and other time deposits. To attract deposits what is essential is a higher rate of interest. The rate of interest on all savings bank accounts should not be less than Rs. 3 per cent per year in view of the fact that the Bank rate today rules at 4 per cent. The Bank rate of course is not the ordinary rate of interest. It, however, signifies that a dearer money condition encourages the growth of national savings which India today needs most.

### *The Hungarian Outrage*

The murder of the former Hungarian Prime Minister, Mr. Imre Nagy, the former Defence Minister, Mr. Paul Mabter and three other Hungarian revolutionary leaders by those who now constitute the Hungarian Government is one of those black acts that have stained the records of totalitarianism. The whole episode—beginning from the arrest to the execution of these brave men—is a story of a shameful betrayal by men in authority, unrelieved by any traces of reason, justice or humanism.

Paul Mabter had been arrested by the Russians when, in response to their invitation, he as a representative of a duly constituted government, attended a conference to discuss the question of the withdrawal of the Russian

troops from Hungary. The manner of Mr. Nagy's arrest was equally reprehensible and treacherous.

The execution of the Hungarian leaders has been such a piece of monstrosity that even the Communists have difficulty in supporting it directly. They—at least the Communists beyond China and the USSR—are, therefore, trying to dodge the issue by insisting that the trial and execution of Nagy were the internal affairs of Hungary. Such an argument only accentuates the utter injustice of the whole affair as well as the depth of the mental slavery of the people who call themselves Communists. The trials of Sacco and Vanzetti and the Rosenbergs in the USA, the abduction of Ting Ling by Chiang Kai-shek were certainly not matters which could by any stretch of imagination be regarded as of more international concern than the execution of the Hungarian leaders. But people with principle, integrity and courage everywhere had condemned those outrages the Communists being the loudest of all. Nobody then had thought that such condemnation was "interference in internal affairs." Even the governments thus condemned themselves did not consider those condemnations an interference.

Then how can they hold up the plea of "domestic jurisdiction" in the case of Hungary? The Communists thus betray peculiar lack of a sense of values: they would uphold the same type of behaviour on the part of a Communist-controlled government but would cry themselves hoarse in righteous indignation if it is practised by any non-Communist government. No matter, if history has indubitably demonstrated that the inner logic of a Communist government is in no way different from that of any other government (the periodical acts of "rehabilitation" of murdered Communists would otherwise be inexplicable).

Official Communists everywhere, including Mr. Gomulka, we are sorry to note, have put up a show of moral indignation at the fact that anti-Soviet and anti-Communist forces on the international level are taking advantage of the Hungarian executions to intensify their political campaign against the Soviet Union. But who is to blame if not the Communists themselves? Neither the Soviet Union nor the Communists

can expect moral support if they continue committing or supporting such evidently inhuman deeds as the execution of the Hungarian leaders.

### *The Yugoslav Pointer*

Yugoslavia offers an example of the utter irrationality, to use an euphemism of contemporary Communist behaviour. The very people who betray such delicate sense of jurisdiction, when the barbarous executions in Hungary are condemned, do not feel any qualms to call upon Yugoslav people to come forward to overthrow their own government—which, notwithstanding current Communist propaganda to the contrary, is no less a workers' government than that of the USSR itself.

In the present campaign against Yugoslav independence, ideological lead is being provided by the Chinese Communist leaders. No impartial reader would, however, be convinced by the Peking *Jen Min Jih Pao* editorial of May 5 or by Mr. Chen Po-ta's arguments in his article in the *Hongqi* (Red Flag), the new fortnightly theoretical journal of the Chinese Communist Party, which together provide the main Communist grounds against Yugoslavia. We referred to the arguments of the first article in the last issue. Now we propose to examine Mr. Chen's article.

In an otherwise clumsy article Mr. Chen, now regarded as one of China's leading experts on international affairs, raises one valuable point but does not answer it. His contention is that Yugoslavia is no longer a Socialist State. There is public ownership, no doubt, but public ownership alone, Mr. Chen correctly maintains, is not enough for socialism. "The question is," Mr. Chen Po-ta emphasizes, "who runs them, who leads?" Quite correct. Now who runs the State in Yugoslavia? Mr. Chen is silent on this point.

As Yugoslav or any other assertions would now be of no value to the Communists, let us turn to Soviet writers for an answer to this question. In an article entitled "The Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia" in the weekly *New Times* of Moscow (No. 37 of 1955, pp. 30-31), V. Zebnin writes: "State power (in Yugoslavia) is in the hands of two classes, the

workers and peasants, who exercise it through their elected representatives in the People's Committees and Skupshtinas." If the Communists do not yet repudiate Lenin's definition of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Yugoslavia can hardly be described as anything but a Socialist State. Should anyone consider Zebnin's article as an expression of individual opinion, we quote the following remarks of Y. Chepizhev in the authoritative Soviet monthly *International Affairs* of Moscow (No. 11 of 1955, pp. 94-102) where it is stated: "An examination of the social and State structure of Yugoslavia in its development, beginning with the appearance of the first organs of popular power—the National Liberation Committees—and also the facts of history show, throughout the existence of new Yugoslavia, power has been in the hands of the Yugoslav people." (Italics added).

The question is what changes have taken place in Yugoslav development to call for a revision of this characterization? None at all.

Mr. Chen Po-ta has made much of the fact of U.S. aid to Yugoslavia. On this point also we find a leading Soviet expert, Mr. D. Shevlyagin, writing in the *Moscow International Affairs* (No. 8 of 1955, pp. 15-25) as follows: "It must be noted that the USA was forced in Yugoslavia's case to deviate considerably from the methods of rendering 'aid' which it applies to other countries." He added: "It (Yugoslavia) prevented the seizure by the American capital of economic positions in the country and the setting up of foreign concessions, which could have been conducive to the restoration of capitalism."

Mr. Chen has tried to capitalise upon stray remarks of a section of the American press highlighting certain Yugoslav deviations from the Soviet model to denounce Yugoslavia, but he has conveniently overlooked the considered views of the Socialist Soviet press on the character of the Yugoslav State. This is the character of Communist objectivity!

We do not write this to uphold Yugoslavia or denounce any other State but to expose, if it is at all possible in these days of blind, partisan propaganda, the utter unreality of the Com-

munist charges against Yugoslavia. The denouncement has come not because Yugoslavia has deviated from the socialist path, but rather because being Socialist, Yugoslavia does not submit to the Soviet power bloc to which China, for various historical and political (the least is ideological) reasons, temporarily belongs. Indian Communists by allowing themselves to be led by the meandering foreign policy of the Soviet Government are making themselves a laughing-stock of thoughtful persons. In their Amritsar thesis, the CPI stated that it would tolerate opposition parties when in power. In the case of Yugoslavia, we find that the Moscow-oriented Communists are not willing to tolerate even other Communists who, despite their Communist practice, might differ from the former on some questions. The CPI's reaction to the shift in the Russian attitude to Yugoslavia does not lend much weight to its assertions of sincerity and truthfulness.

### *Miseries of War*

What war means—particularly to the defeated nation—is provided by the plight of Germans in various European countries. No doubt the present miseries of these Germans are largely attributable to the mischievous policies of aggression followed by the Nazi leaders. But the suffering is nonetheless for that. Post-war situation has seen many Germans placed within the boundaries of more than one non-German States. A good many of them have been allowed to come to Germany but, on account of a host of complicated reasons, it has not yet been able for all the Germans, who would like to come back to their homeland, to return. Thus nearly 100,000 Germans who have applied for repatriation to Germany cannot come immediately as Poland cannot allow all of them to leave in this hour of her labour shortage. A Soviet-German agreement has enabled nearly 20,000 Germans to come back. But a further 65,000 Germans are there in the Soviet Union who, despite their eagerness, cannot return to Germany. Negotiations are in progress between the West German Government and the Rumanian Government over the repatriation of 8,500 Germans.

### *Ferment in the Middle East*

The developments in Iraq today are so sudden and sweeping that the world has been taken aback. Since 1950, events in this region have been in a State of flux and are bewildering in nature so much so that nothing definite can be predicted about the future of the States in this area. It is, however, too early to make any definite assessment about the implications of the revolution in Iraq. The initial success of the Revolution and the fall of the former Government constitute a great blow to the Baghdad Pact. Iraq was perhaps the first member of the Arab League to break away from it when she joined the mutual assistance treaty with Turkey in 1955. That treaty eventually turned out to be what is known today as the Baghdad Pact, the participating members being Turkey, Pakistan, Iran, Iraq and the United Kingdom. The Baghdad Pact was regarded as a stronghold of the Anglo-American block and it provided a security and assurance to the control of the Mediterranean by the British.

The coup in Iraq may not be regarded as an isolated phenomenon. Rather it may be regarded as a precursor to larger events that are sooner or later destined to happen in the countries of the Middle East. That event is the rise of nationalism unfettered by any sort of foreign string of enslavement. The Baghdad Pact was designed to act as a girdle that would encircle Russia in the event of a future war. The revolution in Iraq has shattered that line of encirclement.

India is opposed to the Baghdad Pact ever since its inception and she may feel relieved that the main link in the Pact is broken today. Britain and the USA have extensive oil interests in Iraq and it is yet to be seen how the oil companies are allowed to function. Iran and Pakistan today stand isolated having been cut off from the main countries of the Middle East politically. The pressure of events may call for a revision of their policy of external relations. The State of Israel also stands the risk of being sandwiched between Arab Powers. The landing in Lebanon by the U.S. forces will have far-reaching repercussions in international politics and it may lead to world conflagration if the



Anglo-American Powers do not take a saner view of the situation.

The Eisenhower doctrine has been rendered illogical in so far as there is no Communist intervention or infiltration. But the result will be that the position of the Anglo-American bloc will be much weakened and for the protection of the Mediterranean bases they will have to dig down deep in Turkey and Iran. Britain and the USA cannot afford to allow themselves to be driven out from this vital and strategic area of the world. Without positions in the Middle East, the entire vantage position will pass on to Soviet Russia and that would mean that half of the future war is won by Russia today. The developments are, therefore, much intriguing. Although India may have reason to be elated with the defection in the Baghdad Pact, she will have reason for concern over her northern frontiers. With the absence of countervailing forces, India's northern frontier will stand vulnerable against the combined might of Russia and China. The existence of British and American positions in the Middle East will have a neutralising effect on the northern frontiers of India.

### Lebanon

The situation in Lebanon seems to be far more complex than it has been shown by our press. We attach below two extracts from the editorials of the *New York Times* of June 6 and July 6 respectively and a description of the personalities involved in the Lebanon affair from the *Time* of July 7.

"On a visit to troubled Lebanon last month U.N. Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld was presented with a cake which bore the inscription: 'United Nations Save Lebanon.' Mr. Hammarskjöld remarked, 'Only Lebanon can save Lebanon.'

"The Secretary-General's sentiment reflected the changing perspective in which the seven-week-old Lebanese civil war was being viewed. The disturbances inside the tiny Arab republic were ostensibly touched off by the widely-held suspicion that pro-Western President Camille Chamoun intended to amend the constitution in order to get a second term. The opposition demonstrated in Beirut, the capital,

last May. At this juncture street gangs, invoking the name of the United Arab Republic's Gamal Abdel Nasser, took over; rioting developed; then fighting. Radio Cairo opened a bitter propaganda barrage against the Chamoun Government and its Western friends. In the weeks since, Radio Cairo's "Voice of the Arabs" has called hourly for the Lebanese people to overthrow the regime.

"Lebanon went before the Security Council and denounced Nasser for 'massive, unprovoked and illegal intervention.' The West was alarmed and Secretary of State Dulles indicated that the U.S. might give Lebanon military assistance if requested by Beirut. The U.N. sent a 100-man military observation team into Lebanon to survey the situation.

"Last week Mr. Hammarskjöld, reporting on his first-hand survey of Lebanon, said, 'The phrase 'massive infiltration' [is] not warranted at present.' On Friday the U.N. Observation Group in Lebanon sent its first report to the Security Council. The report said the U.N. observers had not been able to gain access to many of the rebel-held border areas where infiltration would be most likely to take place. But like Mr. Hammarskjöld, the observation team was clearly skeptical about the claims of 'massive infiltration'. The report said:

"It has not been possible to establish from where [the rebel] arms were acquired. Nor was it possible to establish if any of the armed men observed had infiltrated from outside; there is little doubt, however, that the vast majority [of rebels] was in any case composed of Lebanese.

"Beirut was dismayed by the U.N. findings and the Chamoun Government repeated its earlier charges that 3,000 Egyptians, Syrians and Palestinian Arabs, armed by Nasser, had infiltrated Lebanon and joined the rebels."

"Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt in his quest for leadership in the Middle East, has used as a lever the powerful force of 'Pan-Arabism.' He has proclaimed—and all Arab states have repeated the refrain—that 'all Arabs are brothers.'

"Last week, however, the front of 'Arab brotherhood' was breached when Lebanon appealed to the United Nations for protection against interference in its internal affairs by



Nasser's United Arab Republic. This is the background:

"Last month Lebanon's pro-Western President Camille Chamoun made plan to amend the Constitution so that he would win a second six-year term which the Constitution now expressly forbids. The parliamentary Opposition was aroused. Pro-Nasser elements in the country moved swiftly to exploit the situation. They staged riots and raised armed rebellion in scattered parts of the country. Since then, more than 300 people have been killed. Although Nasser was in Moscow at the time on a state visit, Radio Cairo inflamed the situation by calling upon the Lebanese to crush Chamoun and unite Lebanon with the U.A.R. Armed bands were reported to have crossed into Lebanon from the U.A.R.'s Syrian province.

"The week before last Lebanon openly accused Nasser of inciting the insurrection and filed charges against the U.A.R. with the U.N. Security Council. But Lebanon decided to hold the charges in abeyance pending an effort to resolve the dispute in a meeting of the 'eight-nation Arab League, whose membership includes Lebanon and the U.A.R."

*"Tiny Lebanon (pop. 1,500,000) is roughly half Christian, half Moslem, but that is not the half of it. In this ancient land of differing races and religions, personal and tribal loyalties count for more than other allegiances. Among the key personalities:*

*"President Camille Chamoun, 58, one of the world's handsomest chiefs of state, rounds out his six-year term in September and still has not rejected the idea of another. Trim, silver-haired, he took his law degree at the French Jesuit St. Joseph's University in Beirut, married a wife who is half English, half Lebanese and a Presbyterian. Chamoun himself, as tradition dictates for a Lebanese president, is a Roman Catholic of the Maronite sect. Elected as an ardent nationalist on a reform ticket, he stuck to Lebanon's customary neutral foreign policy until the Suez crisis, then plumped for the West and followed through by becoming the first Arab leader in the Middle East to pledge his country to the Eisenhower Doctrine.*

*"Kamal Jumblatt, 39, a hereditary chief of Druse mountain tribesmen and ex-Cabinet*

*minister, formed his own socialist party in 1949; later backed the movement that installed Chamoun in office. A somewhat intellectual and moody mountaineer who studied in Paris and took to visiting an Indian ashram after his first parting with Chamoun, he now controls the south central area of Lebanon for the opposition. Chamoun's ultimate insult, he claims, was to deny him his ancestral parliamentary seat in last year's elections. As leader of a heretical Moslem sect, he is no friend to Islamic pan-Arabism, insists: "This situation has nothing to do with Nasser. It is an internal Lebanese matter".*

*"General Fuad Shehab, 56, patrician arthritic, French-trained professional soldier, has headed Lebanon's 8,000-man army since 1945. A Maronite Christian, he is a collateral of the famous Emirs Mansur, Yusuf and Bashir who ruled Lebanon under the Ottoman Turks. Eighty per cent of his officers, 60 per cent of his men are Christian. Six years ago, when Chamoun's predecessor tried to stay in office during an unpopular second term, Shehab refused him the army's assistance and reluctantly served as acting president until Chamoun's election. Ostentatiously unwilling to order his troops to fight except when attacked, ever ready to parley affably with rebel leaders, and to see that they are kept well supplied with food and water, Shehab would probably be acceptable to rebel leaders as a compromise successor to Chamoun. His conduct suggests that a draft would be all right with him.*

*"Ex-Premier Saeb Salam, 53, is a volatile, roly-poly Sunni Moslem who wants to be Premier again. Educated at the famed American University in Beirut, president of the Middle East Airlines, he was invited by Chamoun to become Premier in 1953, and like several other ex-Premiers now in the opposition, was generally accounted pro-Western. Partly from embitterment at Chamoun (he was counted out of a Parliamentary seat at last year's election too) and partly from political opportunism, he now sings Nasser's tune louder than any of the other rebels. He has about 800 troops.*

*"Patriarch Paul Meouchi, 64, was made head of the Maronites, Lebanon's largest religious group, by Pope Pius in 1955. Genial,*

spade-bearded, Meouchi was pastor for 14 years in New Bedford, Mass., and in Los Angeles, and proudly recalls that as a U.S. citizen at the time, 'I voted for Roosevelt in 1932.' Believing that the church cannot survive if it clashes with dynamic Arab nationalism, Meouchi says: 'Either we live with the Moslem Arabs in brotherhood, love and peace or else we must depart and vanish.' To win back Lebanon's place as 'mediator' between the Arabs and the West, says Patriarch Meouchi, President Chamoun must go."

#### *Ambassador Lodge's Statement*

Below is the full text of the statement made by U.S. Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, on July 16, before the U.N. Security Council. We give it *in extenso* because of its gravity:

United Nations, N.Y., July 15—"In stationing protective troops in Lebanon at Lebanon's request, 'the United States is acting pursuant to what the United Nations Charter regards as an inherent right—the right of all nations to work together to preserve their independence,' U.S. Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge said today.

"Lodge also reported that 'with the outbreak of the revolt in Iraq the infiltration of arms and personnel into Lebanon from the United Arab Republic, in an effort to subvert the legally constituted government, have suddenly become much more alarming.'

"Lodge told the council that the U.S. troops, disembarked at the request of the Lebanese Government will be withdrawn, 'as soon as the U.N. itself can take over.'

"Lodge stated in full:

"Mr. President,

"The Council meets today to confront difficulties as serious as any in its history.

"The territorial integrity of Lebanon is increasingly threatened by insurrection, stimulated and assisted from outside.

"Plots against the Kingdom of Jordan, which have become evident over the past months, are another sign of serious instability in the relations between nations in the Middle East.

"And now comes the overthrow—in an

exceptionally brutal and revolting manner—of the legally-established Government of Iraq. I have just heard this morning, Mr. President, before coming over here, of the murder of our esteemed and popular colleague here in the United Nations from Iraq—Mr. Fadil Al Jamali. Only a few weeks ago he was here with us. We heard his voice; we rejoiced in his humour; we were heartened by his fellowship. Now we learn that he was not only murdered; but that his body was actually dragged through the streets of Baghdad. Decent people throughout the world, wherever they may be, will recoil at this monstrosity.

"In all these circumstances, the President of Lebanon has asked, with the unanimous authorization of the Lebanese Government, for the help of friendly governments so as to preserve Lebanon's integrity and independence.

"The United States has responded positively and affirmatively to this request in the light of the need for immediate action. And we wish the Security Council to be hereby officially advised of this fact.

"In addition, the United States Government has under active consideration economic assistance to help Lebanon revive its economy.

"Our purpose in coming to the assistance of Lebanon is perfectly clear. As President Eisenhower explained this morning, our forces are not there to engage in hostilities of any kind—much less to fight a war. Their presence is designed for the sole purpose of helping the Government of Lebanon, at its request, in its efforts to stabilize the situation, brought on by the threats from outside, until such time as the United Nations can take the steps necessary to protect the independence and political integrity of Lebanon. They will also afford security to the several thousand Americans who reside in that country. And that, Mr. President, is the total scope and objective of the United States assistance.

"Now I need scarcely say that we are the first to admit that the dispatch of United States forces to Lebanon is not an ideal way to solve present problems and they will be withdrawn as soon as the United Nations can take over.

"In fact, the United States Government hopes that the United Nations itself will soon

be able to assume these responsibilities. We intend to consult with the Secretary-General and with other delegations urgently on a resolution to achieve these objectives. Until then, the presence of United States troops in Lebanon will be a constructive contribution to the objectives the Security Council had in mind when it passed the June 11 resolution dealing with this problem.

‘Let me now review the recent history of this situation.

‘A little over a month ago the Government of Lebanon presented a complaint to the Security Council involving ‘a situation arising from the intervention of the United Arab Republic in the internal affairs of Lebanon’ the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.

‘At that time, various members of the Council drew special attention to Article 2(4) of the Charter which enjoins all members ‘to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state.’ This was one of the fundamental considerations behind the resolution which was adopted by the Council on June 11 which called for the urgent dispatch of an observation group to proceed to Lebanon so as to ensure that there was no illegal infiltration of personnel or supply of arms or other material across the Lebanese borders.

‘The United Nations observation group has thus far been able to achieve limited success. We hope that it will pursue its work in the most effective and energetic manner possible. Our forces are being instructed to co-operate with it and to establish liaison immediately upon arrival. This United Nations group has helped to reduce interference from across the border.

‘We learn now, however, that with the outbreak of the revolt in Iraq the infiltration of arms and personnel into Lebanon from the United Arab Republic in an effort to subvert the legally-constituted government has suddenly become much more alarming. This development, coupled with persistent efforts over the past months to subvert the Government of Jordan, must be a cause of grave concern to us

all. They place in jeopardy both the independence of Lebanon and that of any Middle Eastern state which seeks to maintain its national integrity free from outside influence and pressures. It is too early, Mr. President, to tell what the outcome of the revolt in Iraq may be. But one thing is clear: the events in both Lebanon and Iraq present grave threats to the integrity of free and independent countries. They demonstrate the ruthlessness of aggressive purposes which tiny Lebanon cannot combat without support from friendly nations.

‘Observing the course of events in Lebanon and in Iraq, one is constrained to conclude that there are powers at work in the Middle East seeking, in total disregard for national sovereignty and independence, to substitute force or the threat of force for law. If these powers are left unchecked, free to pursue their lawless course, the people of the Middle East will have been denied the solemn guarantees written into the United Nations Charter, and mankind’s age-long quest for peace will have been checked and the world will have been plunged into anarchy.

‘Now we confront here a situation involving outside involvement in an internal revolt against the authorities of the legitimate Government of Lebanon. Under these conditions a request from the Government of Lebanon to another member of the United Nations to come to its assistance is entirely consistent with the provisions and purposes of the United Nations Charter. In this situation, therefore, we are proceeding in accordance with the traditional rules of international law, none of which in any way inhibit action of the character which the United States is undertaking in Lebanon. The United States is acting pursuant to what the United Nations Charter regards as an inherent right—the right of all nations to work together to preserve their independence. The Council should take note that United States forces went to Lebanon at the specific request of the duly-constituted Government of Lebanon. Let me also emphasize again what I have said before that these forces will remain there only until the United Nations itself is able to assume the necessary responsibilities to ensure the continued independence of Lebanon.

"Now, Mr. President, there is one further fact which must be recognized. If the United Nations is to succeed in its efforts to maintain international peace and security, it should support the efforts of a legitimate and democratically elected government to protect itself from aggression from without, even if that aggression is indirect. The United Nations must be particularly alert in protecting the security of small states from interference by those whose resources and power are larger. This is a principle which has been supported here in this very hall in the past and which should be supported today regardless of who the offender may be.

"Lebanon is a charter member of the United Nations and has loyally contributed to the work over the past decade. It would be unthinkable now to permit the lawfully constituted Government of Lebanon to fall prey to outside forces which seek to substitute a government which would serve their purposes in defiance of the principles of the Charter.

"There can be no hope for peace in the world unless the United Nations shows this dedication to the Charter's basic principles. All nations, large and small alike, are entitled to have their political independence and territorial integrity respected and maintained. If we vacillate with regard to this proposition, we will open the flood-gates to direct and indirect aggression all over the world.

"The overthrow of another state by subversion and the fomenting of internal strife is more difficult for the world to combat than is direct military aggression because the fomenting of internal strife is harder to see with your eyes.

"But this is not the first time that the United Nations has faced such a problem.

"The United Nations faced such a problem successfully in Greece in 1946 when a Soviet-sponsored insurrection threatened to overwhelm the Greek Government.

"The United Nations did so unsuccessfully in 1948 when the Communist coup was perpetrated in Czechoslovakia.

"The United Nations sought to provide means for dealing with such aggressive developments in the future when in 1949 and in 1950 it adopted the 'essentials of peace' and 'the peace through deeds' resolutions of the General

Assembly. If the Council will forgive a personal note, I particularly recall the 'peace through deeds' resolution because I actively worked to obtain its adoption the first time that I was a member of the United States delegation to the United Nations in 1950. At that time I said:

"The eight-power resolution not only reaffirms that whatever the weapons used, any aggression is the gravest of all crimes against peace and security in the world; it also freshens, modernizes, brings up to date, and makes more complete our concept of aggression by specifically including the latest form of aggression, to wit: fomenting civil strife."

"Let me now quote some of the provisions of this resolution which was adopted here in the General Assembly in 1950:

"Condemning the intervention of a state in the internal affairs of another state for the purpose of changing its legally established government by the threat or use of force;

"1. Solemnly reaffirms that, 'whatever the weapons used, any aggression, whether committed openly, or by fomenting civil strife in the interest of a foreign power, or otherwise,' is the gravest of all crimes against peace and security throughout the world;

"2. Determines that for the realization of lasting peace and security it is indispensable;

"(1) That prompt united action be taken to meet aggression wherever it arises."

"This, I submit, applies very definitely to the situation which confronts us today."

### *The Cyprus Plan*

Referring to the new British Plan for Cyprus the *Bombay Chronicle* writes:

"Britain has announced a new plan for Cyprus. It proposes a programme of partnership for a period of seven years in which Greece, Turkey and Britain will participate in the administration of the Mediterranean island. There will be two houses of representatives, one for Greek Cypriots and the other for Turkish Cypriots: they will, while looking after the interests of the two communities, seek to co-ordinate inter-community affairs. Premier Macmillan announcing the Plan said it indicated British willingness to 'share Cypriots sovereignty' with the Greek and Turkish

Governments, an idea in itself repugnant to democracy and freedom. Defence and internal security will, as before, remain the exclusive privilege of the British Colonial office; as for foreign affairs, what participation can a colony hope for here? Even the other two partners will have no say in this subject. A condition is also attached to this offer of partnership: Britain will retain the military bases 'for discharge of its international obligations.' This is the essence of the new deal that is sought to be foisted on the troublesome problem.

"Mr. Macmillan made a show of being keen on solving the Cyprus issue and said the Plan would appeal to everyone; Mr. Selwyn Lloyd said he had good hope all concerned would accept it; Cyprus Governor Sir Hugh Foot said it was a 'good' plan, showing the right road that Cypriots must travel. But everyone concerned has rejected it in unambiguous terms. The Greek Government said no; Foreign Minister Averoff called it impractical and fundamentally unacceptable. The Turkish Government said no; it seeks specific mention of partition in any future programme for Cyprus. Archbishop Makarios, who speaks for the 400,000 Cypriots of Greek origin, said no; the main provisions of the plan, he said, would destroy the unity of the Cypriot people and imply the constitutional sanction of the division of Cypriots in two. The representative of the Turkish Cypriots has also said no; he prefers to back Ankara in full with the blood-curdling cry of Partition or Chaos.

"What are the implications of this universal rejection of the British plan? Violence between Cypriots and British and between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots may well be one result. It is clear that the compromise worked out in London—the offer of partnership to Turkey and Greece—has no basis on reality; it is a good example of British expediency and patchwork. While it seeks to put the basic demand for self-determination in cold storage for seven years, it parades a pretended sweet reasonableness intended to mollify the two NATO partners. As Archbishop Makarios so rightly said, the plan will widen the gulf between the two Cypriot communities and make it impossible for the people to live in harmony and freedom."

Violence has broken out, since the *Bombay Chronicle* commented as above. We do not know what the final consequence of this attempt will be, as affairs in the eastern Mediterranean are complicated beyond measure, but it will most certainly not enhance the cause of peace and amity.

### *The Situation in Vietnam*

The Vietnamese scene continues to be as uncertain as ever. The country remains divided into two artificial parts despite an international agreement reached by the leading powers promising reunification of the country by July, 1956. Two more years have passed since that deadline and the prospects of unification are not in the least brighter. The reunification has been actively opposed by the Government of the United States of America through the agency of the Government of Mr. Diem in the South. The Americans openly acknowledge their interest in keeping the country divided—of course the usual ghost of Communism is there always to be utilised on necessity. The South Vietnam Government also made no bones of its real attitude to the problem of reunification of the country: it is against any steps being taken for holding all-Vietnam elections unless the same are held on its own terms. Meanwhile the Government has continued to import arms and military personnel in violation of the terms of the Geneva Agreement of 1954. The seventh interim report of the International Commission for supervision and control in Vietnam (composed of the representatives of India, Poland and Canada) states *inter alia*: "Many instances of arrival of military personnel and war materials in South Vietnam were reported by the Commission's teams and were stated by the Government of the Republic of Vietnam to be in transit. Some of the arrivals took place without advance notification. In some instances, during the period under report (August, 1956 to April, 1957), the Commission was not notified of the exit, if any, of these war materials and military personnel and it was not in a position to say whether or not they left the country."

The small Asian country has thus become a victim of Big Power politics. As would be natural in such circumstances, the common

people on either side of the seventeenth parallel that divides the country are the worst sufferers—politically, economically, socially and emotionally. The tragedy of the people is expressed in these pithy lines:

“Chung is a boy of the North  
 Trung is a boy of the South  
 Both have the same dark eyes  
 Both the same laughing mouth.

“They wear the same Vietnamese clothes  
 And speak the same Vietnamese tongue  
 But a river flows between  
 And Trung may not speak to Chung.”  
 —(Len Fox)

Is it too much to hope that the statesmen who consider themselves capable of curing the ills of the world would redeem their pledge in Vietnam by agreeing upon a formula of joint elections through which the unfortunate country can get back its territorial and national unity?

#### *Pakistan's Neighbourliness*

Together with the “peaceful march” across the Kashmir cease-fire line, and the shooting on the white-flag-carrying Indian policemen, in which seven unarmed policemen were killed, we have the following piece of interesting news to illustrate the working of the minds of those who are in charge of Pakistan. No further comments are, we believe, at all necessary:

“Pakistani troops have entered a Khasi village in the Jaintia Hills under Dawki Police Station violating Indian territory, it is officially learnt here.

“On Sunday last Pakistani forces moved into a betel-nut grove in Bakurtilla within Dawki Police Station in India and constructed bunkers and a tarpaulin shed, it was stated.

“The Assam Government have lodged a strong protest with the Government of East Pakistan against this encroachment by Pakistani forces in Indian territory. The protest also drew attention to ‘aggressive preparations’ of Pakistani troops by advancing firing position.

“The Government of Pakistan was requested by the Assam Government to withdraw Pakistani forces immediately from the Indian territory, fill up trenches and bunkers and remove the tarpaulin shed. A report has also been received that Pakistan armed forces have been heavily reinforced in the whole sector opposite Dawki and innumerable bunkers and trenches have been dug at Sonatilla, Synrembasti, Dhamali, Barla, Ambertila and Tamabil.”

#### *Prices, People and the Government*

Is it possible to conceive a Welfare State without there being any law enabling the Government to check undue rise in the prices of the daily necessities of the people? Well, India offers an illustration of such a State.

During a discussion in the West Bengal Legislative Assembly on June 25, the Chief Minister Dr. Roy flatly admitted that prices of essential commodities had abnormally increased during the preceding week but, as the *Statesman* reports, “pleaded that there was no law by which this could be checked.” He added that the Central Government possessed some powers of control under the Essential Commodities Act but had until then refused to authorise the State Government to take any effective step to check prices.

While this may appear bewildering to the uninitiated, such a situation is nothing extraordinary in India where everything is dear except the people themselves. The apathy of the government to the people's miseries is expressed not only in the absence of any provision in law to control undue rise in prices, or the Central Government's refusal to accord necessary authority to the State Government, but also in Dr. Roy's brazen declaration that India was not Russia. Frankly, we are at a loss to understand what he wanted to mean by this remark. Apparently he wanted to distinguish between Russia and India by the presence of laws to control prices in the former and the absence of the same in the latter. He explained that his reference to Russia was to make it clear that “here our system is different and that we do not control all the methods of procurement, distribution and storage except what we can do under the Essential Commodities Act.”

We should have thought it unwise to draw such a parallel between Russia and India—particularly when the Government here is chary even to use the provisions of existing law in defence of the interests of the people. The Soviet society in the USSR has a number of grave shortcomings, but abolition of hoarding and speculation is certainly not one of them. A government or a person who singles out this aspect of Soviet life as a target of attack stands self-condemned.

### *Public Opinion in India*

The ten-day-long strike of the Port and Dock workers involving about 120,000 workers was one of the biggest of its kind witnessed in India. While its total cost is not yet known, there is little doubt that the cost would be tremendous. The strike led to the paralysis of activity on a large scale in vital segments of national life. There have been accusations and counter-accusations about the responsibility for this strike, but the public had never any chance to know the factors behind the dispute.

Calling attention to this sad state of public information in India, the weekly *Vigil* wrote in an editorial during the first day of the strike of the Port workers:

"Everybody deplors the situation but there is no real public opinion on the issue or issues because the public know little about them. This is typical of the Indian scene, where employer-employee disputes are concerned. Not that there is any dearth of agitation and demonstrations. On the other hand, there is a superabundance of them. But the inwardness of any dispute is rarely brought home to the general public except to the section directly involved. The public are made aware of the unrest but not informed about its causes except very vaguely. The result is that the public's feeling of unease is often acute but in the absence of factual knowledge there is no formation of what can be truly called public opinion. Thus the problem of communication between different sectors of the public about each other's vital needs remains unsolved. What is done or attempted is manipulation of feeling rather than formation of opinion. What passes for opinion in the newspapers on a big dispute

is mostly sentimentality in the guise of criticism whose lack of a point of view is sought to be redeemed by an air of impartiality that is largely bogus. The usual pattern takes the form of making a theme of one or two obvious points—which lend themselves to easy comment but which need not be germane to the basic issues in dispute—whereby to hang a lecture, generally to both sides, urging patience and sympathy, condemning violence and repression, and so on."

### *Industry in Vidharbha*

Our Government seems to be oblivious to the fact that the Five-Year Plans, First, Second, Third, Fourth and so forth, are all likely to end in a fiasco unless an attempt is made to keep the existing industries, etc., alive, and to check the growing tide of irresponsibility. The following news-item from the *Hitavada* is illustrative of the way things are going:

"Close on the heels of the closure of the *bidi* factories which rendered about 3 lakhs of workers idle, the Textile Mills Association today announced that eleven mills in Vidharbha and Mahakoshal regions, which include the Empress and Model Mills, affecting 31,000 textile workers in all would be closed down from 11th August, 1958. A month's notice was issued to the workers today.

"Apart from the question of excise, there was the need for immediate measures to reduce the ever-increasing manufacturing and labour costs, said Chairman R. V. Deshmukh addressing a press conference. 'They have reached the limit of their capacity to hold on and have, therefore, been left with no option except to close down,' he added.

"The textile mills are confined to Burhanpur, Rajnandagaon, Akola, Hinganghat, Pulgaon, Badnera, Achalpur and Nagpur, which produce each month 9,000 bales of 1,500 yards each.

"Mr. Deshmukh gave fifteen factors responsible for the acute malaise suffered by the Mills and they are:

"1. Steep rise in manufacturing and labour costs.

"2. Abnormally high and discriminatory excise duties.

"3. Substantial fall in the demand for cloth and poor offtake and the consequent locking up of finances.

"4. Intensive competition from purely spinning mills in respect of sale of yarn.

"5. Absence of adequate purchasing power.

"6. Steep fall in cloth and yarn prices (ex-mill).

"7. Consistent rise in consumer price index number following abnormal rise in food prices and the resultant increase in dearness allowance.

"8. High wage cost owing to employment of surplus labour and labour resistance to introduction of reasonable rationalisation and other efficient methods of production.

"9. High incidence of sporadic strikes.

"10. Poor labour productivity.

"11. High overhead costs due to idle machinery resulting from widely varying absenteeism of workers.

"12. Increase in prices of raw materials, mill stores, machinery, coal, etc., and power cost.

"13. High incidence of sales tax.

"14. Dislocation of normal channels of distribution for the mills products.

"15. Working of the mills under strained resources and losses."

### *Labour and Intransigence*

The following piece of news is quite illustrative of the attitude of organised labour, with regard to service to their fellowmen:

"Postal services in Lucknow were dislocated as 700 Postal employees abstained from work for the second day by submitting sick leave applications.

"This novel method of strike was stated to have been adopted by the employees to protest against the shifting of the Dead Letter Office and the Wireless Section to a new building which according to the employees was 'unhygienic.'

"The Postmaster-General, Mr. Shanti Swarup, also forwarded all the medical certifi-

cates submitted by the absentee postal employees to the Civil Surgeon and directed them to appear before the Civil Surgeon but according to the Postmaster General no employee had so far appeared before the Civil Surgeon."

### *Labour and Employment*

The *Bombay Chronicle* gives a report of a speech by Srimati Sinha at Bombay on June 26th. We give an extract to show that the Government is slowly becoming aware of the attitude of organised labour.

What is needed, we feel, is some measure to awake a sense of duty and responsibility in the minds of the workers. No mere warning is of any use to semi-literate and illiterate workers who are guided in the main by totally irresponsible men:

"Mrs. Tarakeshwari Sinha, Union Deputy Finance Minister, said here today that unemployment in the country was a formidable problem.

"It needed concerted action in many directions.

"It would be misleading to entertain the hope that full employment could be secured by the end of the Second Plan, she said.

"She was speaking to the members of the Commerce Graduates' Association at Resham Bhavan Hall this evening on 'the Unemployment situation in the country and discipline in industrial production.'

"She said that in the context of Indian conditions, the task in the field of creation of employment opportunities was three-fold.

"First there was the question of providing employment to the unemployed in the urban and the rural areas.

"Secondly, provision had to be made for the normal increase in the labour forces which were estimated to be about two million persons a year.

"And thirdly, under-employment in agricultural and household occupations in rural and urban areas had to be mitigated by increasing opportunities.

"She said: There has been a deterioration in industrial relations and in labour discipline



over the last few months. Strikes of the dock workers and of the civic workers in Bombay (which have now happily ended), the sudden spurt of sickness amongst postal employees in Lucknow and later in Delhi and the strike at Jamshedpur are all manifestations of an unhealthy outlook.

"In terms of statistics, in the first quarter of 1957 days lost through industrial disputes were 9.6 lakhs; in the first quarter of 1958 they had risen to 15.3 lakhs. The number of disputes started during the period also rose from 297 last year to 338 this year. The showing of the second quarter is not likely to be any better.

"These are disturbing trends. No country and least of all an under-developed country which is in the midst of a crucial stage of developmental effort can afford sporadic stoppages of work.

"The cost of such stoppages in terms of lost production are sizeable. The dislocation caused has a 'multiplier' effect which adversely affects incomes and employment over a much wider area."

### *Banaras Hindu University*

The disclosures in the Report of the Banaras Hindu University Enquiry Committee have come as a rude shock to the whole of the country. There is, absolutely speaking, no scope for any doubt about the findings of the committee. While it would be improper to hold that Banaras is the only afflicted University in India, it would be equally improper to minimize the gravity of the particular shortcomings of Banaras, as certain interested quarters have sought to do. The Report is also an indirect reflection on the Government of the day—both at the Centre and the State whose representatives on the University court obviously had not lived up to expectation. Otherwise we would certainly have been spared of the story of the Professor, who misused railway students' concession tickets to carry a bunch of *bar-jatris* (persons accompanying the bridegroom to the bride's place), getting Rashttrapati's award. /

The depth to which the University administration had become rotten is indeed immeasurable, so it seems. The administration was unwilling or incapable of dealing with any branches of moral and civil code. It remained a silent spectator of moral crimes as well as of effrontery committed by teachers and students. A professor refused to vacate his official residence on retirement. Nay, he paid only half the rent he had previously been paying. Nothing was done against him. In another case a gentleman had remained a "student" of the law classes for over fifteen years. Still the authorities did make no effort to find the reason for his taking such an inordinately long time to get a degree which took only three years for an ordinary student. No respectable institution would have tolerated a student for fifteen years in the same class. When it had to, it would signify the utter rottenness either of the University or of the student. In either case the situation would call for radical treatment.

We have deliberately chosen these two examples from the findings of the Report because these in a way, epitomise the general level of morality and efficiency in the University administration. No one would expect from such an administration any serious concern for the betterment of education. Therefore, we do not dilate upon that fact which must be obvious to all.

We append below some of the findings of the Committee as summarised by the *Statesman* of Calcutta:

New Delhi, June 14.—"An ordinance issued by the President this morning to take over the administration of the Banaras Hindu University was accompanied by the publication of the report of the inquiry committee whose 'disturbing' findings have led to today's drastic step.

"Although the general tenor of the findings are known, a perusal of the 44-page, unanimous report reveals an even more alarming state of affairs than was reported earlier.

"According to the committee, the university is in a 'bad predicament,' has lost its all-India character, and has become a 'hot-bed of intrigue, nepotism, corruption and even crime.'

"In drawing attention to the evils that corrode the university life, the committee has des-

cribed as the 'real menace' the pernicious activity of rival groups of teacher-politicians, especially that of the dominant 'Eastern U.P. group.'

"Other evils spotlighted by the committee include the unsatisfactory selection of teachers, the concentration of power in the hands of principals and its consequent misuse by them, the undue pressure for the admission of a large number of students, and unfair examination practices.

"While dealing with widespread indiscipline among students and lawlessness at the university campus, the committee has repeatedly pointed out that these are 'actively guided' by certain teachers and political parties.

"The committee has found that students not only 'visit houses of disrepute' but that some of them are actually 'associated' with these establishments, while certain teachers are said to have committed offences involving moral turpitude.

"In this connexion the committee has regretfully recorded that it could not disbelieve the copious evidence to support the charges and imputations of immorality in the university, and has pointed out that a case of 'unnatural offence involving a professor' is now before a court of law.

"To remedy this scandalous state of affairs the Ordinance provides that henceforth the administration of the university will be carried on by an Executive Council to be nominated by the President in his capacity as the Visitor of the university. The statutes framed by the council can be changed or cancelled by the Visitor.

"The University Court, which so far was the 'supreme governing body of the university,' will in future have a purely advisory function. It will also be reconstituted without any election.

"An important provision of the Ordinance is that a screening committee, headed by a High Court judge, will soon be appointed to examine the cases of those teachers and administrators of the university whose continuance in service is considered 'detrimental' to its interests.

"A selection committee will be appointed to assist the Executive Council in the appointment of professors, readers, lecturers and others from now on.

"The two provisions have to be viewed in the light of the committee's finding that, due largely to pressure groups, merit has ceased to be a basis of recruitment and 'only' particular types of persons from certain geographical areas have any chance to be appointed as teachers.'

"In this connexion the committee points out that many teachers employed in this unsatisfactory manner are related. Interestingly enough a list of related teachers has been appended to the report.

"There are a number of other recommendations—ranging from restrictions on the number of students to the reform of various university authorities—which will be implemented when the present Ordinance is replaced by a regular enactment in the next session of Parliament.

"Headed by Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, the committee consisted of Mr. Mehr Chand Mahajan, former Chief Justice of India, Dr. P. Subbaroyan, M.P., Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani, M.P., and Mr. N. J. Wadia, former Vice-Chancellor of Bombay University."

### *Administration of Education*

The maladministration of education is by no means a Banaras peculiarity. Only the forms are different in other places. The danger is greatly enhanced by bureaucracy. In West Bengal, education is in a sorry plight in many respects. The complexity of the problems admittedly does not render them easy of solution. But some of the more irritating deficiencies can easily be obviated. Take for example, the question of the transfer and availability of teachers in the Government colleges. This is a problem which should not ordinarily tax much imagination and patience. But unfortunately the men in charge of affairs have proved themselves incapable of even this minimum of efficiency. Some of the sub-divisional government (and sponsored) colleges of West Bengal have been particularly hit by the unusually frequent

transfers of teachers and the equally unusual delay in filling up the vacancies caused by such transfers. It is difficult to find any rhyme or reason for the transfer of teachers at an interval of only two and three months. The principals are seldom consulted in these matters; neither are the students' interests and representations heeded. Recently the weekly *Barasat Barta* (Barasat News) editorially commented upon the grave inconvenience of the local students for want of teachers over a long period. Will the Minister concerned care to look into the matter and ask for his Secretary-cum-Director why there should be so much enthusiasm for transfers and equally morbid tendency to keep the vacancies unfilled for long periods? In these matters finance is never a question: it is the lack of proper organisational ability to provide which the officers are paid handsome salaries. The tax-payers may reasonably want to know what steps, if any, have been or are taken against these people who cannot perform even their minimum duty.

#### *The Ford Foundation*

The latest annual (1957) report of the Ford Foundation of the United States of America is an account of magnanimity, hope, inspiration and assistance for the advancement of human welfare and knowledge. One is struck with the immense range of the fields of research for which the Foundation bore the responsibility. The Foundation assisted research in the behavioural sciences, education in the U.S.A., the humanities and the arts, public affairs, urban and regional problems, economic development and administration, mental health and youth development, problems of the aging and international studies in various branches. To the harassed Indian scholar, who has very little scope for study and research and a still restricted source of information, all this appears unreal and impossible. Such institutional assistance may as well be a partial explanation of the great heights reached by American scholarship in almost all fields of science and sociology.

#### *The Farakka Barrage*

Interest in the barrage has again been revived after the lapse of nearly three years. The extreme desirability of the project and its technical feasibility were confirmed long ago when in 1952 the Man Singh Committee appointed by the Government of India declared in no uncertain terms that the Ganga Barrage scheme was the only scheme which would ensure permanent headwater supplies required for the conservation of the river (Ganga) in an efficient condition. (For a detailed discussion on some aspects of the Project, see "Notes" in *The Modern Review* for January, 1953, pp. 6-8). The execution of the project, so vital for the future of the eastern part of India, has been delayed (no one seems to know for how many years more), only through the lack of policy at the appropriate level of administration in our country. The international implications, though much spoken of, are not known even by the men at the highest echelon. These as far as indications go, can by no means be insoluble provided the necessary will and determination are there.

#### *Judicial Enquiry*

The *Hitavada* writes with reference to the Madras Government's orders for an enquiry into the police firing on striking dock workers during the third week of June:

"The Madras Government has appointed the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Madras, to hold an inquiry into the police firing on dock workers who are now on strike. We cast no reflection on the Chief Presidency Magistrate when we say that a judicial enquiry by a High Court Judge would have been more appropriate. It has been the practice, in all cases of police firing, to appoint a High Court Judge to hold an enquiry. But we wonder why the Madras Government departed from this practice in the present case."

We are entirely in agreement with the remarks of the *Hitavada*.

## RISE OF INDIAN CIVILIZATION\*

By RAJANI KANTA DAS AND SONYA RUTH DAS

THE rise of a new civilization in India is a great historical event. Like any other great civilization, this new civilization has also passed through various stages of evolution, of which the most important were Indus civilization in pre-historic times, Dravidian civilization in the South and Aryan civilization in the north in ancient times. In the ninth century, these Dravidian and Aryan civilizations merged into a new or Hindu civilization. Under the Moslem rule in the Middle Ages and under the early part of British Rule in the modern times, Hindu civilization declined. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, Hindu civilization has, however, been developing into a new civilization which may very appropriately be called Indian civilization or the expression of the life and labor of all the people of India irrespective of their race, caste, or creed.

### 1. NATURE AND FUNCTION

Society is a continuous process of growth, and, as a living process, adapts itself to changing physical and social environments and creates new values, develops new cultural patterns, and thus differs from its past in some essential points. After centuries of stagnation and static life, Indian Society has begun to revive and regenerate itself and to adopt new values, ideals, aspirations, and aims which form the distinctive features and essential conditions for its survival and progress. The first question which arises in connection with this new civilization is its nature, or those features which distinguish it from the earlier civilizations, as well as the special functions which it has to perform in the social, political, and economic development of the country.

### DISTINCTIVE FEATURES

This new civilization may very appropriately be called the Indian civilization in contrast to the Hindu civilization, which, al-

though indigenous and forms its foundation, has failed to become national or Indian for several reasons: First, it has been a class civilization and has restricted its cultural privileges only to high-caste Hindus and has excluded from its fold various aboriginal races which have remained outside of its scope; second, it has also excluded a vast number of the Hindu population (the lower castes, out-castes, and untouchables) from the highest cultural achievements in religion, ethics, art, and philosophy; third, Hindu civilization has been based on the Hindu religion, which is not acceptable to the adherents of other religious groups, such as the Moslems and the Christians, who form a considerable part of India's population. Finally, it is only this new civilization that can conform to the ideal of independent India as a democratic and secular State, which was established by the new Constitution on January 26, 1950.

There are more positive and cogent reasons for calling this civilization new and Indian:

First, the whole geography of India, including its territory, soils, topography, and climate, forms its physical background; the entire population of India, including the aboriginal races, forms its ethnic or demographic basis; and all the cultural wealth of India including foreign contributions, forms its social foundation. Moreover, it is a civilization which aims at the intellectual, moral, and spiritual advancement of the whole population, irrespective of race, caste, or creed.

Second, it is based upon the positive background of the social, political, and industrial activities of the people rather than upon the mystic background of mythology, and it is avowedly concerned with the life here rather than with the life hereafter. Both

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\* Civilization of India means that of all the people of India irrespective of their different religions.

Hindu and Moslem civilizations are based upon revealed religions that have no doubt given them initial advantage, moral and spiritual, in the early days of their careers. But this very foundation of their customs, beliefs, laws, and institutions on religion has made them conservative and almost incapable of adapting themselves to the changing conditions of the world.

Third, this new civilization, while taking its rise from the synthesis of the older civilizations, proposes as one of its principal tenets to apply the achievements of art, philosophy, science, and technology, to the solution of its social, political, and industrial problems, and to adapt itself to the changing conditions of the modern world, rather than blindly to follow her old traditional customs, laws, and institutions. It aspires to build a dynamic society and to lead the people towards the continued realization of evolving ideals, aspirations, aims, and values in the progress of society.

Finally, it is only such a strong, bold, and great idealism that has as its goal the creating of a new civilization which can awaken, inspire, and energize India's rapidly growing intellectual classes as well as her still illiterate and inert masses into vigorous social, political, and economic activities and unite them into one social whole in the face of the rising tide of communalism, provincialism, and separatism. India has all the necessary requisites, such as physical backgrounds, ethnical qualities, and cultural heritages, to develop this new civilization into a great material, intellectual, moral, and spiritual force for the benefit of her own people as well as of the world at large.

This new civilization will be industrial rather than agrarian. As that of an overpopulated country, agriculture will remain India's predominant industry, especially for the production of food and raw material. But agriculture itself will be industrialized or come under the influence of science, technology and business principles. Agriculture developed in the process of economic evolution and marked a forward step in the progress of civilization, but it was only an intermediary stage and has been followed by the industrial stage in the

most advanced countries whose civilizations have been reorganized on the new economic basis. Almost everywhere in the world agrarian communities have been conquered and subjugated by nomadic and piratic tribes that established themselves as ruling classes over the rural population. Even today some agricultural countries are liable to domination and subordination by industrial countries, which are always on the lookout for steady markets for the sale of finished products and for the purchase of raw materials and food-stuffs.

A rural civilization is in fact weak and lacks efficiency, cohesion, compactness, solidarity, and unity, which are characteristic features of an industrial civilization. Industrial life calls for greater energy and effort, awakens new desires and aims, stimulates initiative and enterprise, quickens intellect and activity, and assures prosperity and progress. It must be remembered that with the mechanization and commercialization of agriculture, and the extension of urban amenities to rural life, the line of demarcation between the rural and urban conditions and between agricultural and industrial civilizations has become narrower. The very principle of self-protection, self-expression, and self-government require India to adopt a national policy of industrial economy and of industrial civilization.

This new civilization is concerned not only with the classes but also with the masses. Like Greek civilization, that of the Hindus, more properly called the Indo-Aryan civilization, was developed by the classes and for the classes and has remained so even up to the present time. Its high cultural achievements in philosophy, religion, art, and literature were reserved for the high-caste Hindus, such as the Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas; while the vast majority of the people remained and still remain in ignorance, superstition, misery, degradation, and slavery or serfdom. As a matter of fact, this new civilization brings a message of relief and hope to these downtrodden, degraded, impoverished masses of Indian humanity; attempts at the betterment of their social, political, and economic conditions and at the removal of their inequality with other classes; opens to them the vast

human heritage of intellectual, moral, and spiritual achievements, not only of India alone but of the whole world. The sentiments, morals, customs, beliefs, ideals, inspirations, laws, and institutions arising from actions and interactions among themselves and between them and their natural and social environments form the sum-total of this new civilization.

The rise of this new civilization does not mean the elimination or suppression of Hindu cultural achievements or of foreign contributions to India. The object of this new civilization is not to destroy but to fulfil. Hindu civilization has established some of the greatest moral and spiritual truths, which are of eternal value not only to India alone but also to the whole world. When purged of superstitions and prejudices and of antiquated and obsolete customs and manners and integrated into improved modern social, political, and economic institutions, as represented by the actual life of India's teeming millions, those truths will increase in value all the more. Some of the highest moral and spiritual truths have also been achieved by Islam and Christianity, and their contributions to India are very great. All these achievements and contributions form the moral and spiritual foundation of this new civilization.

#### SOCIAL NECESSITY

It is not only the impact of the West or the fusion of some Moslem and Western cultural traits that has given rise to this new civilization, but an urgent need to co-ordinate and integrate different and conflicting cultural ideals for the common good of the whole population, has helped in the process. In spite of her immense territories, vast natural resources, large population, and rich cultural wealth, India is a most backward country in her social, political, and economic development. She had no government of her own until very recently, over four-fifths of her population are still illiterate, most of her social institutions are obsolete and antiquated, and by far the majority of her people live constantly in starvation and ill health. The solution of this problem of misery and degradation will require tremendous energy and incessant toil. The co-ordi-

nation and consolidation of the mental, moral, and spiritual forces of her entire population, regardless of race, caste, or creed, and the application of all the achievements of modern art, technology, science, and philosophy to the reconstruction of her social, political, and industrial institutions, will be possible only when different groups of the Indian population have a common goal, a common ideal, and a common civilization.

The need for these arises because the Hindu civilization cannot become common or comprehensive for India's whole population, about one-eighth of whom are non-Hindus. In spite of its extraordinary power of absorption, toleration, and assimilation, Hinduism is a non-proselytizing religion, and cannot expect to bring a considerable number of India's non-Hindu population into its fold. Nor can the Moslems be expected to give up their religion. But both the Hindus and Moslems can easily combine their social, political, and economic activities for the common good of the people in general, and also utilize all the best elements of Western civilization, some of which have already become part and parcel of national life within the past two centuries. It is only under the auspices of a new civilization that Hindus, Moslems, Christians, and tribal groups can meet upon a common platform and combine their social, political, and economic activities, irrespective of race, caste, or creed, for the good of the nation as a whole.

This new civilization also offers an opportunity to relegate religion to the private and sacred domain of individual conscience and group conviction instead of making it a national institution. The separation of the Church and the State has been accomplished in all the European countries and a similar thing is happening in some of the progressive Moslem countries. Even in India, the State was separated from the Church under British rule and the new constitution has accepted this principle. Moreover, the new civilization also facilitates the integration of the best features of the existing civilizations and the elimination of those institutions which have been found by experience to be social evils, such as the caste system among the Hindus, the *pardah*

system among the Moslems, and materialism among the Western peoples.

Finally, the very idea of its newness has a psychological effect. Human energy in India is now being activated to inspire her people to move forward to achieve something for themselves and for humanity. Nothing can better inspire the younger generations of India into new activities than the ideals of realizing new values in life and of up-building a new civilization. Moreover, the whole emphasis of this new civilization is to turn the social mind toward the future, toward the evaluation and idealization of aims and activities, and toward the achievements of higher values in life. The "golden age" is not in the past but in the future. It has not been achieved—it is in the process of being achieved. The romance of life is not in thinking of past achievements or glories, but in achieving new values of life. Success in life depends on the continuous evolution of new aspirations, ideals, and aims and upon ceaseless efforts for their achievement. It is the continuous creation of new social values and the determined endeavour for their realization that can assure this new civilization its uninterrupted progress.

#### INDIA AT A CROSSROAD

India is at a crossroad in her cultural development. After centuries of foreign domination, she has just achieved her national independence and it is time for her to develop a comprehensive policy and a working program for the social, political, and economic improvement of the entire population. She is now face to face with a two-fold problem: First, the political and economic reconstruction of the country, of which the most outstanding are the democratic government and the industrial economy, and which are largely the concern of the Government of India; and, second, the moral and spiritual reorganization of the Indian society, of which the most important is social democracy, and which is mostly the concern of the people. It is idealism, devotion, and determination of India, both the Government and the people, on which depends the future of this new civilization.

The reconstruction of the Indian Government has long occupied the minds of the Congress leaders who laid its foundation on the *swaraj* (self-government) plank of their platform in the Congress Session of Calcutta in 1906. Similarly, the reconstruction of the national economy has long been studied and recommended by Indian economists and has been approved by the Congress leaders, who appointed the Committee of National Planning in 1938. The Government of India has taken both immediate and long-range steps for the reconstruction of national government and national economy.

The immediate problems of the Government of the Indian Union are: First, the relief and rehabilitation of the refugees from both West Pakistan and the East Pakistan who have entered the territories of the Indian Union and redemption of the Hindus from East Pakistan; second, the development of new parties on political principles and the dissolution of those founded on the basis of communal interests; third, the integration of princely states into the Indian Union and the establishment of responsible government in the newly-created states; and finally, the redistribution of provincial boundaries on the basis of language and culture. All these problems have come under the consideration of the government and effective measures have already been taken.

The long-range problems of the Government of the Indian Union are more complex and relate to a variety of subjects, such as, first, the improvement of the national health by the attention of the physical needs of the people, the supply of adequate food, and conscious control of population growth; second, the eradication of illiteracy (over seven-eighths of the people being unable to read and write) and the development of advanced and technical educational facilities; third, reconstruction of India's agrarian economy into the industrial economy and the development of hydro-electricity for irrigation and power, modernization of agriculture and industrialization of manufacture and other industries as well as provision for employment and economic security to all men and women of India; and fourth, building the foundation of India's political life on a true

democratic basis with a guarantee of fundamental rights to every citizen and the establishment of equality of opportunity, including the abolishing of caste and untouchability, all of which have been provided for by the new Constitution.

The reconstruction of India's new civilization in its moral, spiritual, and aesthetic aspects falls largely on the people of India. Long before the rise of the political movement even in the early years of the nineteenth century it was the Indian people who perceived the significance of the impact of the West and started India's renaissance and other social movements and paved the way for the rise of this new civilization. It is the people again, both individually and collectively, who can build up the spiritual, ethical, and aesthetic aspects of this new civilization.

An important problem before India today is the evaluation and selection of those cultural ideals that are socially beneficial, the creation of new social values and new social ideals, and the conscious and purposive direction of social life for their achievement. The synthesis of different cultural ideals and traits is not a new thing in India. The early Aryan or Vedic culture might have been more or less pure, but after the advent of Buddhism, Aryan and non-Aryan cultures undertook a synthetic process and merged into what is called today Hindu civilization; but it took over two and a half centuries to establish itself. The time has come again in India for a new synthesis of different cultural traits and ideals. What is needed is not the indiscriminate conglomeration of different cultures, but the critical analysis of all the cultural traits, both old and new, and the realization of new values and new ideals in resulting selective synthesis.

The progressive growth of this new civilization depends upon discriminate and determining ability of the Indian leaders to organize the intellectual, moral, and spiritual resources of the rising generations into useful social, political, economic, religious, and ethical values. While provisions should be made for the abundant life with its fuller and richer expression of the impulses, sentiments, thoughts, beliefs, activities, ideals, and aims of each person,

there must also be created opportunities for co-ordinating and integrating the individuals, groups, and national activities for the continued realization of justice, equality, and fraternity, and for the satisfaction of the longings of the human soul for moral and spiritual development and for the continued progress of the whole society.

The new civilization in India has taken its rise at a critical moment in the world's history. Western civilization, which obtains in most of the advanced countries in Europe and America, and exerts a great influence in Asia, has become vitiated by the overgrowth of materialism, imperialism, and colonialism, and in some countries has been followed by some of its worst evils, such as racialism, totalitarianism, and dictatorship. Moreover, the very material success of some Western countries has brought about commercial rivalry and power politics, which plunged Europe and other countries into two World Wars within a generation: (and no sooner has the second World War been won than there has arisen talk of a third World War). Western civilization is thus passing through a very critical moment of its life and the whole humanity is calling for moral and spiritual regeneration.

No country is in a better position than India to reconstruct a moral and spiritual civilization. It is not meant that India has at hand a ready-made moral and spiritual civilization which she can give to the world. In fact, the recent communal riots and disturbances have indicated that under stress and trials, human nature can reach as low depths of depravity in India as in any other country. All that is claimed is that, like her vast natural resources that have remained unutilized for productive purposes,<sup>†</sup> there also lie dormant enormous moral and spiritual forces which once gave rise to several religious and ethical systems and made possible the appearance of Gautama, the Buddha, some 25 centuries ago, and of Gandhi, the Mahatma, very recently, and which can be utilized by India for upbuilding a moral and spiritual civilization for the benefit of her own people as well as of mankind in general.

<sup>†</sup> See R. K. Das; *Production in India and Industrial Efficiency of India*.



## 2. FAVORABLE BACKGROUNDS

Cultural contact is the most important force of social evolution. Great civilizations, whether ancient or modern, are the outcomes of the fusions of many cultural traits. Diversity in culture brings about competition, conflict, adaptation, and adjustment, and sets in motion the processes of assimilation, amalgamation, integration, and co-ordination, and gives rise to a new and greater civilization. The fusion of some cultural traits of Moslem and Western civilizations with Hindu civilization and the Renaissance and other social movements, created great possibilities for the rise of a new civilization, and India has offered very favorable background for its development. In the immediate background of this new cultural evolution, there are three factors: (1) Geographical unity; (2) ethnic similarity, and (3) cultural diversity.

### GEOGRAPHICAL UNITY

In spite of its territorial vastness, India is a geographical unit. While the natural barriers at the frontiers separate her from the rest of the world, and thus afford the growth of a distinct and particular culture, geographical unity within the country assures the development of uniformity in cultural patterns. Each of the three geographical regions is more or less uniform in physical features. The mountainous character of the Himalayas, the smoothness of the Indo-Gangetic plains, and the upland nature of the Deccan plateau are features peculiar to themselves. Moreover, the Himalayas supply almost all the rivers of northern India and have great influence upon its soils and climate. Although the Aravalli Hills separate the North from the South, the plains and plateaus of both intermingle with one another so naturally and imperceptibly that they easily form a geographical unit. While topographical variations and climatic fluctuations may have an influence on the development of mental traits and cultural ideals, the supply of mineral, vegetable, and animal resources indicate the possibility of her industrial greatness and national prosperity. An in-

vader might have had some difficulty in entering India from the outside, but once in India, he would have found it rather easy to march from Peshawar to Chittagong; and once across the Aravalli, the whole of the Peninsular India would fall an easy prey. The political and social history of India is not a mere accident, but largely a result of India's geographical unity, which accounts to a large extent for the fundamental unity in folkways, mores, customs, laws, institutions, arts, science, and philosophy.

### ETHNIC SIMILARITY

Reference has already been made to the origins of the Indian people from various races. In the midst of these diversities, there exists, however, some homogeneity among the inhabitants of India: First, geographical factors including climate and food, either directly or through the development of uniformity in internal glands, have brought about some modifications in racial features tending toward homogeneity; second, in spite of the caste system, which is both racial and social in origin, intermixture of blood has been the most important factor in racial homogeneity. The practice of giving daughters in marriage to higher castes and taking wives from the lower castes helped in the blood-mixture of many social groups. The religious systems of Buddhism, Sikhism, Vaisnavism, Brahmo-Samaj, Arya-Samaj, and Christianity attempting to abolish the caste system have also encouraged mixed marriages. Moreover, sex attraction always plays its part in the development of a mixed population. Finally, the admixture of races has also developed racial characteristics among different classes of the Indian people, which, although different among themselves, distinguish them from the rest of the human race.

"Beneath the manifold diversity" says Sir Herbert Risley, "of physical and social type, language, custom, and religion, which strikes the observer in India, there can still be discerned a certain underlying uniformity of life from the Himalayas to the Cape Comorin. There is in fact an Indian character, a general Indian personality which we cannot resolve into its component elements."

## CULTURAL DIVERSITY

So far as the cultural background is concerned, India offered a unique opportunity for the fusion of Hellenistic, Islamic, and Western cultural contributions into Hindu civilization. Like the latter, Moslem and Western civilizations have also developed through the ages and have resulted from the sentiments, customs, thoughts, activities, ideals, aims, laws, and institutions of large bodies of humanity. The greatness of this new civilization in India lies in the embodiment of the living experiences of a variety of racial and cultural groups. What is equally significant is the fact that these divergent cultures have been brought to India by Greek invasion in ancient times, by Moslem rule in the Middle Ages and by British rule in modern times.

As noted before, the most important cultural achievement in India is the Hindu civilization. It is the civilization which has been achieved by various groups of people through prolonged experiences during many ages. The Indo-Aryan culture, which mingled with the Dravidian and other indigenous cultures even in pre-historic times, subsequently absorbed several other cultural elements, such as those of the Greeks, Persians, Scythians, and Turks in ancient and medieval times. Islam itself is likewise a cultural synthesis. Although originating in Arabia, it has absorbed several Semitic and non-Semitic civilizations, *e.g.*, those of Egypt, Sumeria, Babylonia, Syria, including Judea and Phoenicia, and Persia. Moslem civilization has made great contributions to India, as its impact gave rise to some new social values in the Middle ages. Western civilization is an admixture of those of Greece and Rome as well as of the cultures of Western European countries, especially of Italy, France, Britain, Germany and the United States including Canada. As noted before, most of the institutions of modern India as well as the social values and attitudes, have resulted from the impact of the West upon India; thus Western civilization has made great contributions to India.

India has accordingly achieved vast resources of cultural traits not only from her indigenous Hindu civilization but also from

Islamic and Western civilizations. While the co-ordination and integration of these diverse and somewhat divergent cultural traits into one organic whole form the foundation of this new civilization, its progressive development depends upon a number of factors: (1) Evaluation and selection of the best traits of these cultures; (2) elimination of obsolete and antiquated traits which are obstacles to its progress; (3) adaptation of some elements to new and changing social conditions; and (4) adjustment and assimilation of new cultural values into existing cultural systems.

## 3. PROCESSES OF DEVELOPMENT

The development of this new civilization has been brought about by several social processes, such as assimilation and amalgamation, integration and co-ordination, and evaluation and idealization. These processes, though neither exhaustive nor exclusive, might be said to have played an important part in the cultural history of India. Some of these have already been described but they require recapitulation and elucidation.

## ASSIMILATION AND AMALGAMATION

The most important processes of cultural fusion are assimilation by which one group of cultural traits is incorporated into another through the adaptation into its traditions, sentiments, thoughts, and institutions, and amalgamation by which two or more racial groups are blended into one through inter-marriage or otherwise. While amalgamation is merely a physiological process and may be helpful to assimilation, the latter is a psychological process and is essential to cultural fusion.

The cultural history of India has been traced back to what is called the Indus Civilization of some 3,000 years B.C. Although it reached a very high stage of development, as indicated from facts brought to light in its recent discovery, the Indus culture seemed to have disappeared without leaving many cultural traits. The Bhils and the Ghonds, and other very old tribal groups, have still remained in the rudimentary cultural stage. It was not until the arrival and settlement of the Dravidians

in the South, and of the Aryans in the North, that the foundation of Hindu civilization was laid. While the Dravidians were the earlier inhabitants and began to build their culture in the extreme southern part of India earlier than the Aryans, the latter brought a dynamic element to Indian civilization. Even before their arrival in India, the Indo-Aryans had made considerable progress in cultural attainment in social, religious, and political institutions and especially in the art of warfare. With their superior culture, especially fighting power, they not only conquered Northern India but also imposed their culture even upon the Dravidian people, and the early impression of their dominating cultural ideals was so great that Hindu civilization has since continuously followed the Aryan cultural patterns in ideas, thoughts, customs, laws, and institutions.

Buddhism was a great unifying force of the peoples and cultures of India for about 1,000 years. When Indo-Aryan culture spread eastward to the frontier of Bengal, it came in close contact with the various non-Aryan cultures. It was Buddhism which combined the Aryan with the Dravidian cultures and brought most of the races of India into one cultural ideal, especially when Asoka became the Emperor of India and made Buddhism the State religion. The attempt of the Buddhists to popularize the culture was, however, mostly frustrated by the Brahmins, who overthrew Buddhism and established neo-Hinduism or Brahminism, and incorporated, in a new system, most of the cultural achievements of the Buddhists.

The success of the Indo-Aryan culture in assimilating other cultures lay in its spirit of toleration. The pervading thought of the Indo-Aryan culture is that a unifying spiritual reality underlies this visible world, and the true philosophy of life consists in the search after this unity in the midst of all diversities. This dominant conception of Hindu civilization has developed a tolerant spirit. While attempting to preserve their own cultural ideals, the Indo-Aryans respected other cultures. This spirit of toleration helped them to absorb all the indigenous cultural ideals and also to assimilate all the subsequent cultures brought by the invaders and conquerors up to the 10th century A.D. Thus the cultural achievements of different races

and tribes of the early periods, whether Greeks, Persians, Scythians, or Turks, were assimilated into the great mass of Hindu cultural achievements under what is called neo-Hinduism or Hinduism.

Amalgamation of racial groups began very early in the Vedic period, inasmuch as the early Aryans did not hesitate to take their wives from the lower castes. But it was a commoner practice during the Buddhistic period when the caste system was condemned. The greatest period of racial amalgamation was, however, during the ninth and tenth centuries, when Rajput peoples were formed by the blending of the Aryans, Dravidians, and foreigners of Central India. This process of amalgamation has been a great help to Hinduizing many foreign tribes and lower castes. Although these processes of assimilation and amalgamation are going on among the Hindus even today, the initiative in this matter has been taken by the proselytizing religions—Islam, Christianity, and Sikhism.

#### INTEGRATION AND CO-ORDINATION

Integration and co-ordination are still another type of social processes for cultural synthesis. They adjust cultural traits either into one organic whole or bring them together into a working order, preserving their individual characters. Integration and co-ordination are not new processes in India, but were utilized in establishing neo-Hinduism, inasmuch as Aryan and Dravidian cultures and many indigenous cultural traits were incorporated into Hindu culture without much modification. But it was the advent of Islam that made it necessary to adjust cultural differences through the process of integration and co-ordination. Moslem civilization, in fact, brought into India an altogether new cultural ideal, with its absolute and uncompromising monotheism. There soon grew, however, a tendency to integrate and co-ordinate some of the Moslem and Hindu cultural elements. In spite of cultural differences, by far the majority of the social, political, and industrial activities of Hindus and Moslems are concurrent and complementary rather than divergent and contradictory. In fact, agreement and concord among the religious groups of India are commoner than disagreement and discord.

The integration and co-ordination of some of the cultural ideas of Hindus and Moslems were facilitated by several factors: (1) The common racial origins of the Hindus and a great majority of the Moslems; it has been estimated that from 80 to 85 per cent of the Indian Moslems are racially the same as the Hindus; (2) the policy adopted by some of the Moslem emperors, especially by Akbar, to give the Hindus the same rights in the State as the Moslems; (3) the marriage by Moghul emperors of Hindu princesses, some of the Moghul rulers being born of Hindu mothers; (4) the adoption by the Moslems of some of the Hindu institutions; and (5) attempts made by some religious teachers, for example Kabir, to unite the Hindus and the Moslems under one religion.

Government also played an important part in the process of cultural integration and co-ordination. Asoka in the 3rd century B.C., Chandragupta II in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D., Mohammed Shah Taghlock in the 14th century, and Akbar in the 17th century brought a large part, or practically the whole, of India under one government and helped in cultural consolidation and unification. Moreover, British rule was of great help in the co-ordination of indigenous cultural traits in India through the establishment of uniform administration all over the country.

#### EVALUATION AND IDEALIZATION

The most important processes in the development of this new civilization are, however, evaluation and idealization. Although cultural fusion is its basis, the new civilization aims at much more than a mere synthesis of old cultures. In fact, this new civilization has several objectives: First, the elimination of those elements from the old cultures that are antiquated, obsolete, and detrimental to the growth of modern society; second, the adaptation of old cultural ideals to new environment; third, the creation of new social values in conformity with progress in art, philosophy, science, and technology; and fourth, organization of social processes for realizing these new values, aspirations, aims, and ideals in actual life.

All these processes require evaluation, selection, and idealization with a view to creat-

ing new social attitudes and values involving reconstruction of social organization for its further progress through the process of adaptation to physical and social environment. A dynamic and living community undergoes constant processes of elimination and reorientation. While protecting itself against stagnation, degeneration, subordination, and subjugation, it creates its mores, customs, laws, and institutions, incorporates in its body politic new social values in art, philosophy, science, and technology, develops its own dynamic personality, and contributes to the continued progress of society.

The process of evaluation implies, however, first, the existence of social consciousness, which is not identical with but closely related to national life, and second, some conception of a standard or ideal. The development of national consciousness and national unity is one of the greatest achievements of modern India. The chief factors in their growth were the superiority complex of the British, both racial and political, which created a gulf between the Indians and the British; British imperial policy of "divide and rule" pursued up to the inauguration of independent government on August 15, 1947; and the non-violence and non-co-operation movement of the Indian National Congress for the achievement of national independence.

Several international factors have also stirred national feeling and helped in the growth of national consciousness: (1) The Russo-Japanese War in 1905-06, proving the vulnerability of European power and imperialism; (2) the discriminating policy adopted by the Colonies against the Indians, especially in South Africa, awakening nation-wide resentment; (3) the World War of 1914-18 and the Treaty of Versailles of 1919, in which India was, respectively, participant and independent signatory; (4) the inauguration of the League of Nations and the International Labor Organization in 1919, in which India took an active part regarding many international questions; (5) the World War of 1939-45 and the establishment of the United Nations in 1945 in which India took an important part; (6) the enactment of the Immigration and Naturalization Act by the United States in July, 1946, granting the people of India the same rights and privileges as those of other nations to become American citizens and thus

enhancing the national dignity of the Indian people; and (7) achieving national independence and establishing a democratic sovereign republic by which India has become a rising political and economic power.

As a result of these Renaissance and social movements as well as of various internal and external historical events, there have been growing up in India a new social consciousness and a new national will, which have been expressing themselves in the demand for, and organization of, compulsory elementary education, abolition of caste and untouchability, universal adult suffrage, social justice and equality, industrialization of production, reconstruction of rural life, technical and vocational training, national economic planning, and research and investigation, all of which are among the essential elements in the development of this new civilization. Some of these have been incorporated in the new Constitution.

The last, but not the least important process of developing this new civilization is the idealization or creation of new social values either by restating some old and neglected virtues or visualizing some new virtues for the achievement of which all the national energies should be directed and all the social activities organized. As a matter of fact, the essence of this new civilization lies in the continual idealization of new and evolving social values and in the continued attempts for their realization. There are two basic problems with which this new civilization is especially concerned:

First, a basic doctrine of this new civilization is the conception of the common man as the center of all social activities as developed in the West. Unlike Greek, Roman, Hindu, and other ancient civilizations, Western civilization, as developed during the past two centuries, has realized the importance of the common man in social progress, has preached the doctrine of liberty, equality, and fraternity, and has advocated the establishment of equal rights and privileges for all people. Nowhere is there a greater need for the appearance of the common man in the center of social activities than in India, where the great majority of her people are diseased, ill-fed, ill-clothed, and illiterate, and where they are penalized by rigorous social custom, such as, caste and untouchability,

child marriage, enforced widowhood, and the *purdah* system. As a creative social process, the new Indian civilization should not only eradicate these evils and obstacles but also satisfy the needs and desires of the masses, the aspirations and ambitions of the classes, and the aims and ideals of the whole nation for the continued realization by the people of the principles of justice, equality, and brotherhood in the process of social evolution.

Second, the primary objective of this new civilization is the establishment of social democracy, which has been dreamed of by poets and philosophers, philanthropists and reformers, and seers and prophets and has been vaguely conceived by various social movements. Social democracy must, however, be preceded by political democracy or equality of men before the law. This was a dominating motive underlying the French Revolution and is now a phase of industrial democracy for the equitable distribution of wealth. Social democracy has, however, a greater and deeper connotation than that of mere equalization of national income or political right, inasmuch as it depends upon the moral and spiritual development of men and women not only in the exercise of rights and the discharge of duties, but also in mutual respect and service. It is the ethical and spiritual development of society on which the true social democracy can be based and it is only in the attempt at realizing the noblest ideals that the individual may attain his highest expression and society proceed toward the higher stages of progress.

#### 4. PRINCIPLES OF RECONSTRUCTION

The foundation of this new civilization has been laid upon Hindu civilization as affected by the contributions made by Hellenistic, Islamic, and Western civilizations as well as upon the rise of new aims, aspirations, ideals and values. Although a beginning has been made, this new civilization requires thorough and careful reconstruction so that it may really contribute to the moral and spiritual elevation of Indian people in particular as well as to humanity in general. Such reconstruction involves several principles, which may be classified under the following headings: (1) The individual and

society; (2) Development of personality; (3) Organization of the group; and (4) Progressive social order.

#### DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDIVIDUAL

The starting point in social reconstruction is the development of the individual or the organization of the conscious elements of a person into a social entity. An individual is a psycho-physical unit. Under the law of heredity, he resembles his fellow beings in most respects and under the law of variation he differs, both physically and psychologically, even from his immediate progenitors in some respects. It is the development of the entire individual, including both his similarities and dissimilarities, which assures the continuity of the social process on the one hand and offers the possibility of variation, innovation, and progress on the other.

The individual is the conscious organism and motive force in all social processes. His impulses, instincts, sentiments, beliefs, thoughts, activities, aims, and ideals arising from the interactions between himself and his physical and social environments are the basic elements out of which grow folkways, customs, laws, and institutions, forming the social content and cultural heritage. But the individual himself is the product of society, is nurtured and reared in a social group and owes his growth not only in those elements in which he resembles others, but also to those in which he differs from them in social behaviour. He is at the same time a generator of new social forces, an innovator of new behaviour patterns, a creator of new social values, and a contributor to social progress.

An outstanding problem in India today is that of developing personality or personal character, especially among the younger members of the population, because this is the basis of intelligent citizenship for her newly established democratic republic. The problem has assumed both complexity and immensity for several reasons—the vastness of her population, her social, political, and economic backwardness, the illiteracy and ignorance of her masses in which her young people are brought up, the presence of various racial and religious groups, and the suddenness with which India has

emerged from colonial imperialism into a democratic republic. India has, however, a valuable background in the training of character-building. The very foundation of Hindu education was conceived to be an adjustment of the individual to his physical and social environments and elaborate provisions were made especially for the education of the Brahmin.

The essential conditions for the development of this personality are, first, a sound physique including good health and freedom from congenital diseases and defects; second, functional education, or an education with certain objectives in view, such as adaptation to social traditions and general learning, and training in citizenship and a profession; third, social security, or income both in employment and retirement and during sickness and unemployment; fourth, intelligent citizenship and active participation in local, provincial, and national governments; and finally, a personal religion, or the adjustment of one's social behaviour patterns to his moral and spiritual ideals. In short, the foundation of personality is the integrity of character, and its ideal is a moral and spiritual outlook towards life.

In a dynamic society personality is, however, an ever-growing process "from the cradle to the grave." But the best period for its development is childhood through adolescence. An important institution for character-building or the growth of personality is the English public school system, which, though largely catering to the upper and higher middle classes, can be democratized. Gandhi's basic education requires further revision to suit modern life. What is needed is the development of an educational system from the nursery to the university with special reference to character-building. Since play-grounds are often better places than school rooms to accomplish this, provision should be made for the supply of those games and plays which are especially suitable for the purpose.

Attempts should also be made to adapt the Indian people to modern cultural trends. The importance of reconstruction of national character, with which the growth of personality is closely connected, cannot be minimized, especially at a time when agrarian civilization is rapidly changing into industrial civilization. The retarded development of India in her

political, economic, and social life under foreign domination and colonial imperialism has made it an urgent necessity for her to expedite the character-building processes as part of the program of national reconstruction.

#### ORGANIZATION OF THE GROUP

Between the individual and society stands the group or a number of persons accidentally gathered or consciously organized, either temporarily or permanently, but working collectively rather than individually. A group represents, however, not the persons composing it, but their psychological behaviour arising from actions and reactions of their inner selves as well as between them and their environments and differing from the mental make-up of each person composing the group.

The group is the connecting link between the individual and society. It is, in fact, the group with which the individual comes in direct contact. Society is a larger entity and influences the individual mostly through various groups. Social forces naturally express themselves around some human interests (economic, political, ethical, or aesthetic, to name them only in broad features) and lead to various activities by the group itself or by society as a whole. All the group activities which are socially beneficial and which result in permanent good for society, first focus public attention and then gradually lead to the evolution of new values, aims, and ideals, some of which may ultimately be realized by society.

The group is a most important factor in social evolution: First, it is the group that forms the first nucleus for the development of an individual's concepts, ideals, or aims before they take definite shape; second, it is through the sympathetic and critical attitude of the group that the individual can develop his own personality and acquire a conception of society itself; third, many of the social values, *e.g.*, mechanical inventions, are often experimented with by the group before their effectiveness can be ascertained and they can be socially adopted; finally, it is the group again that is responsible for the adoption of the ideals and values of an individual for a community, nation, or society

as a whole. In fact, group activities play a very important role in the evolution of society.

An important need of India today is the expediting of her group activities for such purposes as the organization of her labor forces into trade unions for collective bargaining and the carrying on of the Renaissance and other social movements as those of religion, reform, education, politics, and industry, which have been the first steps in the rise of this new civilization and now need continuous efforts for further development. Other needs are the encouragement of the progress of science, philosophy, art, and technology and the creation of new intellectual, moral, and spiritual values, which are the highest objectives of social progress.

#### PROGRESSIVE SOCIAL ORDER

Like the individual, society is also an entity and consists of the experiences of individuals living therein. Although implying a group of individuals in association or cultural relation, society means not merely the admixture of individuals, but their collective life involving their beliefs, habits, mores, customs, laws, and institutions, which arise through the interaction and interplay of the inner selves of individuals as they are affected by association and are held together by some fundamental principles, moral and spiritual, into one unit, and are transmitted as a cultural heritage from generation to generation.

The progress of society depends upon its power to reorganize itself in relation both to its internal and external functions. In the process of evolution man gains mastery over himself and his environment and makes progress in art, science, technology, and philosophy. His social functions multiply, both in variety and complexity, and give rise to a variety of social institutions arising both from internal growth and adjustment to the outside world. As a progressive social order, this new civilization requires constant reorientation and reorganization.

The first and foremost need of India today is the establishment of a solid and permanent foundation for her new civilization on moral and spiritual values, as these alone are abiding and



permanent. It is these values that made it possible for Hindu civilization to survive all the vicissitudes through the centuries and that will sustain this new civilization in the centuries to come. Such values have already been achieved by India in her concepts of the ultimate reality of the universe, first, in terms of an eternal spiritual Being, and second, in terms of an eternal moral Principle. These concepts are complementary to each other and add dignity and self-confidence to man and make life worth-living even in the midst of misery and poverty. This new civilization must make these moral and spiritual values the ideals and objectives of life for all the Indian peoples.

India is also in urgent need of reconstructing the superstructure or the body politic of her new civilization on a three-fold basis. The first is the vigorous and rapid implementation of essential provisions of the new Constitution—those of fundamental rights, free compulsory education, abolition of untouchability, protection of minorities, and establishment of *panchayat* or self-government in every village—in order to develop intelligent citizenship among the people. The second is the development of her agrarian economy into an industrial economy or the application of science and technology as well as business principles to productive processes in order to make the Indian people efficient workers in national and world economy. The third is the regeneration of Indian society from age-long inertia and stratification into a living and dynamic organization by rationalizing her social traditions, awakening her moral and spiritual ideals, disseminating modern learning, equalizing opportunity, and providing creative recreation, in order to give the Indian people a chance for the fullest self-expression.

Attempts should be made to organize society on a new basis, so that not only the classes but also the masses can "live, breathe, and have their being" and the rights and privileges of humanity become accessible to the whole population, irrespective of race, caste, and creed. This new civilization is, in fact, the civilization of the people to be achieved by their collective life and to consist of the sentiments, beliefs, activities, aims, and ideals as well as the achievements by the whole population

in industry, politics, ethics, aesthetics, and religion. It is the consolidation and co-ordination of the material, intellectual, moral, and spiritual achievements of the entire population into one component whole which constitutes the sum-total of this new civilization.

## 5. ESSENTIALS OF NEW CIVILIZATION

The essential elements of this new civilization and this progressive social order on which it is based, should be the following: (1) nationality, (2) individuality, (3) rationality, (4) industrialism, (5) democracy, (6) toleration, (7) progress. These elements are neither exhaustive nor exclusive but are only tentative as together they form an essential condition and the working basis of this new civilization.

The first element of this new civilization is *nationality*, as distinct from nationalism, whether political or economical, that is, a territorial group occupying a geographical area and having a common government for achieving common ends in certain vital aspects of life, which is its basis rather than race or religion. That race cannot be the basis of civilization is evident from the fact that there is no such thing as pure race in any part of the world, and least of all in India. Nor is religion a surer basis of civilization as the same civilization may have several religions and the same religion may be found among several civilizations. Religion has already become a private affair of individuals or groups rather than a national affair of the whole population. Moreover, the very fact that religion, which forms the basis of Hindu and Muslim civilizations, is a cause of social stagnation and a source of communal conflict, shows the necessity of changing the very basis of civilization. What is much more important is the fact that nationality in the sense of the State has several important functions to perform in modern civilization. Some of the collective activities of society, for example, may best be undertaken by Government, which has become the organ of modern society for performing collective social functions in addition to the ordinary routine work of preserving peace and order. The lack of national sentiment is no mean cause of India's subjugation by foreign powers in spite of its



greatness in area and population. It is on the basis of nationality that a new and progressive society can be built.

The second requirement of this new civilization is *individuality*, which depends upon the unity, cohesion and co-ordination of the divergent and diversified social, political, industrial, ethical and aesthetic ideals, thoughts and activities, expressed by Hindu and Muslim civilizations and contributed by Western civilization, into one common whole by one or more common links, with a view to making this new civilization a strong and solid entity and to give it a new personality. There are several factors which have brought about this national solidarity in India, such as, geographical unity, racial similarity and unitary government. Moreover, in spite of apparent diversity, there is a common culture, which is found from one end of the country to the other and which underlies all the divergent social activities of the people. This underlying cultural unity has recently been renovated by various social movements, such as those of religion, reform, education, industry and government, as noted before. The most important factor in the development of national unity is the struggle for national independence, which has led the people to make a common demand almost all over India, especially under the leadership of the Indian National Congress. Underlying all the communal conflicts and provincial rivalries there are, in fact, certain common ideals and aims which are the most important forces for unifying the peoples of modern India.

The third element of this new civilization is that of *rationality*, i.e., an objective or scientific attitude towards life, which is an essential condition of social progress. Cultural development began in the dim and hoary past when few peoples were conscious of their culture, i.e., mores, customs, laws and institutions. Even today man lives more by sentiment than by reason, and ideals, aims and habits are formed unconsciously. But with the rise of self-consciousness and the mastery of nature and himself, man has been developing reasoning power and becoming more and more conscious of his activities. Many of the social processes and activities have thus become more and more self-conscious and self-directive, and are being

consciously planned. Moreover, most of the social policies are now based on the reports of commissions, committees and enquiries, on which are based social actions in a desired direction; and the achievements in technology, art, science and philosophy are being gradually applied to the realization of social ends. In brief, modern civilization has become more and more objective or scientific.

A most important problem in India today is the application of science to its social processes, which implies the secularization of human knowledge. The control of human thinking by religion, customs and dogmas has been a great hindrance to the progress of society. A great achievement of the European Renaissance is the secularization of thought, which, though secular in Greece and Rome, became mostly theological with the rise of the Catholic Church during the Dark Ages. The lack of a scientific attitude towards life is responsible for the prevalence of most of the social evils in India, such as child marriage, enforced widowhood, the *purdah* system, caste and untouchability, as well as many superstitions and mystic cults or religious practices all over India, debasing the whole fabric of Hindu civilization. The secularization of knowledge in India and the application of science, technology and art, including discoveries and inventions, to social processes is an essential step towards India's social progress.

The fourth element of this new civilization is *industrialism*. Although not without some defects, such as the concentration of the ownership of the productive system in the hands of the few and the rise of slums in many industrial towns, which are, however, only historical and accidental rather than intrinsic and fundamental, industrialism has developed through the gradual mastery of man over natural and social forces in the process of industrial evolution and is the most efficient system of production in modern times. Its essential feature is the continued application of the latest discoveries and invention of science, both social and natural, to productive systems, such as manufacturing, mining, forestry, fishing, agriculture and even household.

Industrialism, however, means the rise of modern industrial towns and the growth of urban life in contrast to rural life. In fact, the growth of industrialism has brought changes in the social, political and industrial conditions of modern society and in the moral and spiritual outlook of the peoples towards life, thus giving rise to an industrial or urban as compared with a rural civilization. Like industry itself, industrial civilization has also evolved through the general process of social evolution and is much more dynamic and progressive than rural civilization, inasmuch as it offers better opportunities for the expression of the mental faculties and moral forces of the people.

Industrialism, has, however, become an imperative necessity to India both for national economy and national defence. This is an age of international economy and no nation can maintain its economic integrity and independence without adopting the most efficient system of production. Moreover, an industrial nation is much better organized and more powerful than an agricultural nation in self-defence. As a matter of fact, nowhere is there a greater need for the urbanization of rural life than in India. In the true sense of the word, rural life, in which farmland and homesteads are combined into one, does not exist in India. A rural community in India is organized into a village, which is a miniature town containing all its defects but few of its benefits, inasmuch as an Indian village lacks both planning and sanitation. Houses are built haphazard and too close to one another and are without provisions for roads and lanes and for proper ventilation, conservancy and water supply. These organic defects of the village are augmented by disease and poverty, illiteracy and ignorance, as well as by the decline in arts and crafts and agricultural productivity.

Nothing can better regenerate rural life in India than industrialization, which alone can increase the volume of industrial employment and relieve the pressure of population on the land, apply modern science and technology and business principles to agriculture and make it more productive, and turn the subsistence into the commercial farming and self-sufficing village economy, into national and international economy. Commercial agriculture will naturally

be followed by increasing facilities for transportation, marketing and banking, as well as by the rise of rural industries, such as the manufacture of farm implements and the conservation of agricultural products in rural districts. When to these most important changes are added the re-establishment of the village *panchayat*, which has already begun in certain provinces, as well as the introduction of municipal, sanitary and educational institutions and welfare and recreational centres, rural life in India will gradually assume an urban character.

The fifth essential element in the new civilization is *democracy*, which, in spite of such defects as the lack of unity and solidarity for quick action, is the best form of government which has developed in the process of social evolution. The growing individuality and the rising self-consciousness and sense of dignity among the people are incompatible with dictatorship, which, through threat and terrorism may fool "some people some time, some people all the time, but not all the people all the time." The essential points of a democracy are adult suffrage, majority rule, representative government and even referendum and recall, all of which help in the growth of stronger personality and a more rational social policy. The importance of democracy has increased all the more in modern times. Modern government is not concerned merely with the preservation of peace and order, although they may be still its prime functions, but with almost all the aspects of social, political and economic life requiring collective action; and it is only natural that Government should consult the people on any vital question which concerns them directly and enact legislation through their representatives. Moreover, democracy creates intelligent citizenship as all men and women come into direct contact with the State, take active interest in political affairs, whether local, provincial or national, and utilize their suffrage in selecting their own representatives.

Democracy in the sense of a republic had also flourished in India in, ancient times, but was gradually submerged into great empires. What is more significant is the fact that the village in India has been republican from its very beginning. Although some of its power was absorbed by the State under the Empire in the

Middle Ages, it retained most of its fundamental features even under the Muslim rule, especially under the Moghuls. It lost, however, most of its power under British rule, but it has again been revived and some of the provincial governments are rebuilding the *panchayat* system. The defect of the village republic was the lack of its representation in the Central Government. What is needed is the consolidation and federation of the village republics into central organization through the process of representation from the village to the district and from the district to the province which also has been built by the state.

The sixth element of this new civilization is *toleration* or respect for the differences, both racial and cultural, among others. Equality or the granting of the same rights and privileges to others as one would expect to receive for himself, is the foundation of universal brotherhood or the feeling of spiritual relationship between man and man. Hindu civilization has always been noted for its tolerant spirit and respect for the creed and religion of other people. "Live and let live" has been the guiding principle of Hindu civilization and Hindus have always welcomed the immigrants of other races, such as the Jews, early Christians and Parsees into their shores. Nowhere is this spirit of toleration needed in a greater degree than in India, where different racial and religious groups reside side by side and where it is needed not only for avoiding cultural conflict, but also for consolidating and co-ordinating divergent interests into one national whole for the progress of society in general. Moreover, it is the only sound and solid basis of establishing international relationship, which is now being built only by political exigency or economic interest, and which inevitably leads to international conflict, as indicated by the frequent wars. Mutual toleration is the only means of upbuilding international brotherhood.

The seventh, or the last but not the least important, element in this new civilization is *social progress* or the evolution of society

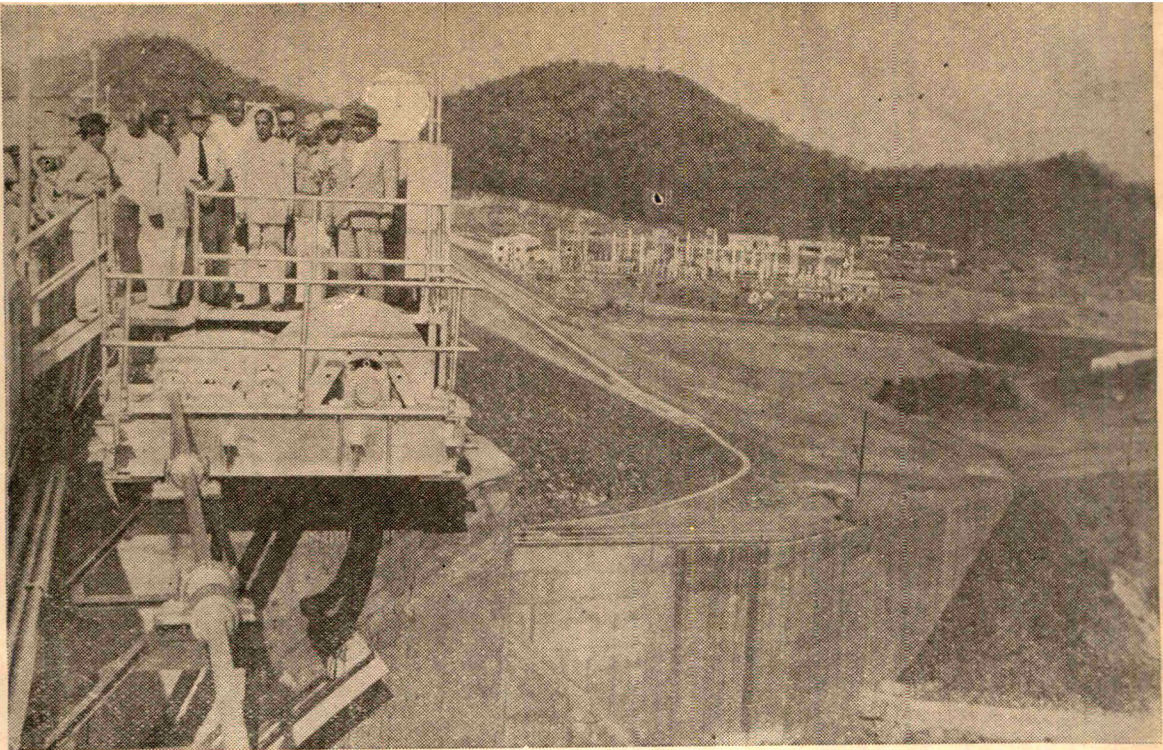
through the continued achievement of higher social values, ideals and aims. The avowed object of all rational activities is social amelioration or the achievement of some desired standard of social values. The concept of progress makes modern society different from the older ones; while the latter looked backward, and depended for their guidance upon some standard or precept established by revealed religion or traditional moral code, the former looks forward to the realization of some ethical order which has been determined to be good by experience and deliberation. It is the concept of realizing some social values in the future and of organizing social life accordingly, which forms the special feature of this new civilization.

Both science on which it is founded and religion at which it aims make this new civilization dynamic and progressive. The idea of progress also implies that through greater mastery of physical environment and human nature, society may adapt itself to the changing conditions, supply the increasing needs of the people and above all achieve higher social values, ideals and aims. Moreover, a progressive civilization must continually strive after greater capacity for survival, higher efficiency for production and better harmony among individuals and groups for the continuation of its collective life.

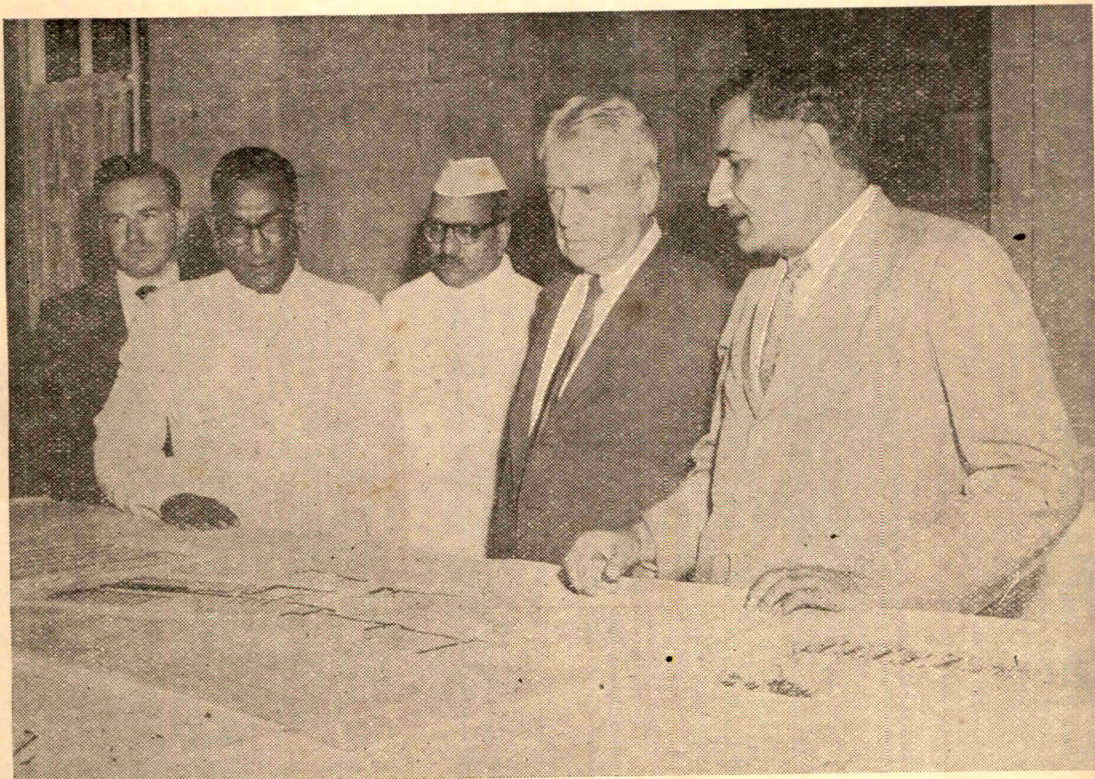
Some of the criteria for the evaluation of social progress are health, wealth, education, freedom, and morality. Social progress must indicate, first, the improvement of racial stock and general health as indicated by increasing longevity and freedom from diseases; second, increasing social wealth and national dividend and specially increasing social security and more equitable distribution of wealth; third, increasing desire among all classes of people for knowledge as indicated by greater pursuit of intellectual life; fourth, increasing opportunities for self-expression, specially on the part of the people; and finally, increasing desire on the part of the people for self-less service to their fellow-beings.







Mr. Chivu Stoica, Prime Minister of the Rumanian People's Republic, inspecting the Maithon Dam

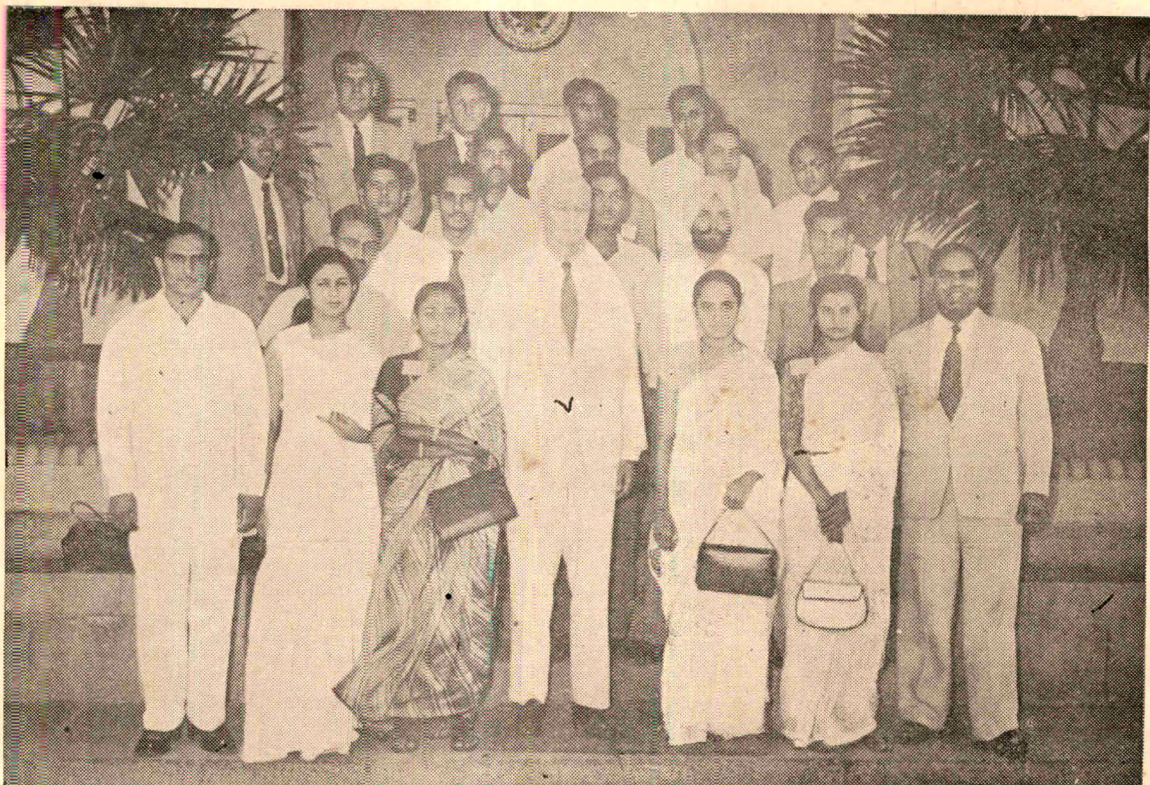


Mr. Walter Nash, Prime Minister of New Zealand, being shown a chart regarding the milk supply scheme by the Dairy Advisor. On the right of the distinguished visitor are the Union Ministers Sri D. P. Karmarkar and Sri A. P. Jain

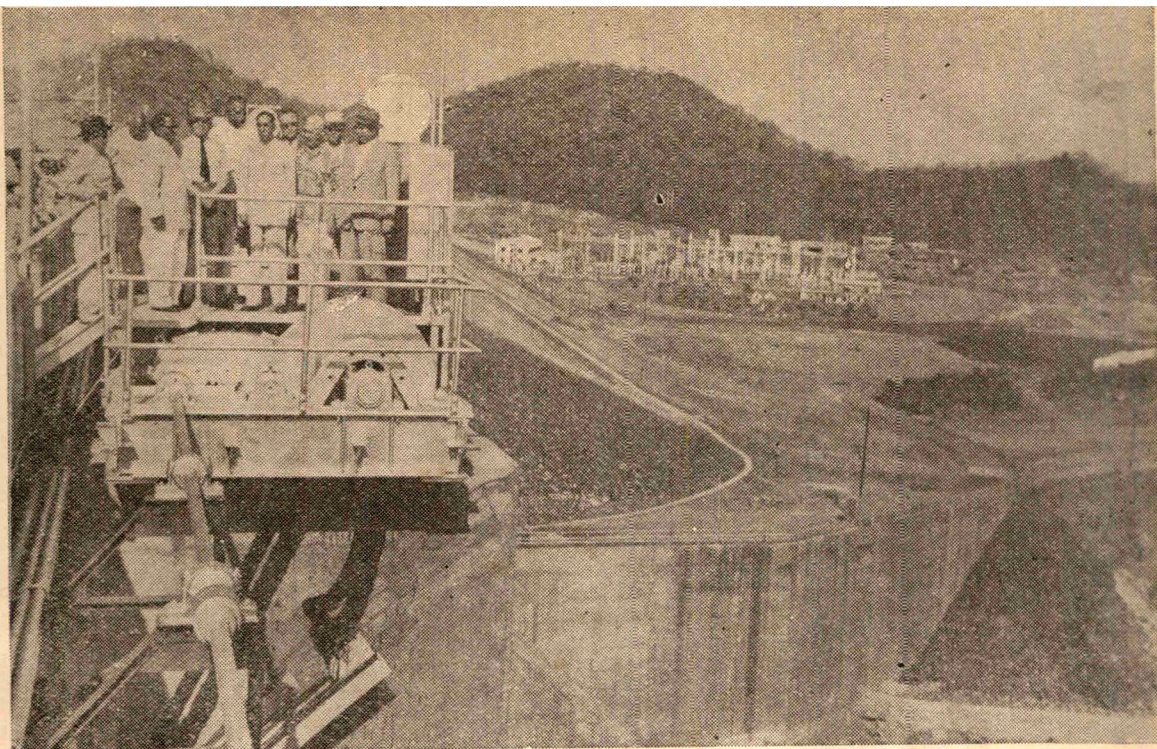




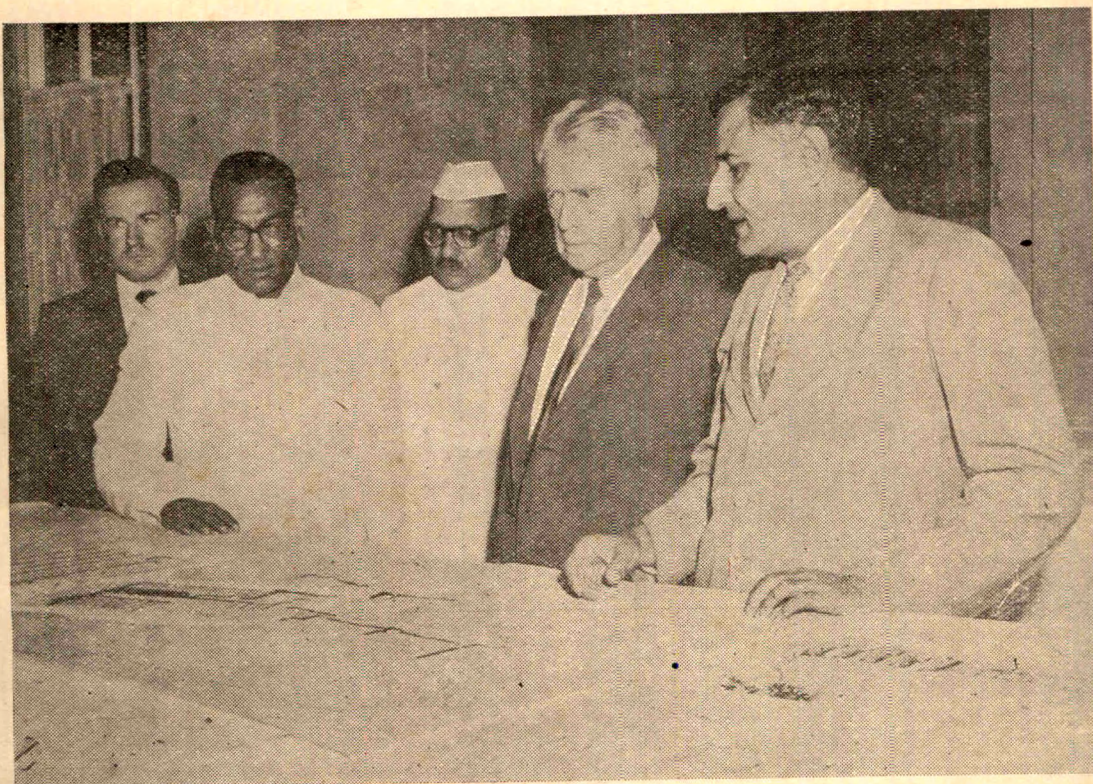
Finishing touches being given by a village artist to the mural which won the first prize in the exhibition organised in connection with the Seminar on Arts and Aesthetics in Rural Areas (Community Development Project)





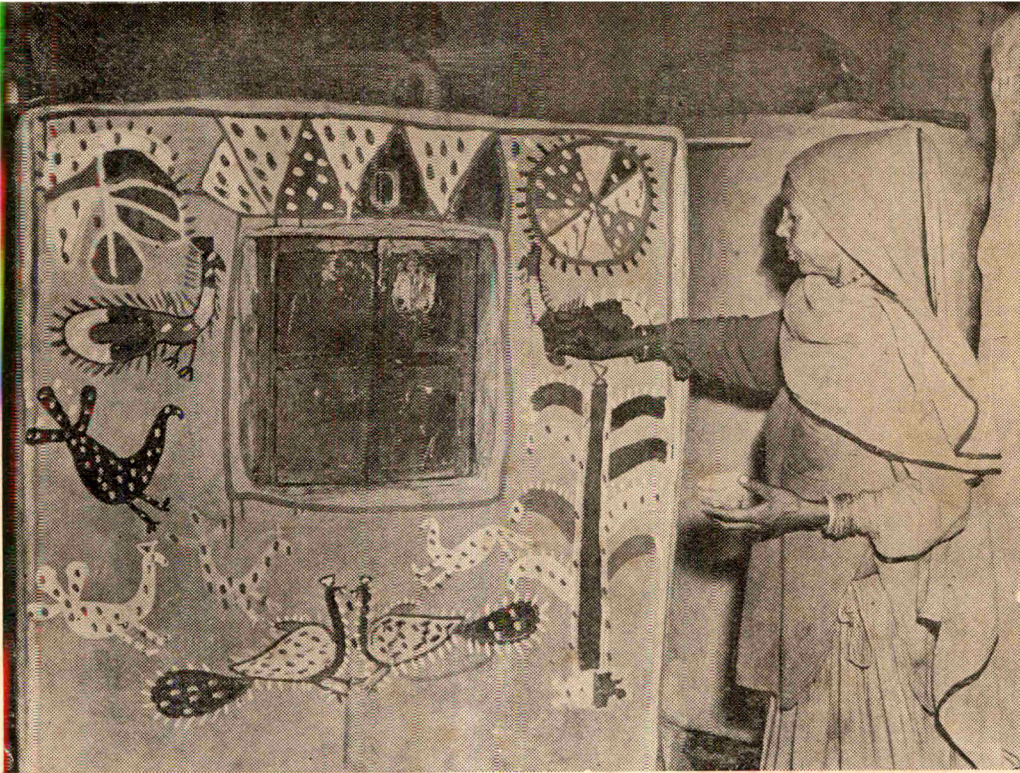


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## SOME ASPECTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION

### (XVI) Fundamental Rights: Right to Property (*Continued*)

By D. N. BANERJEE,

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#### I

IN our two preceding articles<sup>1</sup> in this series we have dealt with certain aspects of Article 31 of our Constitution as it had been amended by the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Act, 1955. In this article we propose to deal with some other aspects of the same Article.

#### II

(Now the first point we propose to take up for consideration in this article in connexion with Article 31 of the Constitution is the concept of "a public purpose" in it.) As we have seen before,<sup>2</sup> the new Clause (2) of Article 31 lays down, among other things:

"No property shall be compulsorily acquired or requisitioned save for a public purpose."

The corresponding provision in the original Clause (2) of the Article was:

"No property, movable or immovable, including any interest in, or in any company owning, any commercial or industrial undertaking, shall be taken possession of or acquired for public purposes under any law," etc.

What was *perhaps* implicit in the original Clause (2) of the Article has been made explicit in its new Clause (2) by the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Act, 1955. We have used the word 'perhaps' intentionally as we find that there was some difference of opinion amongst the Judges of our Supreme Court on the question of interpretation of the 'public purposes' provision in the original Clause (2), in connexion with the case known as *The State of Bihar V. Maharajadhiraj Sir Kameshwar Singh of Darbhanga and Others*<sup>3</sup> (to be referred to hereinafter as the *Darbhanga* case). The majority<sup>4</sup> of the Judges of the Supreme Court held<sup>5</sup> in this case:

"The existence of a public purpose as a pre-requisite to the exercise of the power of compulsory acquisition is an essential and integral part of the provisions of Article 31(2)" (of the Constitution).

Mahajan J., however, said<sup>6</sup>:

"The existence of a 'public purpose' is undoubtedly an implied condition of the exercise of compulsory powers of acquisition by the State, but the language of Article 31(2) does not expressly make it a condition precedent to acquisition. It assumes that compulsory acquisition can be for a 'public purpose' only, which is thus inherent in such acquisition."

And Chandrasekhara Aiyar J. stated<sup>7</sup>:

"Under the Constitution, when property is requisitioned or acquired, it may be for a Union purpose, or a State purpose, or for any other public purpose . . . The acquisition of property can only be for a public purpose . . . It is *assumed*,<sup>8</sup> rightly, that the existence of a public purpose is part and parcel of the law (as contemplated by the original Clause (2) of Article 31) and is inherent in it. The existence of public purpose is not a provision or condition imposed by Article 31(2) as a limitation on the exercise of the power of acquisition. The condition prescribed is only as regards compensation."

This difference of opinion among the Judges of the Supreme Court was probably due to the peculiar wording of the original Clause (2) of Article 31. However, as shown above, there is no difficulty now. The new Clause (2) of the Article is very clear on the point and no property can now be compulsorily acquired or requisitioned except for a public purpose.

Now the question is: What is "a public purpose within the meaning of our Constitution"? Fortunately, there are some judicial

1. See *The Modern Review* for January and April, 1958.

2. See *ibid.*

3. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1952, Vol. III, Parts IX and X, November and December, 1952; pp. 889-1019.

4. Consisting of Patanjali Sastri C.J., Mukherjee and Das J.J.—See *ibid.* n. 891.

5. In May, 1952.—*Ibid.* pp. 891, 902 and 989-90.

6. *Ibid.* pp. 934-35.

7. See *ibid.* pp. 1007-1013.

8. The italic is ours.



pronouncements on this point. Thus we find<sup>9</sup> in the judgment of Mahajan J. in the *Darbhanga* case in connexion with the Bihar Land Reforms Act, 1950:

"Mr. Das<sup>10</sup> contended, and in my opinion rightly, that jurisdiction to acquire private property by legislation can only be exercised for a public purpose. It may be the purpose of the (Indian) Union, or the purpose of the State or any other public purpose. Private property cannot be acquired for a private purpose . . ."

Further, His Lordship observed<sup>11</sup> in effect that the requirements of a public purpose would be fulfilled if any property was acquired by legislation for the "purposes of the State" or for the "purposes of the public" and "if the intention was to benefit the community at large." And with regard to the Bihar Land Reforms Act, 1950, itself, His Lordship first referred to the Preamble to the Constitution of India and to Article 39 thereof and then remarked<sup>12</sup>:

"Now it is obvious that (the) concentration of big blocks of land in the hands of a few individuals is contrary to the principle on which the Constitution of India is based. The purpose of the acquisition contemplated by the impugned Act (*i.e.*, the Bihar Land Reforms Act, 1950) therefore is to do away with the concentration of big blocks of land and means of production in the hands of a few individuals and to so distribute the ownership and control of the material resources which come in the hands of the State as to subserve the common good as best as possible. In other words, shortly put, the purpose behind the Act is to bring about a reform in the land distribution system of Bihar for the general benefit of the community as advised . . . The purpose of the statute certainly is in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Constitution of India . . . It is difficult to hold in the present-day conditions of the world that measures adopted for the welfare of the community and sought to be achieved by process of legislation so far as the carrying out of the policy of

nationalization of land is concerned can fall on the ground of want of public purpose. The phrase 'public purpose' has to be construed according to the spirit of the times in which particular legislation is enacted and so construed, the acquisition of the estates has to be held to have been made for a public purpose."

Again, in the course of his judgment in *Raja Suriya Pal Singh V. The State of U.P. and Another (and Other Cases)*<sup>13</sup>—to be briefly referred to hereinafter as the *Suriya Pal Singh* case—, Mahajan J. stated<sup>14</sup>

✓ "The expression 'public purpose' is not capable of a precise definition and has not a rigid meaning. It can only be defined by a process of judicial inclusion and exclusion. In other words, the definition of the expression is elastic and takes its colour from the statute in which it occurs, the concept varying with the time and state of society and its needs. The point to be determined in each case is whether the acquisition is in the general interest of the community as distinguished from the private interest of an individual."

And with reference to the Uttar Pradesh Zamindari Abolition and Land Reforms Act, 1950,<sup>15</sup> in connexion with which the *Suriya Pal Singh* case arose, His Lordship observed<sup>16</sup>:

"The High Court (of Allahabad) took the view that (the) acquisition of property under compulsory powers for securing an aim declared in the Constitution to be a matter of State policy is an acquisition for a public purpose . . . In my opinion, legislation, which aims at elevating the status of tenants by conferring upon them the *bhumidari* rights to which status the big zamindars have also been levelled down cannot be said as wanting in public purposes in a democratic State. It aims at destroying the inferiority complex in a large number of citizens of the State and giving them

13. In May, 1952.—*Ibid.*, pp. 1056-1090: Civil Appellate Jurisdiction. Cases Nos. 283 to 295 of 1951.

14. *Ibid.* p. 1073.

15. Also referred to as the U.P. Act 1 of 1951. It appears that the relevant Bill had been introduced into the Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly in 1950 and was finally passed by it on 10th January, 1951. It was then passed by the Uttar Pradesh Legislative Council. Thereafter it received the assent of the President of India on 24th January 1951. It "came into force on or about the 25th (of) January 1951." —For further details; see *ibid.*, pp. 1058-1059 and 1082-1083.

16. See *ibid.* pp. 1074-1076.

9 *Ibid.* p. 937.

10. Obviously Mr. P. R. Das, Counsel for the respondents in the *Darbhanga* case.—*Ibid.* p. 893.

11. *Ibid.* p. 940.

12. *Ibid.* pp. 941-42.

a status of equality with their former lords and prevents the accumulation of big tracts of land in the hands of a few individuals which is contrary to the expressed intentions of the Constitution. Dr. Ambedkar<sup>17</sup> is right in saying that in the concept of public purpose there is a negative element in that no private interest can be created in the property acquired compulsorily; in other words, (the) property of A cannot be acquired to be given to B for his own private purposes and that there is a positive element in the concept that the property taken must be for public benefit. Both these concepts are present in the acquisition of the zamindari estates. Zamindaries are not being taken for the private benefit of any particular individual or individuals, but are being acquired by the State in the general interests of the community. Property acquired will be vested either in the State or in the body corporate, the *gaon samaj*, which has to function under the supervision of the State. . . . There is no question in these circumstances of taking (the) property of A and giving it to B. All that the Act achieves is the equality of the status of the different persons holding lands in the State. . . . For the reason given above I hold that the impugned Act (i.e., the Uttar Pradesh Act referred to above) is not void by reason of the circumstance that it does not postulate a public purpose."

Das J. of our Supreme Court appears to have agreed *in essence* with the views of Mahajan J., both with regard to the implication of the concept of "public purpose" in our Constitution and with regard to the constitutionality of the acquisition of zamindaries and other intermediate interests in respect of land. Thus we find him observing<sup>18</sup> in the course of his judgment in the *Darbhanga* case:

"The concept of 'public purpose' has been rapidly changing in all countries of the world. . . . From what I have stated so far it follows that whatever furthers the general interests of the community as opposed to the particular interest of the individual must be regarded as a public purpose. With the onward march of civilization our notions as to the scope of the

general interest of the community are fast changing and widening with the result that our old and narrower notions as to the sanctity of the private interest of the individual can no longer stem the forward flowing tide of time and must necessarily give way to the broader notions of the general interest of the community. The emphasis is unmistakably shifting from the individual to the community. This modern trend in the social and political philosophy is well reflected and given expression to in our Constitution. Our Constitution, as I understand it, has not ignored the individual but has endeavoured to harmonise the individual interest with the paramount interest of the community. . . . It is . . . clear that a fresh outlook which places the general interest of the community above the interest of the individual pervades our Constitution. Indeed, what sounded like idealistic slogans only in the recent past are now enshrined in the glorious preamble to our Constitution proclaiming the solemn resolve of the people of this country to secure to all citizens, justice, social, economic and political, and equality of status and of opportunity. What were regarded only yesterday, so to say, as fantastic formulae have now been accepted as directive principles of State policy prominently set out in Part IV of the Constitution. (Reference is made here to Articles 38 and 39 of the Constitution) . . . The words 'public purposes' used in Article 23(2) indicate that the Constitution uses those words in a very large sense. In the never-ending race the law must keep pace with the realities of the social and political evolution of the country as reflected in the Constitution. If, therefore, the State is to give effect to these avowed purposes of our Constitution we must regard as a public purpose all that will be calculated to promote the welfare of the people as envisaged in these directive principles of State policy whatever else that expression may mean. In the light of this new outlook what, I ask, is the purpose of the State in adopting measures for the acquisition of the zamindaries and the interests of the intermediaries? Surely, it is to subserve the common good by bringing the land, which feeds and sustains the community and also produces wealth by its forest, mineral and other resources, under State owner-

17. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Counsel for some of the appellants in the *Suriya Pal Singh* case.

18. See *ibid*, pp. 995-99.

ship or control. This State ownership or control over land is a necessary preliminary step towards the implementation of the directive principles of State policy and it cannot but be a public purpose . . . To put a narrow construction on the expression 'public purpose' will, to my mind, be to defeat the general purpose of our Constitution and the particular and immediate purpose of the recent amendments (thereto). We must not read a measure implementing our mid-twentieth century Constitution through spectacles tinted with early nineteenth century notions as to the sanctity or inviolability of individual rights. I, therefore, agree with the High Court (of Patna) that the impugned Act<sup>19</sup> was enacted for a public purpose."

The sum and substance of what Das J. stated with regard to the implication of the concept of "public purpose" in our Constitution is really as follows<sup>20</sup>:

"No hard and fast definition can be laid down as to what is a 'public purpose' as the concept has been rapidly changing in all countries, but it is clear that it is the presence of the element of general interest of the community in an object or an aim that transforms such object or aim into a public purpose, and whatever furthers the general interest of the community as opposed to the particular interest of the individual must be regarded as a public purpose."

It should be evident from what has been shown above that it is rather difficult to define the term "public purpose" in our Constitution and that there is an element of vagueness and uncertainty about it. Perhaps, this is unavoidable. A similar difficulty has also been felt in the United States of America. Thus we find in the judgment of the United States Supreme Court in *Green V. Frazier*<sup>21</sup>:

"What is a public purpose has given rise to no little judicial consideration. Courts, as a rule, have attempted no judicial definition of a 'public' as distinguished from a 'private' pur-

pose, but have left each case to be determined by its own peculiar circumstances."

A more or less similar difficulty has been felt in the United States in connexion with the term "public use" in the following provision in the Fifth Amendment to its Constitution:

"Nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation."

Now the question is: What is, or constitutes, a public use?

Commenting on the provision in the American Constitution quoted above, Judge Cooley has stated<sup>22</sup>:

"Every species of property which the public needs may require and which government cannot lawfully appropriate under any other right, is subject to be seized and appropriated under the right of eminent domain . . . generally, it may be said, legal and equitable rights of every description are liable to be thus appropriated<sup>23</sup>. . . The right to appropriate private property to public uses lies dormant in the State, until legislative action is had, pointing out the occasions, the modes, conditions, and agencies for its appropriations. Private property can only be taken pursuant to law. . . . The definition given of the right of eminent domain implies that the purpose for which it may be exercised must not be a mere private purpose; and it is conceded on all hands that the legislature has no power, in any case, to take the property of one individual and pass it over to another without reference to some use to which it is to be applied for the public benefit<sup>24</sup>. 'The right of eminent domain', it has been said, 'does not imply a right in the sovereign power to take the property of one citizen and transfer it to another, even for a full compensation, where the public interest will be in no way promoted by such transfer.' It seems not to be allowable, therefore, to authorize private roads to be laid

22. See Cooley, *A Treatise on the Constitutional Limitations*, 7th Ed., 1903, pp. 756-75.

23. "From this statement, however, must be excepted, money, or that which in ordinary use passes as such, and which the government may reach by taxation."—See *ibid.*, p. 759.

24. "The constitutional prohibition against taking private property for public use (without just compensation), operates by implication to prohibit the taking of property for private use."—*Ibid.*, p. 764n.

19. I.e., the Bihar Land Reforms Act, 1950.—See *ibid.*, p. 964.

20. See *ibid.*, p. 892.

21. 253 U.S. 233 (1920).—Dodd, *Cases and Materials on Constitutional Law*, 1949, pp. 1140-1145; also Fenn, *The Development of the Constitution*, p. 319.

out across the lands of unwilling parties by an exercise of this right. . . . Nor could it be of importance that the public would receive incidental benefits, such as usually spring from the improvement of lands or the establishment of prosperous private enterprises; the *public use* implies a possession, occupation, and enjoyment of the land by the public at large, or by public agencies. . . . We find ourselves somewhat at sea, however, when we undertake to define, in the light of the judicial decisions, what constitutes a public use."<sup>25</sup>

Without going so far as Judge Cooley has done, Professor Willis has also admitted that there is a divergence of judicial opinion in the United States as to what is, or is not, a public use. Thus we find him writing<sup>26</sup>:

"What is a public use? On this question there have been two viewpoints. One may be called the older viewpoint and the other the newer viewpoint. . . . According to the older viewpoint, in order to have a public use, there must be a use by the public. This is perhaps still the majority viewpoint, and it is supported by a great number of cases . . . there is a public use where . . . land is taken for railway purposes, or where land is taken for a highway used by the public. . . . According to the newer viewpoint there is a public use if the thing taken is useful to the public. This makes public use for eminent domain practically synonymous with public purpose for taxation. . . . Under this rule it is not necessary for the benefit to be for the whole community, but it must be for a considerable number. The fact that the benefit also inures to a private individual is no objection. Under this viewpoint it has been held that there is a sufficient public use . . . where land has been taken for airports and parks; . . . where land has been acquired for a pleasure highway; . . . where property is taken for private schools; where land is taken for a light-house; where a water supply is acquired for a

city. . . . In these cases there is not necessarily a general use by the public, but there is a general benefit to the public. . . . Of course, where the taking will benefit a private person alone, there is not a public use even in this newer sense. . . . The newer viewpoint that public use means any taking which is useful to the public probably will become the prevailing viewpoint, and it has much to commend it."

Professor Willoughby appears to have a definite view as to what constitutes a public use. "A public use," says he<sup>27</sup>, "is one in which the interest of the public is directly and primarily concerned. It may happen, and, indeed, it very frequently happens, that, in the exercise of the State's powers, whether of eminent domain, taxation or police regulation, particular individuals or classes of individuals are benefited. If, however, the action is to be sustained, its aim must be shown to be not merely that this specific result will be reached as a final end, but that the public has itself an interest in securing this benefit to the individuals concerned." But are we free from all difficulties? What *exactly* is meant by the expression "the interest of the public"? And is the term "public" itself always, or in all circumstances, capable of a precise definition? We submit that it is not. We may imagine a situation in which the public and the private interest may get inextricably mixed up. A certain amount of indefiniteness or uncertainty is, therefore, unavoidably associated with such indefinable expressions as "public purpose" or "public use". However, what Mahajan and

27. See Willoughby, *The Constitutional Law of the United States*, Vol. III, pp. 1740-41.

25. Judge Cooley has added, however: "The reason of the case and the settled practice of free governments must be our guides in determining what is or is not to be regarded a public use."—See *ibid.*, pp. 768-69.

26. Willis, *Constitutional Law of the United States*, 1936; pp. 817-20. Also see the foot-note after the next one.

\* We may note here what a recent official American publication has said by way of explaining "what constitutes a taking for a public use." "To constitute," it says, "a public use within the law of eminent domain, it is not essential that an entire community should directly participate in or enjoy an improvement, and, in ascertaining whether a use is public, not only present demands of the public but those which may be fairly anticipated in the future may be considered. Moreover, it is also not necessary that property should be absolutely taken, in the narrowest sense of the word, to bring the case within the protection of this constitutional provision, but there may be such serious interruption to the common and necessary use of property as will be equivalent to a taking."—*The Constitution of the United States of America: Analysis and Inter-*

Das JJ. have stated with reference to the concept of "public purpose" in our Constitution may serve as a guide to us for all practical purposes.

### III

The next point we propose to deal with in connexion with Article 31 of our Constitution is whether the question of "public purpose" is a justiciable issue. We submit that it is as it should be, except where this is constitutionally forbidden. If any person feels that his property has been compulsorily acquired or requisitioned for a purpose which he does not consider to be public, he can certainly approach the judiciary under Articles 226 and 32 of the Constitution for the vindication of his fundamental right to property. He can even proceed straight to the Supreme Court of India for this purpose under Article 32 of the Constitution. As the Supreme Court has declared<sup>28</sup> in the course of its judgment in *Romesi Thappar V. The State of Madras*, "Article 32 provides a 'guaranteed' remedy for the enforcement" of the rights conferred by Part III of the Constitution, "and this remedial right" has itself been "made a fundamental right by being included in Part III" (of the Constitution). The Supreme Court has thus been "constituted the protector and guarantor of fundamental rights, and it cannot consistently with the responsibility so laid upon it, refuse to entertain applications seeking protection against infringements of such rights."<sup>29</sup> Although, therefore, the quantum of compensation payable under Clause (2) of Article 31 of the Constitution is, as we have seen before,<sup>30</sup> no longer justiciable, yet the question whether any property has been compulsorily acquired or requisitioned for a public purpose is, it is submitted, a justiciable issue under it. This is also the view of some of our Supreme Court Judges even in connexion with the original Clause (2) of Article 31. Thus we find in the judgment of Chandrasekhara Aiyar J. in the *DarbFanga* case<sup>31</sup>:

"The acquisition of property can only be for a public purpose. . . . Whether there is any public purpose at all, or whether the purpose stated is such a purpose, is open, in my opinion, to judicial scrutiny or review."

And we also find in the judgment<sup>32</sup> of Mahajan J. in the same case:

"The existence of a 'public purpose' is undoubtedly an implied condition of the exercise of compulsory powers of acquisition by the State. . . . Therefore, the material point for determination is whether the acquisition of the estates (under the Bihar Land Reforms Act, 1950) is for any public purpose and if it be not so, the law can certainly be held to be unconstitutional. . . . jurisdiction to acquire private property by legislation can only be exercised for a public purpose."

Further, we find in the judgments<sup>33</sup> of Sastri C. J. and Das J. in the same case:

"Article 31(2) must be understood as also providing that legislation authorising expropriation of private property should be *lawful*<sup>34</sup> only if it was required for a public purpose and provision was made for (the) payment of compensation. Indeed if this were not so, there would be nothing in the Constitution to prevent acquisition for a non-public or private purpose and without payment of compensation—an absurd result. . . . Article 31(2) must, therefore, be taken to provide for both the limitations in express terms."<sup>35</sup>—(Patanjali Sastri C. J.)

"I am . . . clearly of opinion that the existence of a public purpose as a pre-requisite to the exercise of the power of compulsory acquisition (of property) is an essential and integral part of the 'provisions' of Clause (2) (of Article 31). If the requirement of a public purpose were not a provision of Article 31(2), then it will obviously lead us to the untenable conclusion that Parliament will be free under its residuary powers under Article 248<sup>35</sup> and entry 97 of List 1 of the Seventh Schedule (to the Constitution) to make a law for acquiring

pretation, Corwin, Government Printing Office; Washington, 1953, p. 1064.

28. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1; Part VI, August, 1950; pp. 596-97.

29. See *ibid.*

30. See our article in *The Modern Review* for January, 1958.

31. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1952, Vol. III, Parts IX and X, November and December; 1952; p. 1013.

32. See *ibid.*, pp. 934-37.

33. See *ibid.*, p. 902 and pp. 988-90.

34. The italic is ours.

35. Of the Constitution of India.

private property without any public purpose at all and to the still more absurd result that while Parliament will have to provide for compensation under Article 31(2) in a law made by it for (the) 'acquisition of property for a public purpose, it will not have to make any provision for compensation in a law made for (the) acquisition of property to be made without a public purpose. Such could never have been the intention of the framers of our Constitution."—(Das J.)

A logical corollary to what Patanjali Sastri C. J. and Das J. stated is that no property could be compulsorily acquired or taken possession of under the original Clause (2) of Article 31 except for a public purpose and that whether any property had been so acquired or taken possession of or not, was a justiciable issue. We may also refer, in this connexion, to another matter. The West Bengal Land Development and Planning Act, 1948, passed on October 1st, 1948, primarily for the settlement of immigrants who had migrated into West Bengal on account of communal disturbances in East Bengal, provided "for the acquisition and development of land for public purposes including the purpose aforesaid." Now Section 8 of this Act laid down, among other things:

"A declaration under Section 6 (of the Act) shall be conclusive evidence that the land in respect of which the declaration is made is needed for a public purpose and, after making such declaration, the Provincial Government may acquire the land," etc.

Now we find in the judgment of our Supreme Court in The State of West Bengal V. Mrs. Bela Banerjee and Others, with regard to this provision<sup>36</sup>:

"The Attorney-General, appearing for the appellant, *rightly* conceded that inasmuch as Article 31(2) made the existence of a public purpose a necessary condition of acquisition *the existence of such a purpose as a fact must be established objectively* and the provision in Section 8 relating to the conclusiveness of the declaration of Government as to the nature of the purpose of the acquisition must be held unconstitutional."<sup>37</sup>

Thus the Supreme Court held in the case referred to above, that the provision of Section 8 of the West Bengal Land Development and Planning Act, 1948, making a mere declaration of the Government conclusive as to the public nature of the purpose of the acquisition (of property) was *ultra vires* the Constitution and void; and that since Article 31(2) of the Constitution of India made the existence of a public purpose a necessary condition of acquisition (of property), the existence of such a purpose as a fact must be established objectively. Here would come in the court of law for adjudication, if and when necessary.

If what we have shown above was the constitutional position with regard to the justiciability of the question of public purpose in a law providing for the acquisition, or taking of the possession, of property under the original Clause (2) of Article 31 of the Constitution, then *a fortiori* this is the position now under the new Clause (2) of the Article. That is to say, the question of public purpose in Clause (2) of Article 31 of the Constitution is, as we have stated before, ordinarily a justiciable issue. And this means that determination or declaration by the Legislature—and certainly far less by the Executive Government—of what constitutes a public purpose in the context of Clause (2) of Article 31 is not final or conclusive, but is subject to revision by the competent court of law, except where, as stated before, this is constitutionally prohibited.

In the course of one of his Tagore Law Lectures delivered in the University of Calcutta in July, 1955, Mr. Justice Douglas of the United States Supreme Court stated<sup>38</sup>:

"In India, as in America, the question whether the taking is for a public purpose is a justiciable question."

Now, so far as India is concerned, there is no difficulty. We agree with him and we have tried above to establish this. But so far as the United States of America is concerned, there is a difficulty. It is true that before 1946 what Mr. Justice Douglas has stated was

36. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1954, Vol. V, Part V; May, 1954, pp. 558-65.

37. The italics in this quotation are ours.

38. See William O. Douglas; *From Marshall to Mukherjee, Studies in American and Indian Constitutional Law*; Eastern Law House, Calcutta; 1956; p. 222.

the constitutional position in the United States. Thus we find in Cooley's *Constitutional Limitations* (1903)<sup>39</sup>:

"The question what is a public use is always one of law. Deference will be paid to the legislative judgment, as expressed in enactments providing for an appropriation of property, but it will not be conclusive."

The obvious implication of this statement is that ultimately the question is a judicial one. And we also find in Willis's *Constitutional Law of the United States* (1936)<sup>40</sup>:

"The power (of eminent domain) can be exercised only pursuant to legislative authority and according to the conditions prescribed by the legislature. *Whether there is a public use, or there has been a taking, or what is just compensation are judicial questions.*"<sup>41</sup>

This was the constitutional position before 1946. We find, however, in a recent<sup>42</sup> official American publication<sup>43</sup>:

"While acknowledging that agreement was virtually non-existent as to 'what are public uses for which the right of compulsory taking may be employed,' the (Supreme) Court, until 1946, continued to reiterate (that) 'the nature of the uses, whether public or private, is ultimately a judicial question.' But because of proclaimed willingness to defer to local authorities, especially 'the highest court of the State' in resolving such an issue, the (Supreme) Court as early as 1908, was obliged to admit that, notwithstanding its retention of the power of judicial review, 'no case is recalled where this Court has condemned as a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment a taking upheld by the State court as a taking for public uses.' In 1946, however, . . . a majority of the Justices (of the Supreme Court), in a decision involving the Federal Government, declared<sup>44</sup>

that 'it is the function of . . . (the legislative branch) to decide what type of taking is for a public use' . . . . The necessity and expediency of the taking are legislative questions to be determined by such agency and in such mode as the State<sup>45</sup> may designate."<sup>46</sup>

The official American work from which we have quoted the above extract was published in 1953 and contains "annotations of cases decided by the Supreme Court of the United States to June 30, 1952." As the extract quoted above will indicate, this authoritative publication does not support the view of Mr. Justice Douglas so far as the justiciability now of the question of "public use" in the American Constitution is concerned. We do not know if the United States Supreme Court has in the mean while reversed its decision of 1946. There is no indication of that either in what Mr. Justice Douglas has stated. In view of this and also in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, we find it difficult to agree with Mr. Justice Douglas so far as the justiciability today of the question of "public use" in the United States is concerned. However, whatever may be the constitutional position in the United States today in regard to the justiciability of the question of "public use" in the Fifth Amendment to its Constitution, there is no difficulty, normally speaking, so far as our Constitution is concerned. That is to say, the question of "public purpose" in Clause (2) of Article 31 of the Constitution is ultimately a justiciable issue, except where, as we shall see later on, it is expressly forbidden by the Constitution. As stated before, this is as it should be.

In our next article we propose to conclude our discussion of Article 31 and then to deal with Article 31A and 31B of our Constitution.

39. See Cooley, *op. cit.*; pp. 774-75.

40. See Willis, *op. cit.*; pp. 829-30.

41. The italics in this quotation are ours.

42. 1953.

43. *The Constitution of the United States of America. Analysis and Interpretation*, Corwin; United States Government Printing Office, Washington; 1953; pp. 1053-1064.

44. United States *ex rel.* T.V.A. V. Welch;

827; U.S. 546 (1946). See *ibid.*; p. 1064; also Dowling; *Cases on Constitutional Law*, 1950; pp. 812-13.

45. Obviously, the term "State" here means the State Legislature.

46. "It is no longer open to question that the State legislature may confer upon a municipality the authority to determine such necessity for itself."—See the official publication (p. 1064, footnote) referred to in footnote 43 above.



## INDO-PAKISTANI CONFLICT MAY LEAD TO THIRD WORLD WAR

By PROF. TARAKNATH DAS, Ph.D.,

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WHEN we keep in mind that small unfriendly incidents in international relations lead to enmity between States, which in turn brings about local conflicts which develop into wars of great magnitude and world war, one may get an impression that the present Indo-Pakistani incidents—border issues,—if not stopped, may lead to Indo-Pakistani War and a World War. I give this warning, not as an alarmist but as an advocate for World Peace.

The root of Indo-Pakistani conflicts lies in partition of India which was brought about through Churchill-Jinnah secret agreements and also due to deliberate programme of the British to weaken a free India. At the same time the Pan-Islamists of Pakistan and India who wanted to detach the whole of Bengal and the Punjab within the orbit of Pakistan have been working to enlarge Pakistani territories at the expense of India. Mr. Nehru and other Congress leaders who once swore that they would never agree to partition agreed to partition, hoping this generous action would heal Hindu-Moslem ill-feelings and India and Pakistan will live as peaceful neighbors, co-operating on all larger issues, furthering the cause of Peace and Freedom. But this supposed generous act has been the greatest mistake which has encouraged Pakistan to pursue international policies which might isolate India in world politics and to secure outside military and financial aid to carry out its ultimate aim of annexing further Indian territories and promoting revolts within the borders of India.

Because India was too generous, at the expenses of Indian national territorial integrity, Pakistan invaded Kashmir. At that time India was militarily much stronger than Pakistan and Indian army could have driven the invaders to sea, but Mr. Nehru again showed his generosity to Pakistan by ordering Indian

Army not to cross Pakistani border, and presenting the case of Pakistani invasion of Indian soil to the United Nations, the international diplomatic organization which has ignored the real issue of Pakistan's aggression and has been working for forcing a plebiscite in Kashmir, which if ever accepted by India would mean destruction of the very foundation of a secular State in India.

While Pakistan has been pressing against India in the United Nations, she has made alliances with various nations—Pakistan is a member of SEATO, composed of the United States, Australia, Britain, Philippines, Siam. She is also a member of the Baghdad Pact composed of Britain, Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Pakistan supported by the United States of America. By these alliances Pakistan expects support from the NATO Powers. Needless to say that Pakistan has some very important understanding with the United States which may have secured rights to use Pakistani territory for air base and in return has equipped Pakistani army with the most up-to-date equipments, specially jet-planes. Many Pakistani raids into Kashmir have been perpetrated, even after the establishment of cease-fire line between Pakistan-occupied Kashmir and Indian Kashmir. These raids did not develop into open warfare due to two facts, forbearance of India and also Pakistan's belief that India would concede to international pressure and make a settlement of Kashmir issue in Pakistan's favor.

Today Pakistan finds that she cannot annex Kashmir by international consent, thus she has begun creating incidents in Assam border by East Pakistani raiders supported by military police and in some cases regular military force. It is well-known that Pakistan has given the inducement to East Pakistanis that by raiding and eventually by force they will



be able to annex Kachar for the land-hungry, poverty-stricken peasants of East Bengal. Raiding activities in Assam would also divert the attention of the people from the mis-rule and corruption of East Pakistani government.

Pakistani politicians know that the people of West Pakistan are dissatisfied with the political, economic and social condition and they have been, therefore, preaching a holy war against India as a remedy. Recently they have begun to blame India for Pakistan's lack of agricultural production, by spreading propaganda that India has cut off water supply from the Punjab rivers, causing the distress. Pakistani armed parties have killed peaceful Indian citizens in various Punjab towns. In short a kind of undeclared war by Pakistan on India has been going on for several years. But recently Pakistan by acquiring superior air-power from the United States feels confident that she might be able to occupy Indian territories and then would be able to secure intervention from the United Nations in her favor.

The little hostile incidents are slowly developing towards a conflict. Mr. Nehru in his recent press conference pleaded for peaceful settlement of Assam disputes by high-level discussion. Mr. Nehru's attitude was something like a helpless boy before a threatening bully wishing to hurt the defenseless one. Such an appeal would fall on deaf ears and even encourage hostilities. But Hon. Krishna Menon, the Defense Minister of India, has struck a new and significant note when he declared in New Delhi on June 5, 1958, "*that India's patience and forbearance in the face of frequent violation of her frontiers by Pakistan should not be taken as a sign of weakness. If hostile acts continued, whether it be in Assam, Ferozepore or Hussainiwala, India would take necessary action to safeguard her sovereignty . . . . India was not frightened by the fact that its military equipment was not up-to-date.*" He added, "*Our main equipment is human equipment—soldier, sailor and airman.*" . . . . "*While India would not go for others' territories, it has an obligation of protecting its sovereignty. India would have no defense problems as long as Pakistan, the Soviet Union,*

*China and Burma were friendly to India. . . ."*

Above views declared by the Defense Minister of India are significant and may be regarded as warning to Pakistan. It is to be hoped that statesmen of the world, specially the United States, may not ignore it. In this connection it may be pointed out that although India was offered Russian planes with less cost, for various reasons the offer was not accepted but she has spent hundreds of millions of dollars worth of planes from England which are inferior to American-made and American-supplied planes possessed by Pakistan.

In case of an all-out conflict between Pakistan and India, it may be that in spite of Pakistan's possessing superior equipment, Indian forces might overpower Pakistanis, as was the case when overwhelmingly superior Egyptian forces equipped with Russian jets and tanks were crushed by smaller and inferior Israeli forces. In that case Pakistan's friends will try to save Pakistan through intervention of the United Nations, as the case with Egypt, in her struggle with France, Britain and Israel. But India may suffer defeats initially. In that case China and Russia would not sit idle and India will look for superior arms from these countries to defend the country. This will be the beginning of a Third World War.

Is there any possibility of averting such a calamity? Let this be fully understood by world statesmen that India will not surrender her rightful claims on Kashmir, river-waters and Assam, even if she might be under great pressure diplomatically. Of all the countries, Great Britain and the United States have the greatest responsibility to check Pakistan, through solemn advice, from worsening the present situation. It is my impression that Pakistani leaders who are running the country think that by using military pressure on India, they would gain their objective. Any military pressure on India by Pakistan might lead to the Third World War, which would help the cause of Communist World Revolution.

New York City,

June 15, 1958.

# THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

## An Outline History—I

By SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

In the study of any contemporary political society a discussion of the party system ranks high in precedence. In the context of India's expanding international contacts though it is only proper that wider discussions should be held about other countries. Unfortunately Indian literature on contemporary Chinese scene is very meagre. A discussion of the party system in China is thus very likely to prove greatly interesting.

China is world's largest republic and the Communist Party is the most influential political organization there.<sup>1</sup> An historical study of the growth of Chinese Communist Party is thus essential for the proper understanding of contemporary Chinese policies and development. Such a study is again necessary from other points of view also. The Chinese Communist Party is not only China's biggest political party but also the world's biggest Communist Party having had a membership of 10,734,384 in September, 1956<sup>2</sup>. More, if it is recalled that membership of a Communist Party requires much more than mere ideological or political agreement with the Party<sup>3</sup>, it may not

be far wrong to say that the Chinese Communist Party is also the world's largest political party.

The Chinese Constitution also underlines the predominant role of the Communist Party.

"In the course of the great struggle to establish the People's Republic of China," reads the Preamble to the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, "the people of our country forged a broad people's democratic united front, composed of all democratic classes, democratic parties and groups, and popular organizations, and led by the Communist Party of China. This people's democratic united front will continue to play its part in mobilizing and rallying the whole people in common struggle to fulfil the fundamental task of the State during the transition and to oppose enemies within and without."

The Communist Party, by virtue of its leadership of the people's democratic united front, is thus envisaged in the constitution as the initiator, of all the developmental plans of the state and the guide of the people in their efforts to achieve national prosperity<sup>4</sup>. Herein

1. Referring to China, Professor Linebarger writes: "No other society comparable in size, duration and extent has ever existed; the Chinese Empire, from the beginning of the Ch'in (221 B.C.) to the end of the Manchus (A.D. 1911); remains the greatest social edifice mankind has yet brought forth" (*China of Chiang Kai-shek*, Boston, 1943—page 2). The Communist rule in China, notes Prof. Richard L. Walker, covers 600 million people "more than have ever been controlled by one Government in the history of the world" (*China under Communism*, Yale 1955—page 2); see also Robert C. North: *Moscow and the Chinese Communists*; Stanford; 1953—page 2; James Cameron: *Mandarin Red*; London, 1955—page 100.

2. Teng Hsiao-ping: *Report on the Revision of the Constitution of the Communist Party of China* delivered before the eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) on September 16, 1956—Peking; 1956—p. 91; Liu Shao-chi: *The Political Report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to the Eighth National Congress of the Party* (henceforth cited as the *Political Report* . . .), Peking, 1956—p. 85. The Report was also published as a supplement to the fortnightly *People's China*; No. 19, 1956.

3. Article 1 of the Constitution of the Chinese Communist Party adopted at the Eighth National Congress in September, 1956: for example, lays down that "Membership of the Party is open to any

Chinese citizen who works and does not exploit the labour of others; accept the programme and the Constitution of the Party; joins and works in one of the party organizations; carries out the party's decision; and pays membership dues as required." Italics added. For text of the Constitution see the *Current Background*, published by the American Consulate-General, Hongkong No. 417, October 10, 1956—Pp. 33-75 (odd numbered pages); see also *Documents of the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China*, Vol. I; Peking, 1956.

4. Except this casual reference in the Preamble, there is no mention of the Communist Party anywhere else in the Chinese Constitution, adopted Sept. 20, 1954. Judged by accepted notions of the relation of a Preamble to the Constitution (for which see Prof. D. N. Banerjee's article in *The Modern Review*, Calcutta, September 1954 Pp. 189-198) the position of the Communist Party in China's constitutional set up may not appear to have any great significance. Leaving aside the fact that general standards of constitutional evaluation may not provide a sufficient guide to an appraisal of the Chinese constitutional practice (Liu Shao-Chi in his report presenting the draft constitution for approval of the Chinese Parliament specifically warned: "From a bourgeois viewpoint it is impossible to understand the political system of our country" (the pre-eminent position of the Communist Party of China can hardly fail to be noticed even by casual observers

lies the importance of a study of the growth and current practice of Communism in China.

### FOUNDATION OF THE PARTY

The precursor to organized communism in China was the Marxist Study Group organized by two professors of the Peking University—Li Ta-Chao and Ch'en Tu-hsiu—in the spring of 1918, only a few months after the Russian Revolution.<sup>5</sup> Mao Tse-tung was one of the members of this group. Prof. Chen's revolutionary writings had great influence with the progressive intellectuals of that time. The May Fourth Movement<sup>6</sup> greatly spurred the people's interests in revolutionary thinking and organization and a section of the Chinese intellectuals turned to Marxism for a way out of China's political and economic degeneration. The international communist movement, as represented by the third International or the

Comintern as it is better known, also evinced a keen interest in China almost simultaneously; and in the spring of 1920 sent two delegates—Gregory Voitinsky and an overseas Chinese named Yang Ming-Chai—to help organize the Chinese Communist movement.<sup>7</sup> Immediately upon his arrival in China Voitinsky organized a group of leftists and founded the nucleus of the Chinese Communist Party.<sup>8</sup> On its model many more groups were organized in various towns of China.

The Communist Party of China was formally established on July 1, 1921<sup>9</sup> when the First Congress of the party opened in Shanghai attended by twelve delegates, including Mao Tse-tung, representing in all fifty-seven<sup>10</sup> Communists. The assorted ideologies of the delegates, it has been stated embraced "biblical socialism, social democracy, anarchism and various shades of Communism."<sup>11</sup> It was no wonder then that there was sharp controversy among the delegates on almost all points in the agenda which included, discussions on (a) the "current political situation," (b) the basis task of the Party; (c) the Party constitution and (d) election of leaders.<sup>12</sup>

of Chinese developments. Suffice it to recall that the constitution (of the Republic) itself was based on a draft prepared by the Central Committee of the Communist Party headed by Mao Tse-tung; who again was also the Chairman of the Committee for Drafting the Constitution appointed by the Central Government in 1953. To dispel any possible confusion on the key position of the Party in China, Liu Shao-Chi in his report on the constitution clearly stated: "The Communist Party of China is the core of the leadership in our country"—see Liu Shao-Chi—*Report on the Draft Constitution of the Peoples Republic of China*; delivered before the First Session of the First National People's Congress of China, on Sept. 15, 1954—Peking 1954 Pp. 39; 62. The fact of the absence of a formal provision in the Chinese Constitution according the Communist Party a status in the model of the Soviet Constitution (Article 126 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.) makes no real difference in the relative position of the Communist Party under the two constitutions. See also the present writer's article in the weekly *Vigil*, Calcutta, March 16-30; 1957.

5. Benjamin I. Schwartz: *Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao*; Harvard University Press, 1952—p. 16. The best account yet available in English of the early growth of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism in China is given in Prof. Schwartz's book Pp. 7-27; see also Robert C. North—*op. cit.*—p. 53.

6. So called from the date (the 4th of May; 1919) when the movement started. It was a nationalist movement against the Japanese aggression in Shantung. In official Chinese Communist pronouncements great stress is laid on this movement. As a matter of fact the movement in its development far surpassed its original nationalist outlook; it marked the era of Chinese renaissance. See Mao Tse-tung: "The May 4 Movement" in the *Selected Works*—Vol-III Pp. 9-11.

7. Edward Hallett Carr: *The Bolshevik Revolution* Vol. Three London; 1953—P. 507; North *op. cit.*; p. 54.

8. North—*op. cit.*; pp. 54-55.

9. Hu Chiao-mu: *Thirty Years of the Communist Party of China*, Peking 1951—p. 5; Conrad Brandt, Benjamin Schwartz and John K. Fairbank: *A Documentary History of Chinese Communism*; London: 1952—pp. 30; 51-52; Schwartz—*op. cit.*; Pp. 28-38; North: *op. cit.*; pp. 56-60; William Z. Foster: *History of the Three Internationals*; New York 1955: pp. 300-308; Hugh Seton-Watson: *From Lenin to Malenkov: A History of World Communism*; New York; 1954—pp. 136-142; Carr *op. cit.*; —Vol. 3 pp. 517-18; Hsiao I-ping and Chang Kung: "A Brief Sketch of the National Congresses of CCP" in the *Jen Min Jih Pao (People's Daily)*; Peking, Sept. 15, 1956 reproduced in the *Current Background* No. 410, Sept. 25, 1956.

10. *People's China*; Peking, Sept. 16, 1956—page 17.

11. Kisselev—"A History of Communism in China," *The China Illustrated Review*, January 28, 1928; p. 11 quoted in North *op. cit.*; p. 22.

12. P'ei Tung—"A summary of the First Seven National Congresses of the Chinese Communist Party," the *Hsueh Hsi (Study)*, the theoretical journal of the Communist Party of China; Peking; September, 1956 reproduced in the *Current Background*, Hongkong, No. 410, Sept. 25, 1956.

## THE FIRST CONGRESS

The First Congress decided that the fundamental task of the Party was to fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat in China. It adopted a Constitution for the Party after an agreement had been reached that the organizational pattern of the Bolshevik Party of Russia should be the organizational model. Considering the numerical weakness of the Party, the appointment of a Central Committee was not deemed necessary; instead a Central Bureau was created to maintain contact with the Communist nuclei in the various parts of China.<sup>13</sup>

The Congress however agreed on the need to urge workers to participate in the bourgeois—democratic revolution.

Though a representative from the Communist International (Maring or Mahlin), was present at the Congress,<sup>14</sup> the question of the Party joining the International was not raised at all.<sup>15</sup>

The First Congress does not appear to have issued any declaration or manifesto.<sup>16</sup> The First Manifesto of the Party was issued on June 10, 1922 a few days before the convocation of the Second Congress. The Manifesto analysed the course of the Chinese revolution up to that and indicated the Party's qualified support to the Kuomintang in the "struggle for the overthrow of the military and for the organization of a real democratic government." It also laid down the immediate demands of the Party.<sup>17</sup>

## SECOND CONGRESS

The Second Congress of the Party was held in June-July, 1922 in Shanghai attended by twelve delegates representing 123 members<sup>18</sup>. A number of topics was discussed and the Congress approved four documents: (1) a political

Resolution; (2) a Resolution on organization; (3) a Resolution on Women's Movement and (4) the Manifesto of the Second National Congress.

The Manifesto of the Second Congress said that the Communist Party was the Party of the proletariat and its aim was to struggle for (the establishment of) the dictatorship of workers and peasants, the abolition of private property, and the gradual attainment of a Communist society. It laid down a seven-point programme and declared the Party's adherence to the Communist International<sup>19</sup>.

The Chief defect of the Second Congress lay in its failure to pay any "attention to the agrarian problem of the Peasantry—the most fundamental problem in democratic revolution"<sup>20</sup> and its failure to stress the necessity of proletarian leadership of the democratic revolution.<sup>21</sup>

In August 1922 a meeting of the Central Committee of the Party convened under the initiative of Maring, the representative from the International, decided to ask Party members to enter the Kuomintang after Dr. Sun Yat-Sen had once rejected a Communist offer for mutual alliance.<sup>22</sup>

## THIRD CONGRESS

The Third Congress of the Party was held in June 1923 in Canton and was attended by thirty members (27 of them being accredited delegates)<sup>23</sup>, representing 432 Party members. The agenda of the Congress included discussions on (a) the formation of a United Front with the Kuomintang in the national liberation struggle against the Peking Government, which was being backed by the imperialist powers; and (b) the Programme of the Party. There was a major dispute among the delegates on the question of co-operation with the Kuomin-

13. Chen Pan-tsu—"Reminiscences of the First Congress of the Communist Party of China;" *Communist International*; October 1936—p. 1364 quoted in Robert C. North: *Moscow and Chinese Communists*—p. 59.

14. Brandt, Schwartz and Fairbank *op. cit.*; —p. 30; P'ei T'ung—*op. cit.*

15. Schwartz—*Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao*—p. 34.

16. Brandt, Schwartz and Fairbank—*op. cit.*; —p. 51.

17. For text of the First Manifesto see *Ibid* Pp. 54-63.

18. *People's China*; Sept. 16, 1956.

19. Brandt, Schwartz and Fairbank, *op. cit.*; —p. 64; North *op. cit.*; Pp. 63-64; Hsiao I-ping and Chang Kung—*op. cit.*; Hu Chiao-mu—*op. cit.*; —p. 7. P'ei T'ung: "A Brief sketch of the First Five Congresses of the Chinese Communist Party;" *Hsueh Hsi*; Peking; Sept. 1952 reproduced in the *Current Background*; No. 410 Pp. 29-30.

20. Hsiao I-ping and Chang Kung—*op. cit.*

21. Hu Chiao-mu—*op. cit.*; Pp. 6-7; *People's China*; September 16 1956—p. 18.

22. North *op. cit.*—p. 64.

23. *People's China*, Sept. 16, 1956—p. 18.

tang—the Party Secretary Ch'en Tu-Ksiu favouring all out co-operation ("Capitulation") while another group headed by Chang Kuo-tao opposing the very proposition of any co-operation with the Kuomintang. The Congress eventually agreed to adopt a policy of a "revolutionary united front" with the Kuomintang, the Communist Party retaining its organizational and political independence. No records were apparently available on the discussions of the Party Programme or its contents.<sup>24</sup>

It was at the Third Congress that Mao Tse-tung was first elected to the Central Committee of the Party.

<sup>24</sup> P'ei Tung: A Brief Review of the First Five Congresses of the Chinese Communist Party," *Hsueh Hsi*, Peking, Sept. 1, 1952 reproduced in the *Current Background* No. 410, p. 31.

The historic Sun-Joffe Declaration<sup>25</sup> was signed on January 26, 1923 signaling "the advent of that fraternalisation between the KMT<sup>26</sup> and the KCT<sup>27</sup> which is of paramount importance in the history of Chinese Communism<sup>28</sup>. The reorganized Kuomintang held its First Congress in Canton in January 1924 in which it was decided to admit the Communists into the Kuomintang<sup>29</sup>.

(To be Continued)

<sup>25</sup> For text see A. K. Wu: *China and the Soviet Union*, London 1950, Pp. 312-313, Brandt, Schwartz and Fairbank *op. cit.* Pp. 70-71.

<sup>26</sup> Abbreviation for the Kuomintang (the Nationalist Party).

<sup>27</sup> Abbreviation for the Kung Ch'an-tung (the Communist Party).

<sup>28</sup> A. K. Wu—*op. cit.*—p. 313.

<sup>29</sup> For the text of the First National Programme adopted by the First National Congress of the Kuomintang in 1924 see the *China Handbook* 1937-1943, *Chungking*; 1943—Pp. 57-58.

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## THE THIRD SOVIET ARTIFICIAL EARTH SATELLITE

By V. LEVANTOVSKY

THE third Soviet sputnik was launched on May 15, 1958.

What has the new Soviet sputnik in common with the artificial Earth Satellite launched earlier in the USSR and the United States and how does it differ from them?

Just as in the case of the two first Soviet satellites, the plane of the orbit of the third sputnik is inclined at an angle of 65° to the plane of the equator. To place a sputnik in an orbit, forming such a big angle with the plane of the equator requires a much greater initial speed than in case of an orbit crossing the equator at a smaller angle. On the other hand, this affords a number of advantages and is of much greater interest to science since in this case the sputnik flies over almost the entire surface of the Earth (except the polar regions.)

The planes of the orbits of the three American artificial satellites form angles of 33°-35° with the plane of the equator, which makes it possible to observe them and receive their radio-signals only in a relatively narrow range

of geographical latitudes. Visual and photographing tracking are very difficult owing to the small size of the American satellites. But the new Soviet sputnik, and the last stage of the carrier-rocket from which it separated will be well seen everywhere with the naked eye thanks to their big size.

The apogee of the orbit of Sputnik No. 3 is higher than that of the previous sputniks and is 1,880 km. from the Earth. The sputnik makes one revolution around the Earth in 106 minutes, or more than 13 revolutions daily.

The most striking feature of the new satellite is its weight, 1,327 kg. It is almost 16 times greater than the weight of the first Soviet sputnik, almost one hundred times bigger than the weight of the American Explorer-1 and Explorer-2 and more than 900 times bigger than the Vanguard. It should be borne in mind that this figure, 1,327 kg., does not include the weight of the last stage of the carrier-rocket which was also put in orbit.

Moreover, the weight of both the first and



the third American satellites with which we compared the third Soviet sputnik included the weight of the carrier-rocket. Thus, this time a big mass, considerably greater than 1,327 kg., succeeded in escaping the Earth's gravity, which testifies to the exceedingly high development of rocketry in the Soviet Union.

The third Soviet sputnik is equipped with a wealth of scientific instruments, making possible research in various fields. The total weight of the scientific and radio-measuring equipment, as well as the source of electric power housed in the sputnik amounts to 968 kg., almost twice the weight of the equipment in the second Soviet sputnik and nearly 200 times the weight of the scientific equipment in the American Explorer-1 and Explorer-2.

Let us mention first of all the equipment designed for studying the geomagnetic field which was absent on the second Soviet sputnik. The very origin of the geomagnetic field is unknown to science. There are also many uncertainties as to the causes of the periodic changes of the magnetic field and the sudden "magnetic storms."

Perhaps to some extent other instruments installed for the first time on a sputnik will help find an answer to these questions. These instruments are designed for measuring of the concentration of positive ions in the upper layers of the atmosphere and also for measuring the value of the electric charge of the sputnik and the tension of the electrostatic field of the Earth. Scientists suppose that there are in the ionosphere constant electric currents, the flow of which is disturbed from time to time by streams of particles coming from the Sun (so-called corpuscular radiation) which cause magnetic storms.

Of very great interest is the study, with the help of instruments on the sputnik, of meteoric bodies,—solid particles which are continuously bombing the atmosphere of our planet. Scientists think that the tiniest particles, micrometeors, exert an influence on many processes taking place in the upper layers of the atmosphere. A study of the bigger meteors is of great significance for ascertaining the scope of the so-called "meteoric danger" threatening future spaceships.

Instruments for the study of the corpuscular radiation of the Sun and cosmic rays have been installed in the third Soviet sputnik, just as in the second. It is known that investigations already made with the help of Soviet and American satellite have brought to light a number of entirely new, unexpected phenomena in this sphere. The third sputnik will help check new hypothesis of scientists. The study of cosmic rays will enable researchers not only to penetrate more deeply the mysteries of the origin of the universe but also to solve major problems connected with ensuring the safety of interplanetary travel.

The instruments placed in the sputnik will transmit to the Earth data on the temperature inside the sputnik and on its surface. It is remarkable that to ensure the normal functioning of the equipment the temperature within the sputnik will be regulated automatically. Such a task was set already by our famous scientist K. Tsiolkovsky and is of major significance for ensuring normal conditions of life for passengers of future spaceships.

Lastly, solar batteries are an interesting feature of the new sputnik. These batteries, transforming solar energy into electric energy, will be able to prolong considerably the operation of the equipment. This first solar batteries are the prototype of gigantic solar electric stations which will serve the needs of inhabited "cosmic islands" of the future. An important role is played by a timer device which controls the work of the equipment, making possible the economical use of electricity.

While the radio transmitters in the small American satellites can emit only weak signals, the size of the Soviet sputniks made it possible carry radio transmitters of big capacity. This, just as previously, enabled the broadest sections of scientists and radio hams to receive the radio signals of the third sputnik.

As for the significance of the launching of the new sputnik for solving problems of space travel, we should first of all stress the fact that Soviet scientists and engineers have succeeded in surpassing their previous achievements which staggered the world and have put in orbit near the Earth an unprecedented total weight of metal shells and equipment. Future big steps in mastering outer space require the use of

sputniks and research rockets of big size carrying diverse instruments.

Let us recall that the power of radio-signals received diminishes rapidly as distance increases. Hence it is clear how important it is for a rocket sent to the Moon or in general

far from the Earth to have on board powerful radio transmitters, and for this it must be of large size. The launching of the new huge Soviet sputnik proves the possibility of still greater progress in the mastery of outer space by man.

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## COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN GARO HILLS

THERE is nothing monotonous and rigidly conformist about the Community Development movement in India, which has, in the five-and-a-half years of its existence, shown the basic characteristics of a living organism, a powerful urge for growth combined with a capacity for adaptation to a multiplicity of conditions and needs. This fact was brought home to us in a variety of ways during the week we spent at the Resu-Belpara Block in Assam.

The area covered by this Block lies on the northern slopes of Garo Hills, forming part of the lower Himalayan range which separates the Brahmaputra valley from the southern districts of Assam. The region gets its name from the hardy tribals who inhabit the lonely hills, which have until very recently remained largely unopened to the world that lies beyond.

Their very first contact with the region and its people made it clear to the workers attached to the Block that the experience in Community Development techniques they had acquired elsewhere was not of much help in these rugged, severely isolationist tribal tracts, where road to frustration was paved with good intentions and more important than knowing what to do was knowing what not to do.

No one was in a better position to understand this situation than Harrison Marak of village Belpara. Only six months ago, Mr. Marak had returned after three years of agricultural training at Jorhat and Shillong to preside over Resu-Belpara's Self-Help Society—a body roughly equivalent to a Panchayat—there being no Panchayats as such in Garo Hills.

### NEED FOR RESTRAINT

"In these regions," Mr. Marak said to us, "excessive enthusiasm does not pay. The Garos are not an unfriendly people, but they share the tribal people's inborn fear and suspicion of all that is extraneous. They are quick to resent anything which looks like patronising or interference. The Community Project people here have done well to avoid the civilising zeal of some pre-project missionaries and village uplifters, who, because of their blind and aggressive goodness towards the tribals have succeeded mainly in wounding their pride, disrupting their way of life and degrading their arts and crafts."

In this respect, the Garo Hills offered a genuine testing ground for the philosophy behind Community Development movement in India, which all along has laid emphasis on the importance of basing all progress on local economy and functioning as far as possible through local institutions.

The beneficial effects of this approach are much in evidence in the field of agricultural development. Initial enthusiasm on the part of some project people for abolishing "primitive" practices and for introducing spectacular innovations changed with growing experience. Going around some of the villages with the Project Executive Officer, we were happy to find that the Block's financial and labour resources were being more fruitfully utilised in improving existing facilities and conditions than in introducing spectacular innovations for which the local farmers cannot find much use.

Some useful innovations, however, have been made in the directions in which it could



be most conveniently done without disturbing local economy. One such innovation, which has remarkably caught on with the Garo farmers, is the introduction of cashewnut cultivation. Garo Hills' climate and soil condition have been found suitable for this crop; the gamble paid. Soon, in the commercial towns of the valley of Assam, Garo Hills will become famous not only for their cotton but also for their cashewnuts.



Mrs. Lohomani De Shira, a 80-year old Garo woman of Dilma village, is the moving spirit behind the Women's Industrial Co-operative Society

#### NEW MEDICINE FOR OLD

Medicine is another field in which a flexible and intelligent approach on the part of project officials turned initial doubts and resentment into enthusiastic participation in the end. As is the case with most tribal people, medicine among the Garos is mixed up inextricably with religious and occult practices. Modern medicine was for long time a suspect. Medical men working with the Block were manhandled in many places during the early days and there

were at least two known instances of burning of hospitals by enraged villagers.

This posed a grave problem until the Assistant Project Executive Officer in charge of the Block hit upon a novel idea. Medical men before they proceeded to the interior were thoroughly briefed in local sickness and health cults and adequately posted with knowledge of local herbs, some of which incidentally have been found to be highly efficacious. As far as



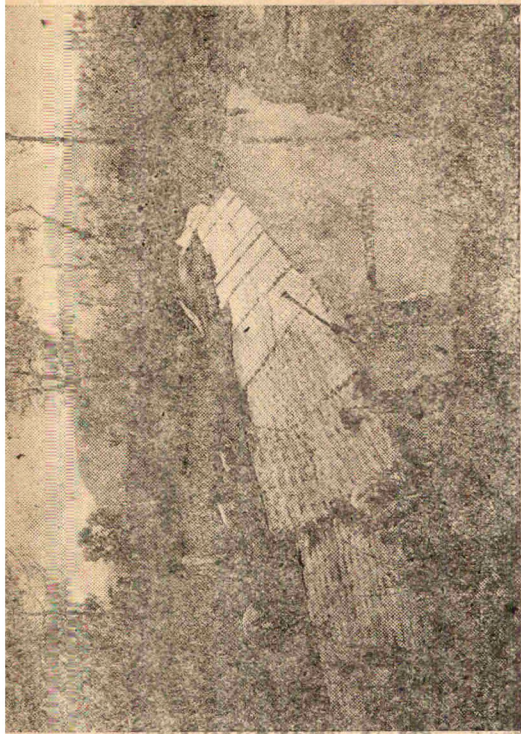
A young Garo girl proudly displays the lovely cotton shawl made by her at a Production-cum-Training centre for weaving

possible, they were asked to supplement and not replace the traditional healing methods. During epidemics, which in the Garo Hills have been, until recently, as frequent as disastrous, modern medicine won countless converts by the simple strategy of saving life. Garos are not an ungrateful people. Soon they were helping the authorities in building hospitals, which today adorn the Garo countryside like temples of popular deities.

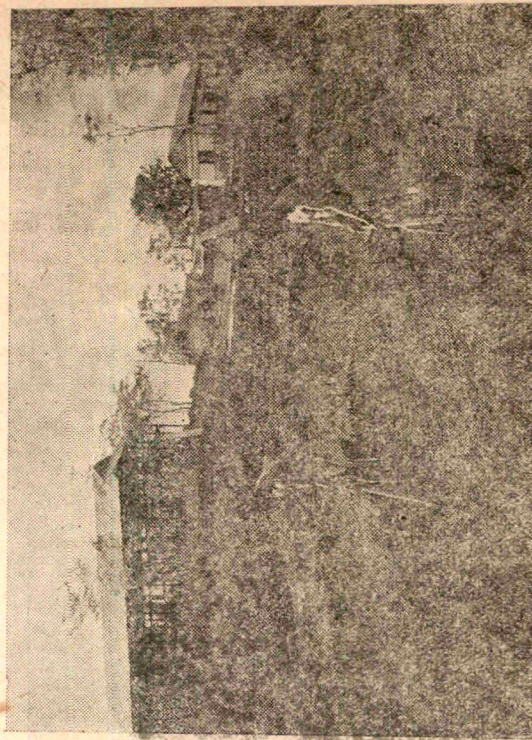
#### WOMEN TO THE FORE

It was, however, not in these epitomes that we found the perfect embodiment of Garo





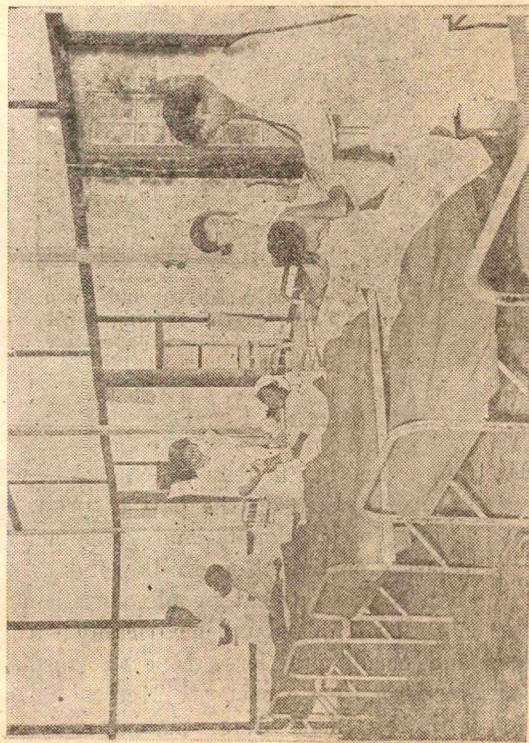
A party of students helping to build a bund on the Gajong river



A couple of Garo farmers cutting terraces on their field



A Garo housewife working on a local variety of loom



A view of the Community Hospital at Belpara



Hills' resurgent spirit. We found it in the frail, 80-year old body of Lohomani De Shira of Dilma village. Mrs. De Shira presides over a unique and flourishing institution, an industrial co-operative society composed entirely of women. The Society which was started as a modest Mahila Club in Dilma five years back has grown into a colossal institution, and is today one of the chief instruments of rural development in the region. Through its sales and marketing organisation at Dilma and more than a dozen production-cum-training centres for women spread over the interior, the Society has provided both power and direction to what can legitimately be called a cottage-industrial revolution in the Garo Hills.

The importance of this organisation for Garo Hills can be appreciated only when the place of weaving in Garo society is fully understood. Garo women are born weavers. A handloom is an indispensable article of every household, and proficiency in the art of weaving is considered a necessary pre-condition of eligibility for marriage for a young Garo girl.

Apart from imparting training to young women, the Society, with liberal financial assistance from the Block and the State Tribal Welfare Board, supplies free looms to qualified trainees. Lohomani De Shira introduced us to a group of girl students from Gangdobi who, by spending an hour daily at the weaving centre situated at a distance of less than two miles from their school, were helping to bring an extra income of 30 to 50 rupees every month to their families.

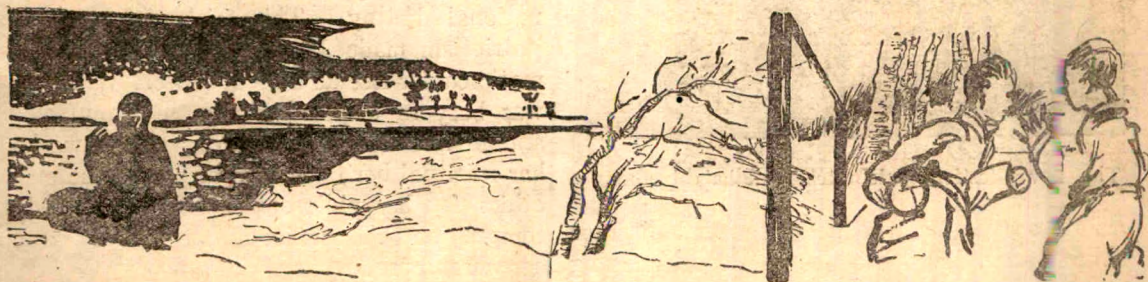
#### A SCRIPT IS BORN

Another major development has been in the field of education. The Garos have a very peculiar language of their own without any properly developed script. Moreover, the dia-

lect varies from village to village. The first problem that the project people had to face was the crying need for a common script. The Autonomous District Council of Garo Hills instituted a special committee which recommended adaption of Roman script. Soon after, the task of producing suitable text-books was taken in hand. The rate of advance made in this direction has been truly astonishing. A highly competent fortnightly news-sheet produced by the staff and students of the high school at Resu introduced us to the beauty and potentiality of the Garo language which is rapidly taking its place as one of the major languages of Assam.

Our only disappointment in Garo Hills came from the somewhat slow pace of improvement in means of communication. Although, in the last four or five years some excellent roads have been built to connect some of the major villages in the Block with the District headquarters at Tura and the big market towns of Goalpara and Gauhati in the valley below, internal communications, by and large, remain agonisingly under-developed. One reason for this state of affairs could be the difficult nature of the terrain itself; another, the high cost of maintaining good roads. However, the discovery of large deposits of coal near Nangalbibra, at the heart of the Garo Hills, has brought with it the prospects of better roads in the near future. Work has already begun on the extension of the 15-mile long Resu-Bajengdoba road, the region's main artery of internal communications, to connect it with the coal-bearing region.

It is, however, in the matter of roads alone that the Garos look towards assistance from outside. In every other field they prefer to do everything with their own resources and with their own hands—and rightly too.—P.B.





## THE HEART OF JAPAN

BY DR. MATILAL DAS, M.A., Ph.D.

THE pre-war Japan and modern Japan are entirely different in outlook and character. The sublimely indomitable, intensely egoistic spirit of the pre-war militaristic Japan has been converted into a new democratic Japan. It was rather lucky that I visited the Japan of today in August and September, 1954 during my tour round the world as the cultural ambassador of the Bharata Sanskriti Parishat.



World-famed Daibutsu (Great Buddha) in Kamakura

During the last great war, Japan made an unconditional surrender in 1945 and for seven years she was under occupation by America. But out of evil cometh good. This period of

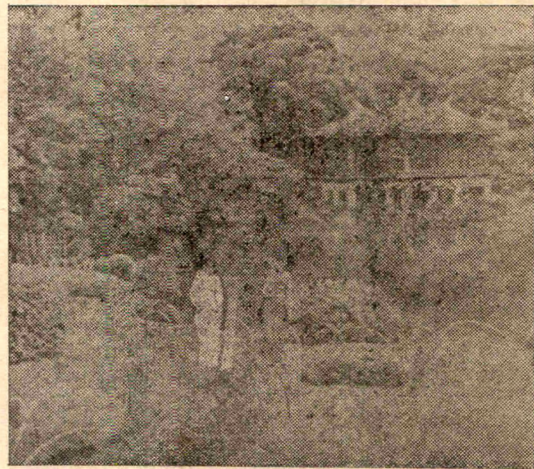


The flower-festival celebrates Buddha's birthday

forceful occupation, though a national disgrace in one sense, has brought in epoch-making

changes and has been the cause of great developments in all walks of life.

First of all, there has been demilitarization, followed by separation of the state from religion. This has been America's great friendly act in Japan. The democratic ideas of U.S.A. touched every corner of Japanese life. There has been a new constitution giving wide rights of liberty, franchise, local autonomy and making many other sweeping changes. There has been a new civil code, reform of the police and educational systems, land reforms and development of labour. The State is now a Welfare State, catering to the needs of the people.

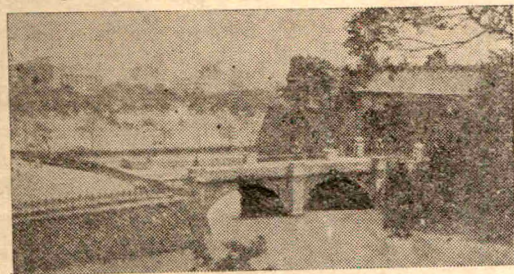


Shinjuku Gyoen Garden in uptown Tokyo

But with all these new changes and reforms, the heart of Japan is still the same. The Japanese still possess a unifying faith in a national destiny. This faith and this intense patriotism made Japan throughout its diplomatic career rise as a great power. While Japan was busy in empire-building, in manufacturing and in militarisation, she was still powerful in her spiritual heritage. She turned to the ancient ethics for her philosophy. She survived the competition and conflict of the west by keeping her heart pure.

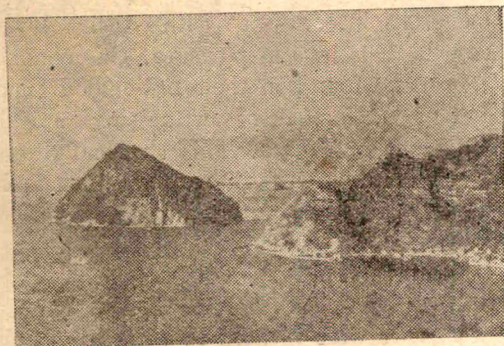


It was possible for me to dive deep into the hidden source of Japan's national character, because I was a guest in Nishihara in a hermitage organised by George Oshawa, who is a dreamer and dreams of world-organization and world-unity. He wants to fuse and amalgamate the East and the West and build a better and a richer world.



A lovely approach to the Imperial Palace in Tokyo

George Oshawa himself is a Buddhist but the gentleman in charge of his Association is a Christian gentleman called John Yanaguchi. He is a kind-hearted nice man and during my stay in this place, he allowed me to have his room and have his bed while he himself slept in an easy-chair. The Japanese soldiers are noted for their thorough discipline, but still the imagination of the people is captured by anything totally whimsical, individualistic and

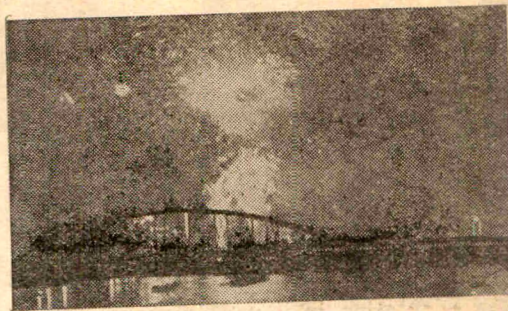


Mt. Fuji over the Mitohama Beach, Izu

impulsive. George Oshawa is a notable man, broad-minded and catholic in his outlook though he is all the same an eccentric man who believes that vegetarianism is the cure for all diseases. With their love for restraint and discipline, here is a curious example how a large band of followers has gathered round Oshawa in spite of

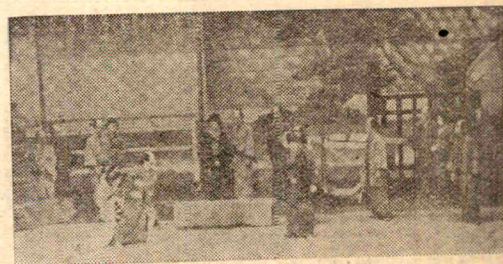
his bit of madness or eccentricity. I was glad to find that this peculiar trait of the Japanese people has been noted by Upton Close. He writes: "The Japanese love of eccentricity and hyperbole in lighter things adds a great deal of charm to the islands."

The Japanese like Indians are fond of festivals. Some of these festivals centre round



The colourful fireworks display

the peoples' love of nature and their aesthetic sense of beauty. The Japanese derive their love of beauty and culture from their inner nature but they have developed it into a new art of life. It manifests itself in their fine arts, in their daily outlook, in dress and in all other appurtenances of daily life. The Japanese village is built to nestle into the mountains and mist harmoniously. Even the factory worker in the midst of smoke and dust will look up to have a glimpse



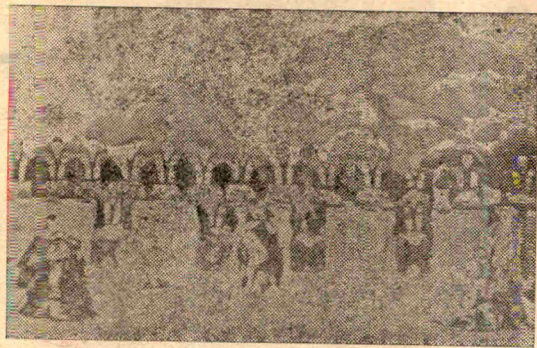
A scene from a traditional Kabuki performance

of the snow-clad Mount Fuji. Everybody that goes out at night will look up at the sky and greet the moon.

This innate love for beauty is apparent from the fact that they have festivals of moon-viewing and flower-viewing. Sakura or Cherry-blossom is the symbol of spring and the people, young and old, go out to enjoy the sight of the flowers in bud or in full bloom. Even Tokyo,

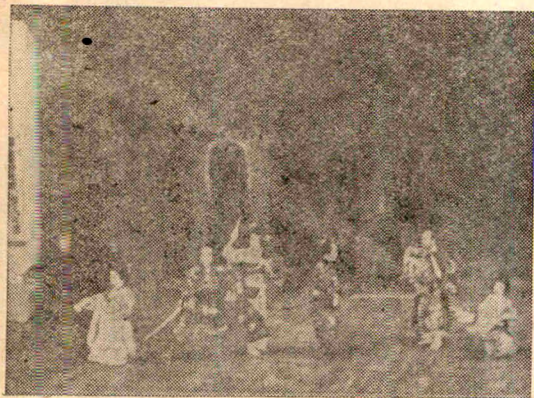


the premier city of trade and commerce, is called the capital of flowers.



A performance of the gorgeous Kabuki

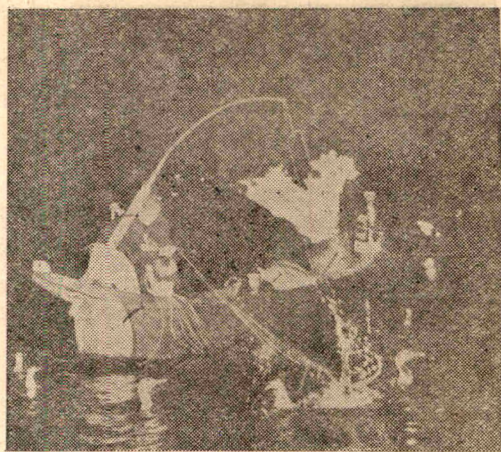
This aesthetic bent of the race has conquered the filth of modern industrial life. Half of the population in Japan is engaged in agriculture and fishery, while the other half is busy with manufacture and industry. But even in their trade and industry there is some poetry and colour. The workers of this highly industrialized country will have hours off to watch the lotus open, the cherry fall and the maple leaf turn. Even in her new stone and concrete cities, there is beauty and romance, mystery and colour, poetry and play. Rows of shops in a street are a kaleidoscope of design and arrangement.



A spectacular scene in a Kabuki play

Art is a national affair in Japan. Every big department has one floor constantly devoted to art exhibitions, musical performances and other festivals of Nature worship. The soul of the people has not been destroyed by the

greed of profit-making. The Japanese are proud of their island heroes. Japan has her many mountains and they enjoy their magnificent scenic beauty. Rivers thread their way through the peaks, forming lovely waterfalls and ravines in the upper reaches. The hot springs in scenic environments, the picturesque landscape, the crystal streams, the silvery cascades, the great forests—all are there in Japan. The Japanese are their most ardent and sincere admirers. A writer has said well that they draw as much sustenance from white lilies as from a loaf of bread.



Cormorant fishing on the River Nagara

Closely interwoven with their love of beauty is their love of pleasure. One channel of this is to be found in their national dramas. I had the good fortune of witnessing a Kabuki performance in Tokyo. This classical dramatic performance owes its origin to the Noh and the puppet show. Without knowing a single word of Japanese it was not possible for me to appreciate the inner symbolism of the play. But it was a magnificent feast for the eye. On a very big stage we were pleased to witness gorgeously colourful costumes, luxurious settings, and spectacular acting.

Like that of us in Bengal, rice, fish and vegetables form the principal items of the Japanese diet. But they are served in containers which are to be admired for their colour, shape and design. I had the good fortune of being invited to a dinner by one Mr. Azimar, a follower of Mr. Oshawa and a member of his



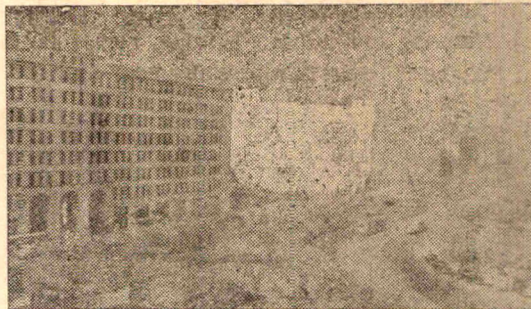
organisation. They do not use knife and fork. I tried their chopsticks but without success. We were served green tea as an essential part of the meal. There was no other drink in this dinner, but the people as a whole enjoy having *sake* or rice-wine.



Pearl-divers of Ise-Shima National Park

What struck me most is the wonderful recoupment Japan has made after the great devastations of the last war. The real reason for Japan's success is to be found in many causes, *viz.*, rationalization and production, modernization of machinery, cheapness of power and labour, co-operation instead of throat-cutting in their industries and above all Government supervision and help. But the most important source is to be found in the morale of the workers, their profound faith in the value and importance of their work, each believes that he is working for the nation, and they must win over the Western world. India is free for ten years but with all our boasts, there is no fire in our heart. Our leaders must know that without this morale no nation can rise in the world.

As the cultural ambassador of India, my attention was closely devoted to the cultural link through Buddhism between India and Japan. I am happy that through Japanese friends, I was able to come into close touch with the heads of many Buddhist monasteries. I was impressed



Marunouchi, hub of commercial activities

with the meditative aspects of Buddhism in Thailand, but I am glad to find that the adroit and agile Japanese are now-a-days giving more emphasis on preaching and active worship.

My stay was short. I have a mind to go once again and study Japanese culture. What I should ask my countrymen to remember is that it was Subhas Chandra Bose who is the actual builder of Indian Independence and he did so through Japanese help. We shall lose nothing but shall gain everything if we keep a bit closer and more intimate contact with our brothers of the land of the rising sun.



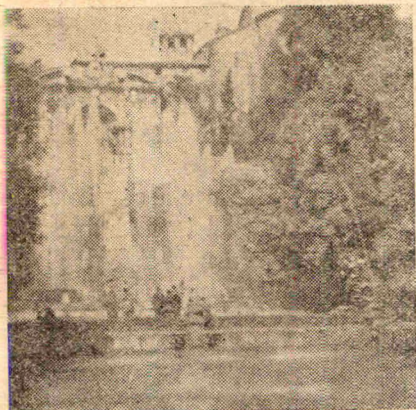


## A TRIP TO TIVOLI

BY PROF. (MISS) O. FERNANDES

It began on a warm day in late March. We were planning our trip to Europe, and a friend who had been there the previous year had come to help.

"While in Rome," our friend advised, "you must visit Tivoli."



The Villa D'Este with its foreground of fountains and cascades

Something stirred in my memory. It was a passage from a schoolgirl novel which I still had with me. The schoolgirls, on a visit to Italy, had spent a day at Tivoli which had been the fashionable summer resort of Ancient Rome. One of the girls had said, "No wonder the old Romans came here for their holidays! I expect Cicero and Pliny and—oh, I forget all their names!—have looked at these waterfalls and admired them. I call it great!"

That settled it. In my little notebook I wrote, "Visit Tivoli."

So it came about that one of the first things we did in Rome was to walk up to a well-known travel agency and ask about excursions to Tivoli. Trips to Tivoli were a regular feature of this travel agency, and within a few minutes we had booked seats on a luxury motor-coach which would take us there for a full day's sightseeing on the following Sunday. The cost of the trip was four thousand lire (about

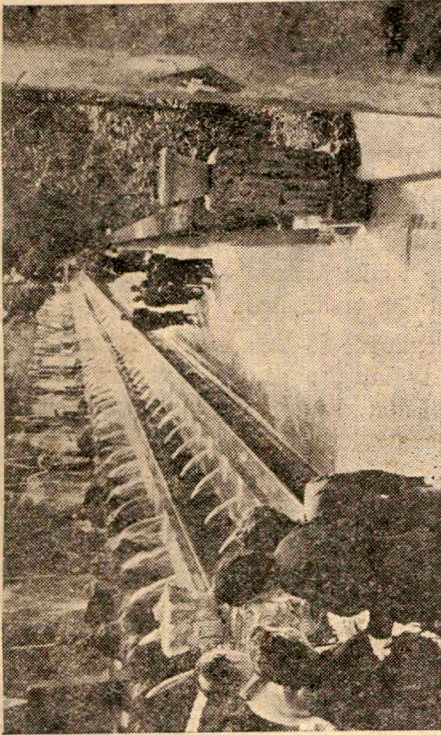
thirty-three rupees) and this included lunch at a first class restaurant, tips, and the services of an English-speaking guide. The motor-coach was scheduled to leave Rome at 9-30 in the morning and to return fairly early in the evening. In addition to sightseeing at Tivoli, the itinerary included visits en route to the Italian (or Mussolini) Forum which is situated in the suburbs of Rome and is the centre of Italian sports and athletics and the site of the 1960 Olympic games; and to Hadrian's villa which lies in the district of Tivoli, a couple of miles away from the town.



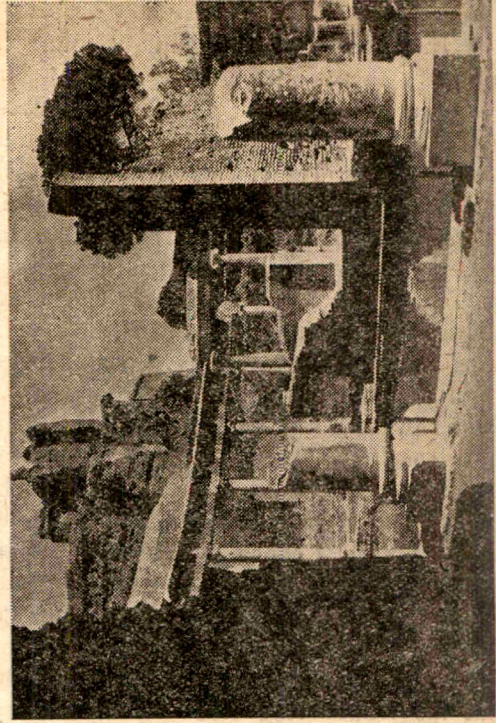
The gardens of the Villa D'Este. The fountains to the right of the picture give the appearance of a wall of water

The little town of Tivoli lies on the Tiburine hills about eighteen miles to the north-east of Rome. During the days of the Roman Empire, Tibur (as Tivoli was then called) was a sort of hill-station for rich and fashionable Romans several of whom (including at least two of the Emperors) had villas there.

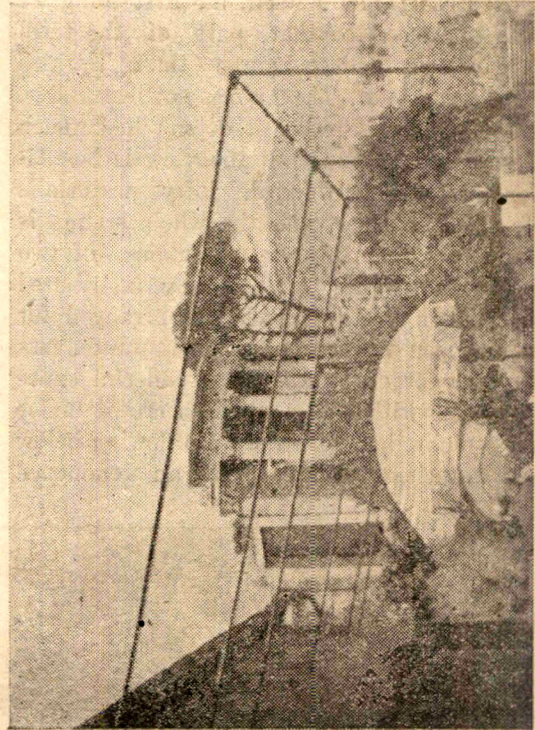




The Gardens of the Villa D'Este. A magnificent walk with shady trees on one side and scores of fountains on the other



The remains of Hadrian's Villa are impressive in the spring sunshine



Umbrellas in the foreground give a modern touch to this view of the remains of one of the Roman temples at Tivoli



Some of these villas are scattered about the district of Tivoli. The finest is Hadrian's villa. Hadrian's villa is not a villa in the ordinary sense of the word, but consists of a collection of temples, theatres, gardens, and a palace sprawling over an area of about 160 acres. The emperor Hadrian was a great traveller, and many of the buildings in his villa were miniature replicas of the famous buildings he saw while touring the Roman provinces. Today, everything is in ruins—but what magnificent ruins! Our visit to Hadrian's villa was on a sunny spring morning. Cypress trees stood tall and beautiful. Here and there grew a bush of hawthorn in full bloom. The party in our motor-coach was a cosmopolitan and modern one—American, Canadian, Indian, and British, camera-swinging tourists led by a Roman guide who spoke fluent English with an Italian accent. But as we gazed at the ruins of Hadrian's villa we seemed to be transported for a brief space of time to the distant days of the Roman Empire when the emperor Hadrian held court at his villa during the second century A.D.

On entering Tivoli itself, the first thing we did was to drive to that part of the town which overlooks a deep gorge through which flows the river Anio. The Anio is not impressive. From the top of the gorge it doesn't look much broader than a stream; but the view is beautiful, for the gorge is wooded, lofty waterfalls tumble over its sides, and the whole scene is dominated by the picturesque remains of two small Roman temples traditionally attributed to the goddess Vesta. Lunch was arranged for us on the open terrace of a restaurant overlooking the gorge. It was a wonderful experience—to sit with a cosmopolitan crowd under colourful umbrellas, with the Anio flowing below and an ancient temple on an eminence

beyond, eating Italian food and listening to an old musician playing Italian airs on his guitar.

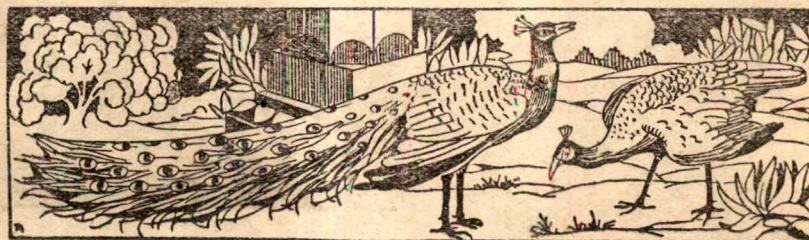
After lunch the guide announced, "And now, ladies and gentlemen, I will show you something really beautiful."

We realised later that this was, if anything, an understatement, for the gardens of the Villa D'Este to which he took us are incredibly lovely and, today, are Tivoli's major attraction. The Villa D'Este is a Renaissance villa dating from the middle of the sixteenth century. Its terraced gardens with their beautiful shady avenues are laid out on a steep slope. Outstanding feature of the gardens is the magnificent profusion of nearly 400 ornamental fountains and cascades. That afternoon in the gardens of the Villa D'Este was unforgettable. There were crowds of visitors, and parties of tourists shepherded by guides; but those splendid Renaissance gardens with their sparkling cascades, limpid pools, soaring fountains, and shady walks possessed a peace and beauty which nothing could mar.

The epilogue to this trip to Tivoli came a few months later, a couple of weeks after our return to India. I happened to meet, at a party, an Italian gentleman who had come out to India only a few months before. We fell to talking about Italy and I particularly mentioned Tivoli with which I had been so impressed. But the gentleman didn't seem to know what I was talking about. "Tivoli" he said, "Where is that?"

And then it transpired that I had been anglicizing the pronunciation of the word Tivoli!

Whereupon he cried excitedly, "Tivoli! Of course, I know Tivoli! But if you don't pronounce it properly how can I understand you? Ah, yes! Tivoli is beautiful; it is wonderful!"





## ON DOGS AND MEN

By DR. MOHAN LAL SETHI, D.Sc., P.E.S.,

*Retd. Principal*

ALL domestic animals like all cultivated plants were originally found wild in a state of nature. The history of the domestication of a few among these is known but the history of the majority is lost in antiquity. Nobody knows who tamed the ancestor of the present-day dog and when. I have read naturalists waxing eloquent over this phenomenal advance in human civilization. Who knows for how many milleniums our forbears were stuck up in the life of the chase? Who first trapped and tamed the harmless herbivorous sheep and bred them for meat? The first pastor, like other first-rate benefactors of mankind, is again lost to us. For our pastoral ancestors, who reared flocks of sheep and goats, the carnivores must have been a source of endless trouble. The ancestors of the dog and their cousins the wolves, must have claimed a heavy toll from the shepherds of old. The plucky shepherd who caught hold of the first pup and tamed him must be honoured by a statue by dog fanciers. He must have come upon a freshly delivered litter of pups by accident in the jungle and the mother must have popped off during difficult delivery. Out of sheer pity he must have carried the helpless pup to his cave. The pup as he grew up, must have astonished its master beyond measure. His instinctive liking for his foster parent, must have been ascribed to a feeling of gratitude for the saviour. This liking for the saviour was, in course of time, expanded to include the herd of sheep belonging to the saviour. The potential enemy was transformed into a powerful friend who did not hesitate to fight and to destroy his own kith and kin for the sake of his master. The taming of the dog was a red letter day in the history of the civilization of mankind.

Though there are wild varieties of dog found in certain parts of Asia and Europe, canine experts opine that the modern dog is descended from the wolf. The dog and the wolf interbreed freely and their progeny is fertile.

Although the wolf is an intractable animal, when compared with the dog, instances are on record where people tamed baby wolves who showed the same measure of attachment and faithfulness towards their human masters as the dog. It must not be forgotten that many varieties of dog have arisen from chance variations under domestication. Naturalists think that his characteristic bark the dog learnt after he came under the influence of man. In proof of this cases of dogs left or strayed from sailors in uninhabited islands are cited. The descendants of such dogs, in the absence of human company, forgot barking in a few generations.

Man dotes on dog and the dog dotes on man. There is some instinctive liking of the one for the other in both. Every human child, some time or the other, makes an attempt to own and fondle a pup. In most cases this infatuation is shortlived, in others it is lifelong. Conversely the most contemptible pup of a pariah bitch is looking out for a human patron and enjoys being led in a string by a child. This liking for the dog in humans reaches its climax in old bachelors and spinsters. Psychologists will perhaps say that not being able to bestow their love and affection on their own progeny, bachelors and spinsters, shower it on the canine and so find satisfaction. The instinct for parenthood seeks and finds fulfilment in this way. That is why a cynic was heard to say, "Humans who do not breed humans, breed dogs."

Generally fanciers keep pedigree dogs which are fine specimens of their kinds and are aristocrats among dogs. But cases are not rare where a person has got attached to a varied non-descript assortment of dogs in whom there is no appeal for the friend of the dog lover and who cannot honestly act on the proverb, 'Love me love my dog.' Not long ago a spinster proudly paraded her lap dog to me. It was her late

mother's pet. With its hair coming off at the time and its scaly skin, it appeared to me the sorriest survivor of its kind. The lady divined my thoughts and said, "It is in its twelfth year. It has lost some of its teeth. In a few days its coat will be all right. It looks after me like my mother. When she died it refused food and drink for a week. The little one is very dear to me." I listened to all this and felt very guilty for not having praised the dog outright.

I am not a dog fancier but I had my fling on the tribe in my younger days. A father's friend on repeated requests gave me a spaniel pup whose fore-limbs were mal-formed. I carried it a distance of ten miles to the town. It developed some digestive trouble and I used to carry it to the veterinary hospital for about two weeks till it died. I gave it a decent burial with the help of my father. My son is a dog fancier. When his bitch littered, two of the pups died the first day and only one survived. One day I said to my son, "Who cleans the bed of the mother and the little one?" "The sweeper of course," he said. Knowing better I kept quiet. Next morning when the pup was crawling in the sun on the verandah, it eased itself. My son who was standing close by shouted for the sweeper. Before the sweeper could reach, the mother lapped up the excreta, little minding the do's and frowns of her master. This is the way the bitch keeps her pups and her bed clean. The dog is one of nature's honorary scavengers. Do whatever you like, he must run after filth, decaying carcasses and bones. For this reason the dog is looked upon as unclean and a taboo is put upon it by some people. Really the dog is one of nature's Harijans—those nearest to God. It is the height of unkindness combined with ingratitude to declare the dog unclean and treat him as an untouchable. The dog shows a devotion to duty which humans would do well to emulate. The Gita says, "The Lord lives in the heart of every creature."\* The author of the Gita returns to this theme several times. The Hindus, who consider the Gita to be the essence and the epitome of all the Vedas and the Upanishads, after this categorical pronouncement have no reason to give the dog a bad name.

The dog is the victim of his very acute and peculiar sense of smell combined with an extraordinary memory for smells. Acute, because things which humans declare to be non-odorous, give out odours which the dog can appreciate and evaluate. Peculiar, because things which are very repulsive and nauseating to humans are very attractive to our canine pet. Man has not been slow in putting these special traits of the dog to his use. Hunters avail of the service of dogs in chase. Police people train dogs to help them in tracking down criminals. Police dogs because of their unerring sense of smell take up the trail of murderers when human ingenuity fails.

The universal popularity of the dog is mainly due to this animal's liking for play and its capacity for demonstrating its emotions. Children take so kindly to dogs because these frolicsome creatures join them wholeheartedly in their play. While playing with children dogs permit themselves to be roughly handled and they too take all sorts of liberties with their human play-mates. Without the gift of speech, this dumb creature is unique in the animal kingdom for exhibiting his emotions. Perhaps with the exception of monkeys and apes which are higher in the scale of evolution, no other animals can excel the dogs in the display of emotions. Watch a dog welcoming his master back home in the evening. The reception he gives is, perhaps, warmer than the one given by the man's wife. He bubbles over with joy. He yelps, he jumps, he wags his tail. I may be wrong, but I think no mother or wife ever gave such an affectionate reception to a man as his dog. Dog fanciers can justifiably feel proud of their pets for this reason if for nothing else.

There are stories galore about the faithfulness of the dog but perhaps the earliest of these to be committed to writing is the story of the dog, in the Mahabharata, who followed the five Pandava brothers in their ascent to heaven. When four of the brothers and Draupadi had fallen one by one, Yudhishthir found himself followed by a dog. When he reached the gate of heaven ultimately, the dog was still at his heels. The gate opened and Yudhishthir was allowed to enter. The gate-keeper refused to admit the

\* Gita, XVIII, 61.

dog. Upon this Yudhisthir refused to walk in thir was subjected by the gods. It was saying, "I would stay out if my faithful dog is Dharamraj himself in the guise of the dog who not admitted. This creature pinning his faith in had followed Yudhisthir. Hearing Yudhisthir's resolve to forego heaven rather than betray a dumb confiding animal, Dharamraj without him. I will not get into heaven throw off his guise and welcomed Yudhisthir This was the penultimate test to which Yudhis- into heaven.

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## ECONOMICS OF TRANSPORT

By S. N. RANADE, M.A.,  
Banaras Hindu University

"THE 'transport' industries which undertake nothing more than the mere movement of persons and things from one place to another," says Marshall in his book *Industry and Trade*, "have constituted one of the most important activities of men in every stage of advanced civilization." Transport industry plays an important role as an integral part of the economic system. Transport is an indispensable part of the economic life of the country. All means of transport contribute to the economic development of the country in a variety of ways. In an under-developed country like ours, there is no need of emphasizing the importance of transport system. The framers of the Second Five-Year Plan rightly gauging the vital role of the transport system gave first preference for the development of existing means of transport so as to cope up with the planned rapid industrialization of the country. In his address to the 14th meeting of the Transport Advisory Council at Delhi, the Hon'ble Transport Minister said, "The needs of the country are, however, such at present that there should be an urgent expansion of transport capacity." Effective transportation is indispensable to economic progress. No nation can reach an advanced stage of development without adequate facilities for moving goods and persons. While writing about U.S.A., T. C. Bigham states:

port) factor in American development. Much more attention has been given to the growth of manufactures, to currency and the banking system; but none of these matters has exerted a tithe of the influence upon our economic growth that has come from improvements in transportation. In fact, since 1815 our most conspicuous economic achievements have depended directly upon this factor."

In plain language transport means the function of moving persons and things from one place to another. But economics of transporting persons and things involve problems which rank with some of the most difficult in the whole corpus of economic science hence the necessity of studying the subject of 'Transport'. The term transport system is the sum of all technical instruments and organizations designed to enable persons, commodities and news to master space. It responds to the vast complex human needs—economic, social, cultural, political and religious. It has a vital influence on all human relations. The growth of the transport system affords one of the principal clues to the history of civilization. Howsoever we may define transport the close interdependence of transport and economic life is obvious. Transport is closely connected with various fields of the science of economics, viz., production, localisation of industries, exchange, rent, interest, wages, profits; consumption, etc.

"Historians have generally failed to appreciate the importance of this (trans-

Now-a-days a question is asked, "Is transport a public utility?" The answer is of course "yes". The collective demand of an organised society with a high standard of living for the means of transport is exceedingly strong. The efficiency and sufficiency of transport affect the entire economic life of the country. Cheap and speedy transport has become the dire need of the community. It is an important contributory service in modern organisations of production though it is not productive of the national dividend.

#### FUNCTIONS OF TRANSPORT

The main function of transport is to move persons and things from one place to another as stated above but economics of this process involves two main functions—Division of Labour and Extent of Market. The extent of the market for a product, which plays so decisive a part in determining the degree of specialization among the productive resources making the product, is related to the availability of the transport facilities. In this world of specialization, the essence of economic activity is the exchange of what is surplus to one man for what is deficient to another man. The extent of the market or the volume of demand for particular goods—the ability to exchange relative surplus depends upon the size of the *gap separating producers and consumers* and the means of transport to bridge this gap. The gap between the producer and the consumer can be bridged either by the product being moved from the former to the latter, or by the consumer moving to the producer. The bridging of the gap can be done by transfer of goods or services. This service has got two aspects—Time and Space.

The function of transport is to bridge the time and space gap separating producer and consumer either by the movement of the goods made by the producer (goods transport) or by the movement of the producer or consumer (passenger transport). The economic significance of the producer-consumer gap does not lie in the physical distance separating consumer from producer, as measured in terms of *Costs of Transport*. The cost of transport depends upon the efficiency of transport. Greater the efficiency, lower will be the transport cost. The

cost of transport enters into the cost of production as one of its components. In fitting transport into the economic picture we have been regarding transport as a process in the production of goods and services. This is the most important function of transport but not its only one.

The other functions of transport are: it affords enjoyment, and in war time it has got strategic functions to perform. It played a vital role of unification of the country during the British rule. It was due to various expanding means of transport that the foreigners could keep distant places under their control. It served as one of the factors which made foreign rule stable in this country.

#### EFFECTS OF TRANSPORT

(i) *Social and Cultural*: Transport serves as a link between goods, commodities, ideals and fashions. It develops the spirit of internationalism. It is responsible for depopulation of Indian villages or urbanisation in the country. It stimulated a high standard of living. It is the determinant factor in case of migration of population, a proof of which we had during 1947 after the partition of the country. It promotes culture and intelligence, as the enlargement of the surplus above the minimum of subsistence increases leisure, and the wide distribution of the mails together with the establishment of personal contacts over broad areas furthers the education and the incentive to progress. It quickens the tempo of life. It creates psychological change in the attitude of the people in general. It has been proved a means of improving village economy. It has stimulated personal liberty and freedom due to free movement. Especially the railways have a great educative value and assist in publicity campaign for reforms and improvements.

From the religious point of view the transport agencies have improved pilgrimage facilities.

(ii) *Political Effects*: It promotes national unity by making different regions of the country economically interdependent and strengthening the national defence. Transportation makes it easier for the country to maintain national unity by fostering social homogeneity.

(iii) *Economic Effects*: It helps to satisfy elementary wants more adequately and creates new ones. It bears a great influence on reduction of cost of the goods due to increased speed, flexibility and safety. It facilitates equalisation of the supply of goods in different markets. By facilitating the geographical division of labour, transport has its effect upon the cost of production. Broadening of the market through improved facilities of transportation and communication is the fundamental cause of the movement towards large-scale production. It affects functional distribution specially in respect of economic rent and land value—locational value is reduced. It transforms the organisation of industry. It is responsible for averting famines in India. It encourages cultivation of cash crops. It is responsible for the growth of industries like coal, engineering, etc. It stimulated the growth of forest in India. No doubt, it is not less important in increasing the mobility of labour. Lastly, it is responsible for the growth of the foreign trade of the country.

#### LIMITATIONS AND ILL-EFFECTS OF TRANSPORT

It is responsible for ruination of cottage and village industries. It has depopulated Indian villages and created multifarious problems in the cities due to heavy influx. Psychologically, pessimists point out that the lack of variety in human character which is largely a product of inter-regional and inter-national contact and cosmopolitanism is a very real loss. Contact with one's fellow does not always enrich and extend human experience, it often merely rubs away the distinguishing marks of the individual. Many a time it is found that the political expectation, *i.e.*, unity, is not fulfilled by the development of transport. It has made the daily-life machine-like—monotonous and dull. Less elasticity in the economic structure, greater insecurity of workers or investors, loss of life, crimes, etc., are other ill-effects of the speedy means of transport. Socially, it has destroyed compact village organisation and annihilated 'esprit de corps' of village life. Hygienically, it is responsible for the spread of epidemics. It has made the whole life inter-dependent losing the old self-sufficiency.

Many of these defects, it may be mentioned, are functional and not inherent in the system.

#### ROLE OF TRANSPORT IN PLANNED ECONOMY

Production depends upon transport. No planning of production is possible until there is a corresponding development of transport system. Transport is an integral part of the economic system as is widely recognised. In planned society, where all developments should be for the welfare of the society, transport would play its proper role as an essential subsidiary service helping in the economic development of the country. Railway industry affords illustration of some of the most interesting problems of price determination—the principle of differential charging.

#### TRANSPORT DEVELOPMENTS VIS-A-VIS INDUSTRIALISATION OF INDIA

Considering the implementation of the Second Plan, an important question that crops up is: Can our means of transport cope up with the expected increase of industrialisation? It is widely accepted that the load of railways cannot be increased much without losing efficiency. So, the question can be tackled by developing road transport which can provide relief to railways. Mr. Nadirshah, the present President of Indian Roads Transport Association, well-stressed the importance of road transport giving comparative figures of foreign countries depicting the role played by the road transport. He said, "In Italy, motor transport carries more than twice quantum of goods carried by railways. In Australia, it carries 80 per cent. In U.S.A. it carries 1/3 of the traffic, in U.K. 46 per cent of the traffic is carried by roads. In India, the percentage is as low as 14 per cent. The Association estimates that by the end of the plan the available transport facilities will fall short by 36 million tons (as against Planning Commission's estimate of 18 million tons). The gap between the availability and requirements will fall short by more than three times than the existing gap. Out of this shortage if water transport is expanded then the gap of 5 million tons will be covered.

Truck trailer or tractor trailer if used by the road transport agencies, the cost of carrying can be reduced and compared with the railways. This combination may carry about 40 per cent load more than the truck load. The cost of truck trailer per ton-mile is 22 to 33 pies while that of truck is 29 to 42 pies and that of railway is 21 to 40 pies. It is also argued that this combination is economical than the railway wagons. To reduce the cost of road transport, the Council of Indian Road Congress has suggested to increase the minimum laden weight from 14,500 lbs. to 18,000 lbs., i.e., 5 tons per load. Greater speed and less stoppages are the other means to increase efficiency of the road transport.

Independent observers feel that the present road rates are not economic. It is true. The reasons are that a good deal of our investment on roads at present remains unutilised by not putting on them a number of vehicles commensurate with the carrying capacity of roads and that the road traffic is generally confined to feeder or zonal traffic only and thus operating over short distances.

The factors which throttled road transport during the past are numerous. The restrictive regulation of the Government, i.e., Motor Vehicle Act, 1939, gave monopoly to railways for long distance and inter-State journeys. It is due to Government policy that our trading community and the general public have been wedded too much to the railway idea so that today in our vocabulary the word 'Railways' has become synonymous with the word transport. Lack of credit facilities and crippling taxation are also serving as checks over road transport development. It is a well-known thing that motor transport taxation in India is the highest in the world.

The then Minister of Transport, Shri L. B. Shastri, in his speech at Madurai said that Motor Vehicle Act (1939) is being amended to encourage private road transport. He urged merchants to patronise it even if more charges have to be paid. The Motor Vehicle Act (amendment) bill is before the Parliament and has passed through the Select Committee Stage. The main recommendations of the committee are:

- (1) Establishment of Inter-State Transport Commission for developing, co-ordinating and regulating operation of transport vehicle.
- (2) Abolition of mileage restriction for grant of public carriers permit between places connected by railways.
- (3) Having increased the period of permits issued to private operators in case of Stage carriers (Passenger Vehicles) the period of permit will continue to be 3 to 5 years; while in case of public carriers (Goods Vehicles) it is likely to be increased to 5 years.
- (4) Doubling of the rates of compensation in case of nationalisation.
- (5) No scheme of nationalisation will be introduced unless it is published in the *Gazette* to invite objections to it, if any.
- (6) Nationalisation of goods transport on Inter-State routes will require the approval of the Government of India.

The suggested changes, it is sure, will create confidence in the minds of the industrialists and in commercial circles, so that they can invest capital in transport industry. One suggestion more that there should be a small establishment at the centre to look to the requirements of the operators and foster the spirit of co-operation among the people of the transport industry. The production of automobiles should be transferred to the Central Transport Ministry so that it sees that the required number of automobiles is produced.

#### NATIONALISATION OF TRANSPORT

The motives which have led governments to extend the sphere of their business activity are the following:

- (1) To increase political influence,
- (2) To avoid the abuses of private management,
- (3) Lack of private enterprise,
- (4) Desire to have income sources to finance various schemes.

A first step in India towards nationalisation of transport was taken in old Native British States. It is in 1916 that Gwalior first



introduced the scheme of nationalisation followed by Hyderabad and Travancore-Cochin. The era of independence made the idea of nationalisation of road transport popular and nationalisation was done in all the States of India. It is long ago that the railways were nationalised and so there is no question of their nationalisation. In road transport, the Government have not touched the goods transport and kept the field open for all the competitors considering the inability of Government and the needs of the nations. It is only a few years ago that civil aviation was nationalised. Let us now look into the advantages and disadvantages of nationalisation.

#### ADVANTAGES

The Government can raise the capital required for the enterprise more easily than any private person. On account of wide field or various large-scale undertakings it is economical to run the nationalised industry. It is possible that the State would apportion its favours with a more equitable hand; would be able to level the backward parts of the country up to the standard of the better-developed parts. On the side of rates and fares the State is in a position to do adjustments equitably. Abroad in 19th century, Prussia (Europe) was undoubtedly the most successful instance of State railway management. In the present century railways of most countries are State-managed. Indian railways, no one can say, are not efficiently managed. Socialists support nationalisation as they aim at extension of State's functions to all walks of life gradually. Traders and businessmen favour nationalisation thinking that it may reduce the burden of taxation, and will be able to stabilise rates and service conditions. It is definite that under nationalised industry the staff gets better deal due to better working conditions, shorter working hours and adequate wages or we may say comparatively high wages. Nationalisation could secure economies of combination. By nationalisation the spirit of rivalry and bad competition is curbed. Cut-throat competition, a bad feature of private enterprise, is absent in nationalised industry. At the time of emergency, nationalised transport serves as a means

of unifying the nation due to centralised authority.

#### DISADVANTAGES

State enterprise is not bolder and does not encourage inventions or new devices. The State officials are not prepared to leave the rut. They mistrust ideas, pour cold water on new methods and grudge new expenditure. No one questions the ability of the German people. German manufacturers, German merchants, German Bankers have taught the business world a good deal in recent years. German railwaymen have written many books, some of these are valuable; but in practical operations they have taught the railway world nothing. It is because they are State officials. State management is bureaucratic dilatoriness, incompatible with railway service. This applies specially to the executive officers who should have in the highest degree industrial survey initiative in planning improvements; commercial intelligence is essential in controlling the various classes of expenditure to encourage traffic, improve service, maintain discipline and so forth. State enterprise is not profitable. In India except railways all forms of nationalised transport—road and air are running at a loss. The recent reports on the working of the Air Corporations of India show how State enterprise incurs superfluous expenditure. The ratio of expenditure to gross receipts is always unbalanced. While undertaking any enterprise it is certain that Government's impartiality is broken to some extent. Whatever improvements in conditions of work, etc., we mark are generally at the expense of the general tax-payer. Politically, there are many dangers. Politics would corrupt the government officials and management. Parliamentary interference generally means running the railways or buses not for the benefit of the people at large but to satisfy local and sectional interests. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya presiding over the All India Motor Union Congress at Delhi in January 1947, said, "To run Tongas, Phaetons, motor cars and buses by the State is to abuse the idea of nationalisation." Nationalisation requires heavy capital expenditure. The conflicts between the Provincial and the Central Government are not rare. It shows that less harmonious relations exist. Loss of

flexibility of service and inadequate compensation to the persons who are deprived of their business are other disadvantages. Sri Alageson, Deputy Transport Minister (Central), said that application of the idea of nationalisation to all fields is phantom and not realistic.

#### CO-ORDINATION OF TRANSPORT AGENCIES

Agencies of which co-ordination is generally sought in transport industry are Railways, Shipping, Roadways and Airways. Co-ordination is a burning problem now-a-days. Co-ordination is different from control. It is a relation between two or more transport agencies of similar or dissimilar nature. The co-ordination of associated processes by means of direct control may be described as the 'integration' of the processes. Where any service can be provided by different forms of transport the form of transport which actually provides the service should be one which, allowing the differences in quality of service, meets the transport demand in question at the lowest cost. This may be the convenient definition of co-ordination.

The aim of co-ordination is to provide the control. But this term in this sense is misleading. Both the method of direct control and that of the 'price mechanism' are alternative means of co-ordination.

The aim of co-ordination is to provide the consumer with a service at minimum cost. This is known as the cost factor of co-ordination. The other factor is of time. Its aim is to save time. Co-ordination aims at harmonious relations between different joint or complementary transport agencies. By co-ordination the waste or competition is avoided.

The necessity of co-ordination arose due to the growth in demand for transport—the newer

forms of transport have been super-imposed on already established facilities. The growth of transport agencies are not only accompanied by increase in total demand but *redistribution* of the existing demands (examples; waterways and railways). This redistribution leaves older forms with spare capacities. The older forms employ resources of stable nature they cannot be thrown out. So the problems arise of determining the division of the functions between different forms of transport for the purpose of meeting the total needs of the community. The problem of cost provides the basis of transport co-ordination.

Co-ordination is achieved by adopting such methods which will make the provision of the transport facilities in question and will have to be operated in harmony with all other processes which are contributing towards the same end. While affecting co-ordination of various agencies of transport comparative advantages of particular services for particular traffics should be borne in mind.

Main advantages of co-ordination are two:

- (1) Unnecessary duplication of services checked.
- (2) Rationalisation of services.

#### CO-ORDINATION IN INDIA

At present co-ordination in India is confined to co-ordination of Railways and road transport. The Government's approach to the problem is always with a view to maintaining railway interests intact. The Select Committee on the Motor Vehicle Act (amendment) Bill suggests establishment of inter-State Transport Commission for co-ordinating, developing and regulating operations of transport vehicles. A Commission for co-ordinating different transport agencies is also essential.





# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

## ENGLISH

THE CLASSICAL AGE (The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. III): General Editor—R. C. Majumdar, Asst. Editor—A. D. Pusalker. *Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1954. Pp. 745. Price Rs. 35.*

This fine addition to the series being brought out with commendable regularity by the *Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan* of Bombay is the result of co-operative effort of a team of eighteen Indian scholars belonging to our Universities and attached or allied institutions either at present or in past years. As in the case of the earlier volumes it deals comprehensively with all the different aspects of our culture and civilisation comprising for this period political history (14 chapters), literature (1 chapter), law and administration (2 chapters), religion and philosophy (1 chapter), social life, education and economic conditions (3 chapters), art (1 chapter) and outside contact (2 chapters). Even a slight perusal of this work is sufficient to prove that the scholars have carried out their work with as much thoroughness and skill as could be desired, the General Editor and the Assistant Editor doubtless contributing no mean share to this achievement. Though it is not possible to notice even the main features of this great historical work, a few points may be mentioned. Though the Guptas did not rule over the whole of India or for the entire period dealt with in this volume, it is observed by the General Editor (Preface, p. xlix), the title of the Gupta Age is rightly applied to it because of the supreme importance of the activities of the Gupta rulers and the cultural renaissance following in their wake. This apology seems to be a little out of place as the more general and correct title of the Classical Age has been given to this work. The

chapters on political history mostly from the pen of the General Editor cover familiar ground, but he has discussed many disputed questions with his usual critical acumen—witness his rejection of the story of Chandragupta I and Samudragupta based on references in the *Kaumudi-mahotsava* drama, his cautious judgment about the authenticity of Ramagupta and the identity of Emperor Chandra of the Meherauli pillar inscription, as well as his reconstruction of the history of the Imperial Guptas after Skandagupta, that of the later Kushanas and so forth. The chapter on literature in its three branches of Sanskrit, Prakrit and Tamil is satisfactory so far as it goes, but it might well have included the accounts of non-canonical Pali literature and the detailed notice of the works of the South Indian Saiva saints given in another context (pp. 393f, 428f). The chapter on religion and philosophy deals exhaustively with the fortunes of Buddhism, Jainism, Vaishnavism and Saivism and the minor religious sects and less completely with the general development of philosophy. In the chapters on law and administration full use has been made of the Smriti works and the works on *Niti-sastra* as well as epigraphic data respectively. The chapters on social life and economic conditions break new ground by bringing together for the first time all the literary and epigraphic evidence bearing on those topics. In the chapter on art, architecture has been dealt with very fully with accompanying illustrations, while equal attention is given to the sister arts of painting, ceramics, coin-casting and so forth. The concluding chapters deal adequately with India's relations with China, Tibet, Central Asia, Afghanistan and other lands as well as the history of Indian settlements in south-east Asia. The value of the book is enhanced by a

very full general bibliography, chronological and genealogical tables, an Index, four maps and a list of no less than 43 plates with two in colour. Altogether it is bound to remain a standard work on the subject for a considerable time to come.

#### HISTORICUS

**LOKMANYA BAL GANGADHAR TILAK—THE HERCULES AND PROMETHEUS OF MODERN INDIA:** *By S. L. Karandikar, M.A., L.L.B. Published by the author from 395/3, Sadashiv Peth, Poona 2. Price Rs. 18/-.*

One thing needful for a biography is balance to save hero-worship gliding to a convivial excess. To append Hercules and Prometheus—why abjure India's Vishnu and Arjuna?—to the comprehensive 'Lokmanya', a nation delighted to honour Tilak with, is flashy sentimentalism. Next, such puerile inanities as Tilak's mother was 'practically unconscious when the child was born' and 'continued in that state for an hour thereafter'; or, to invoke Kalidasa for comparing her, as she lay by her newborn, with Sree Ramchandra's mother in identical position, like 'the Ganges shrunk in autumn' have added to the bulk of the book—355 pages—straining the readers' patience and the buyers' purse. Were the author to eschew a lot of details, which are trite and of jaded interest, he would add to the impact of his subject-matter.

Having, however, spoken in the above strain, I must say that there is nowhere in the book the taint of effrontery; a sustained eulogistic bent of mind is disconcertingly prone to. What, again, constitutes its chief merit is that we have in this volume anything worth knowing about Tilak. The sturdy fighter in our Struggle for Freedom has been presented with a painstaking devotion. He Indianised Indian politics, as Aurobindo Ghosh puts it so happily. He is one of the leading protagonists of country's freedom at any cost. None before him, has, in scorn of the self, weathered the storm fearlessly and without equivocation.

In 1897, Tilak was given a sentence of eighteen months for sedition. The author tells us how Counsel Ashutosh Chowdhury ran to Bombay and had him defended by the Calcutta Counsel Pugh and Garth; how Surendranath Banerjee and Rabindranath Tagore stepped forward to sponsor a defence-fund; and Surendranath said in the open sessions of the Amraoti

Congress, "Though I am here physically, my soul is in jail attuned with Tilak's." All these in the teeth of the Bombay Government making no secret that to befriend Tilak was viewed as an 'unfriendly act'. Why no mention at all, is made of a chain-reaction of other provinces? Not worth the print? Were they lacking in backbone, or benighted? Professor Max Muller sent Tilak in gaol his copy of Rig Veda, which enabled him to write his famous *Arctic Home in the Vedas*. Professor Max Muller also arranged a memorial to the Secretary of State for Tilak's release when he fell seriously ill. It is particularly noteworthy that R. C. Dutt, I.C.S., in full-blooded service, signed the memorial.

One handsome recompense Tilak made for the great love Bengal bore him was to identify himself with her, whether it was Government repression or Black and Tan in the name of communal barbarities. A stately granite, he stood by Bengal making new history.

I cannot do better than conclude with the observation, Shri Rajagopalachari makes in the foreword, absolutely a classic of its kind, that 'No great man was less troubled with a memory of himself or the thought of how he figured in anything.' Nothing more eloquent to emphasise Tilak's selfless devotion to the country could be said.

JOGES C. BOSE

**MY SEARCH FOR TRUTH:** *by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. Published by S. L. Agarwala and Co. (Private) Ltd., Hospital Road, Agra. Price Rs. 1/8 as.*

Sometime back I was reading a magazine. It published an article wherein Dr. Radhakrishnan was described as a 'Savant.' With a sense of ridicule I read the article and the sense lingered in me. The volume under notice removed the last tinge of the jeering propensity that was uppermost in me and convinced me that Dr. Radhakrishnan was a prophet of the new age. We discover him to be a deeply religious man with a keen insight into reality. He suffers with the suffering and is ready to share his own joys with others. With a flicker of prophetic vision in his eyes he declares: "No human being is innately wicked or incapable of improvement. No one can succeed in stifling the soul or drugging or deceiving it for all time. The best side of a human being is his real side, his true self." The author sends out a clarion call of love to the distracted humanity. Man is not good for his riches or intelligence or



wisdom. He is great when he loves. His abounding love for the rake, the down-trodden and the distressed will help his supreme realisation. In the all-consuming love we know each other. Truth is never attainable except along this path of love. Even in our darkest hour of despair, Radhakrishnan tells us, we must cling to hope and believe in love. When we suffer we must remember that God's love for man has not forsaken us. It is through suffering that we learn and grow. By enduring pain, we show the triumph of mind over matter and the suffering becomes a means for growth in grace. When once anchorage is secured and life disciplined and permeated by spirit, suffering is turned into bliss. The fear of suffering gives place to the courage to suffer. The path of bliss is found to be through pain which man consents to take upon himself. The author found this path to bliss and it is evident throughout this monograph that Radhakrishnan had a personal taste of this 'ananda.' He is poised in blaze of glory that usually surrounded the savants of yore. He is no more the rhetorician that we know of him. He does not look like the turbaned philosopher that he is known to be. His sense of logic has been lulled into sleep by the presence of some supralogical revelation. Here he simply narrates his visions of the great truths of life and the beyond in a style simple and so rare in Dr. Radhakrishnan. He is known for his ornate style, for his colourful vocabulary. Here in the volume under review he speaks with easy grace and simple charm. His search for truth has revealed the inner recesses of the heart of the statesman-philosopher and we know him to be the prophet of the new age.

The book deserves wide reading here and abroad.

SUDHIR KUMAR NANDI

**GLIMPSES OF TRUTH AS THEY CAME TO ME:** By N. P. Mehta. With a foreward by Madame Sophia Wadia. Published by Hind Kitabs Ltd., 261-263 Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay-1. Pp. 134. Price not mentioned.

This book, as the author himself has admitted in the preface, is a log-book of good thoughts in which he has tried to record his struggle with different problems and stages of life. These thoughts were jotted down and published so that they may help others as they helped the young author. The great French

thinker Blaise Pascal rightly wrote, "Thought makes the whole dignity of man; therefore, endeavour to think well. That is the only Morality." Madame Wadia has truly said in the foreward that sincere efforts to think aright have borne fair and wholesome fruit in the author as his *Glimpses of Truth* bear genuine marks of mystic fervour. She sees in the author a growing philosopher, a rising thinker.

Sri Mehta lays emphasis on living a higher life and for that purpose strongly advocates a serious study of comparative religions. In regard to this he observes, "In the present age the human mind has reached such a stage of development that the study of any one religion is not enough. Hence the study of all the religions is found necessary before one can liberate one's mind from 'the Cobwebs of crudities of his own faith and dedicate it to the Divine'."

It is indeed literally true. Unless a modern man broadens his outlook and fraternize with all faiths he is a menace to our Society and to our age. Those who are ignorant of right thinking should not open their mouths and poison the thought-stream of our society.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

**TOWARD A MORE DEMOCRATIC SOCIAL ORDER:** By Wendell Thomas. Exposition Press Inc. 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16. Price \$2.50. cents.

The slender volume under review provides good food for serious thought. The author Mr. Wendell Thomas contends that democracy, like Christianity, has never been given a trial, that a "liberal religion," i.e., "a way of life in which thought is free and there are no barriers between religion and secular culture or between one religion and another," aided by natural and social sciences can give a more stable foundation to democracy, if it is to serve as a way of life.

God, Mr. Thomas argues, is not localised on a celestial throne but spread out as space everywhere. He concludes that democracy agrees with human nature, "in which co-operation is rooted in freedom." A genuine democratic government is bound to be decentralist in nature. Political and economic democracy must be founded on a broadly religious residential land-holding community in which land is distributed among individuals for good use. There should further be a system of money based on labour and a way of protecting the consumer from exploitation. "Capital should

be used creatively in a world fellowship of nations."

The views of the author may or may not be accepted by his readers. They certainly deserve a careful consideration.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJEE

### SANSKRIT

#### SADASIVA-PROKTA DHANURVEDA:

By Mahopadhyaya Pandit Isvara Chandra Sastri. Published by Ardhendu Sekhar Bhattacharya, 211/1, Picnic Garden Road, Calcutta-39. Price Rs. 3/-.

Mahopadhyaya Pandit Isvara Chandra Sastri needs no introduction to the public. As a veteran Sanskrit scholar and Professor of the Sastri who has trained scores of scholars his name is on the lips of every Sanskrit scholar in Bengal and outside. What has interested me more than anything else is his life dedicated to the cultivation of Sanskrit learning in its various branches regardless of the prospects of recognition and financial gain. He is an example of the old tradition who has consecrated poverty by intellectual eminence and extra-ordinary moral elevation. He has edited a large number of rare books, written illuminating commentaries, and translated many a work into Bengali. The book under review is an illustration of the scholarly industry and spirit of research which have characterised all his intellectual productions. He had only one manuscript as his basis which was not free from imperfection. It is comforting to orientalists that he has not given it up for its inaccuracies and has made a readable and intelligible edition of the obscure text which bristles with technicalities. Though the text is not as copious in details as one wishes it to be, it throws a flood of light on an interesting aspect of Indian culture. It is a pity that the general public has formed the impression that India was interested only in other-worldly subjects, such as philosophy, theology and religion. It was generally thought that India's interest in secular sciences was next to nil. The present publication though based on scanty materials will go a long way to correct this wrong appraisal of India's attitude and interests.

Military science with its pre-occupation with the various kinds of arms and weapons necessary for defence and aggression did not fail to evoke scientific study. The present work, though a fragment, shows that this important branch of culture was not considered unworthy

of concentrated study. The editor has done a service to the cause of India's culture which will serve as an eye-opener. I wish that many such books were available to the intellectual world. It is too much to exaggerate the value of the research done by the learned editor. Though the work may appear to have mainly an antiquarian value, it is definite that it is only a specimen of what India achieved in various secular sciences, the works which have shared the fate which has been suffered by extensive writings on every subject. I have not any manner of doubt that this work will attract the interest of many a scholar who wants to know India's past achievements and contributions. I trust that every library in India and outside will possess this book which will be a valuable addition. Regarding the editor's scholarship and intellectual contributions I need not attempt a detailed statement which will exceed the limit of a review. His reputation is too well established to require an elaboration.

SATKARI MOOKERJEE

### BENGALI

BHARATER MUKTI-SANDHANI: By Joges Chandra Bagal. Foreword by Acharya Jadunath Sarkar. Popular Library, 195/1 B, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta-6. Price Rs. 5.

The book in its new edition has been considerably enlarged. Sri Bagal has been constantly striving to keep us conscious of our cultural heritage, particularly of the glorious achievements of our 19th century thinkers and leaders. The desire for freedom did not inspire them to political work alone; they were out to break down all barriers that stood in the way of national or individual progress.

*Bharater Mukti-sandhani*, as its name indicates, is an account of the pioneers who had set off in quest of India's freedom. Not all of them, but twelve such eminent persons—eleven men and one woman—have been selected by the author. In the Preface he says: It is not the purpose of this book to discuss the life-history of those fighters for freedom whose glory is widely sung.

Ram Gopal Ghosh, Haris Chandra Mukherjee, Raj Narayan Basu, Naba Gopal Mitra, Sisir Kumar Ghosh, Manomohan Ghosh, Anandamohan Basu, Surendranath Banerjee, Ambika Charan Mazumdar, Aswinikumar Datta, Brahmabandhab Upadhyay and Sister Nivedita—these are the figures that engage his

attention here. The short but neat, authentic biographical studies, we get here, will certainly be appreciated by the serious-minded reader, who cares more for the kernel than for the shell.

D. N. MUKHERJEE

### HINDI

JEEVAN AUR SHIKSHAN: *By Vinoba. Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. 1952. Pp. 224. Price Rs. 2.*

SARVODAYA KE SEVAKON SE: *By Vinoba. Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. 1953. Pp. 62. Price four annas.*

SARVODAYA KE GHOSHANAPATRA: *By Vinoba. Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. 1953. Pp. 62. Price four annas.*

NAYA MASIHA: *By 'Ashant'. Available from the author. Shanti-sandesh Karyalaya, Khagadia, Monghyr, Bihar. Pp. 82. Price Re. 1.*

Vinobaji's voice is as a voice of the Eternal in time. For, his roots being in the wisdom of the ages, as expounded particularly by our ancient seers and sages, he brings to bear on the current problems of life a vision and a viewpoint which provide a proper perspective for a consideration of those problems. *Jeevan and Shikshan* is a collection of his speeches and writings, which the youth will do well to make their manual of daily life. *Sarvodaya Ke Sevakan Se* is a record of his eight addresses to the constructive workers assembled at Chandil Sarvodaya Sammelan, held in March, 1953, as *Sarvodaya Ke Ghoshanapatra* contains his three speeches at the same Sammelan enunciating the truth that is Sarvodaya.

*Naya Masiha* is an anthology of "feeling-and-fervour-full" poems, woven by the young promising poet of Bihar, around the New Messiah of the age, Vinobaji and his gospel.

G. M.

### JUST PUBLISHED

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# Indian Periodicals

## The Last Irish Romantic

R. M. Fox writes in *The Aryan Path*:

When W. B. Yeats, the famous Irish poet—a man of fine presence—walked down O'Connell Street, in the centre of Dublin, he had around him an aura of dignified grandeur. His brother Jack Yeats, the artist, was less impressive and much slighter. He came along the street with the lurching roll of those seamen, tinkers, horse dealers and wanderers who so often found their way into his pictures.

Jack Yeats—a world figure in art and the greatest of Irish painters—was the son of John Butler Yeats, a brilliant portrait painter who went to the United States in his middle years and achieved success as a *raconteur* as much as through his pictures. Always, Jack Yeats maintained that his father first taught him that there were no hard and fast rules in painting. This did not mean, in his case, an ignorance of technique. But the free spirit of the artist was something that Jack Yeats achieved for himself.

In the Ireland of today, trying with varying success to adapt itself to the world of industry, there are many regretful glances back at the Yeatsian era, that Celtic Twilight period in literature, painting, drama and poetry which gave a romantic touch to Irish art. The Yeats family, more than any other, personified that period and imparted a romantic glow to everything they touched.

Growing up in Sligo, in the west of Ireland, with the great square shoulder of the Ben Bulbin mountain looming out of the mists and the waves breaking round Rosses Point or beating against the grey stones of the harbour, it was inevitable that when the family moved to London, living for some years in impoverished circumstances, they should look back to the dreamy days in Sligo as a heaven compared with the grey pavements of the hustling city. In such a mood W. B. Yeats wrote his "Isle of Innisfree," in which he poured out his youthful longing. His play *The Land of Heart's Desire* is a fairyland in which it is not difficult to imagine Ireland as the stimulus to his imagination and yearning.

During this period Jack Yeats began his work as an illustrator for various London journals, doing unpretentious sketches for odd guineas just as W. B. did with his verses and reviews. Their two sisters learned the craft of weaving and the mysteries of a hand-press from William Morris. Later, in Dublin, they established the Cuala Press from which came beautifully hand-printed editions of W.B.'s poems and Jack Yeats's broadsheets in vivid colour and bold design.

When Jack Yeats died in Dublin—on March 28th, 1957—at the ripe age of 87, his passing snapped the last link of modern Ireland with the romantic Yeatsian era. Far more even than his brother W.B.—whose poetry gained the Nobel Prize—Jack Yeats stood for a romantic attitude to life. In his later years W.B. pruned his poetry of the luxuriant foliage of words, presenting his ideas in hard, bare, simple, realistic terms. But, as the years marched on, Jack Yeats's pictures became more vivid, colourful and obscure.

Jack Yeats went on to prove that his highly original pictures had a wide appeal. These pictures commanded immense sums in the world market. They sold for round about two thousand pounds each. One reached the staggering figure of four thousand pounds. Artists of the modern "pylon" school, who were horrified at his romantic spirit, had to bow their heads at the market value of his pictures.

Exhibitions of his work were held in many cities of Europe. In 1951-52 a travelling exhibition visited the principal American cities over a period of eighteen months. He collected honours from various countries, including the French Legion of Honour. I saw the amazing exhibition of his pictures at the Tate Gallery in London, remarkable for its size no less than its scope. His vivid colouring—deep blues, greens, crimsons and purples—had the effect of making the other pictures look like pallid ghosts.

He painted Irish fairs showing dark wild men; tinkers with bold faces and careless, imperious gestures; shawled women who had natural grace and dignity. His circuses and races were vibrant with lively gaiety. Jack



Yeats's horses have the same grace and energy as his people. They are shown in action, with powerful limbs and rippling muscles. Later he relied more upon colour than design. His study of Grafton Street—Dublin's fashion centre—is like a cave of jewelled splendour, with lights and shadows.

His middle period as an illustrator—in 1934—is seen at its best in his pictures for Patricia Lynch's *The Turfcutter's Donkey* (Dent, London). This is now a children's classic and has been published in America, France, Holland, Germany and even Malaya. It adds to the fascination of Jack Yeats's pictures of Irish donkeys and tinkers when we see them peeping out of the strange Malay text.

I met Jack Yeats, on one occasion, at the house of an Irish dramatist just after I had written the biography of James Connolly, the Irish Labour historian, who was a leader in the 1916 insurrection in Dublin. I had suggested the jacket design for this book—the figure of a man holding a sword, with the shadow of the sword falling across an open book. This was to represent the two sides of Connolly's personality—thought and action. I showed this jacket to Jack Yeats and asked his opinion.

He peered at the design in the piercing way he had smiled his slow, whimsical smile.

"Very good!" he said, at length. "The best thing about it is that the pages of the open book are blank. This is like the future of Ireland which has still to be filled in!"

He did not want Ireland to be tied down to any line of development. Always he reacted against rigid dogma and stood for complete freedom. This was the basis of his sympathy with the tinkers, the men at the races and circuses, which he loved to draw, and even with those proud, wild, untrammelled horses that he has sent galloping for ever over the springy turf of the Irish countryside.

### The Artist and his Critic

P. Sama Rao observes in *Prabuddha Bharata*:

#### I

Art criticism is not a mere dissection into various elements out of which a work of art has been composed. It is an expression of the synthesis in a medium different from that of the artist, rebuilt out of those very elements in the heart and brain of the critic. A work of art is an expression of the idea. This idea concretized by the artist is always an infinite-

simal part of himself against an infinite background of forces known and unknown surging around and pervading him. The work of art is an expression of only a few of such of them that have befitted his composition. It is thus a homogeneous product of a selection of these forces combined into an unity by the artist in his aesthetic activity. The product is a crystallization of his own vision of the idea. The idea together with its composing strands have to be fished up successfully by the critic and recomposed into a similar synthesis, as it were, by the critic with the help of his own knowledge and understanding of the artist generally and the work of art in particular, before the critic could judge either the propriety and the adequacy of the elements or the symphonic architecture into which they have resulted or synchronized, namely, the work of art. There cannot be a valid judgement of the piece unless and until the critic has converged all his higher knowledge of men and things into the object of his criticism. In a way, though not gifted with the same quality or amount of creational genius, the critic may be regarded as more versatile than the artist. Without this versatility the critic cannot apprehend the artist's idea. One cannot measure the Himalayas with a yardstick.

The psychological set-up of the artist before he produced the work of art and the psychological set-up of the critic who is out to apprehend its idea must be similar. Without a correspondence and accord between the two there cannot be an essential understanding of the piece. This correspondence is variously called, 'Sympathy' by the laymen, 'Empathy' by the aesthetician, and 'Effluvium' by the philosopher. This kinship between them may be likened to the digestive juice which while conferring taste on the tongue, helps the tongue to sense the quality of the eatable, and, as in a process of assimilation, confers health on its masticator. The synthetic apprehension is like a mastication. It is also a recomposition of the piece of art in the critic's imagination. Unless the artist's vision and the critic's vision tally there cannot be any due appreciation as well as a judgement.

But this appraisalment is only by the way. The primary function of the critic consists in the education of himself into the aesthetic ways of the artist. Educating others is only secondary. For, the ideal critic judges not lest he be judged, although he has to spotlight the artist's

quality for the benefit of the world. But in his worldly conduct the critic has to plunge into the artist's spiritual depth, fish up the vision he has concretized and present it to the world. The critic is, therefore, a pearl-fisher. But not all the oysters, he throws up, contain the pearls of the artist. Thus his own equipment and competency for the task are conditions precedent for the critic's just approach to the work of art. The critic is in essence an interpreter of it too.

The artist's creation is a minim of the divine creation, and at its best is only reminiscent of it. The mystery that attaches to the divine surrounds the human product too. The unravelling of the mystery into dispassionate, clear and articulate terms is the *summum bonum* of criticism. The spiritual injunction *Devo Bhutva Devam Yajet* (becoming divine, adore the divine) is applicable to mundane existence also. The critic's own *samskara*, his imagination and insight, together with powers of apprehension of both the temporal and eternal values of life,—all these, with his own knowledge of the here and the hereafter, constitute his *adhikara* and equipment for the purpose. Without these he can neither be wise, nor just, nor illuminating.

Reverential sympathy, open-mindedness and a genuine desire to know, are the preliminary preparation for the critic for the understanding of the artist's conception and his technique. For without this proper approach the effluvium will not flow into the critic's heart which would otherwise be chokeful of his own predilections. It is only the clean mirror that gives the best reflection.

The artist and his critic are both nurslings of their times. They cannot be completely free from the historical influences in their constitutions. Earthly ones are exclusively realistic in their outlook and conduct, while the spiritual are often abstract and care only for spiritual values. It is easy to determine these two extremes. But it is difficult to grasp the import of a super-sensuous product that lies in between them, and which is ingrained with its own infinitude of charm and is symptomatic of the Truth that is protean. It is in this realm of the supra-sensuous and the supra-mental that the artist and his critic often flounder. Thus a knowledge of the artist's heritage, physical and spiritual, becomes necessary for the critic. For the artist knowledge and intuition determine the idea, and discrimination the elements proper for its architecture. These are the very

elements of the critic's analysis, reconstruction (of the artist's vision), and appraisal. As Paul Gauguin has put it, "Art is an abstraction 'which is derived' from nature in dreams in the presence of nature." Thus the beauty in Nature becomes the real springboard for the artist's jump into the beauty of the 'empyrean'. The critic can ill-afford not to recognize this fact. In more ways than one, the artist's composition is only an alchemization or sublimation of the gross into the subtle, and a regathering and blending, as it were, of the myriad arcs of light into a dazzling perfect round. This he does into his own melody consonant with his own *svabhava* and quite adequately for his own purpose.

## II

The different theories of art, 'Art for Art's sake', 'Art for morality's sake', 'Art for utility's sake,' etc., and the various schools, 'the Natural', 'the Impressionistic', 'the Abstract', 'the Cubistic', 'the Realistic', 'Dadaism', 'Fauvism', 'Pointillism', 'Graphism', 'the Calligraphic', etc., and their super-types resulting therefrom, are, to put it hard, emanations of the uncertain mind that knows not itself. At best they are honest statements of self's adventures in the realm of beauty infinite and indeterminate, sometimes charmingly delineated and at more times repulsively portrayed. But as the creeds stand they are based upon one's own predilections of like and dislike. 'Water finds its own level' in the aesthetic field too, and these various schools in the matter of both conception and execution are inevitable; for, the human being is not of one temperamental or cultural pattern. In the swelter and confusion of these there has resulted a great imbalance and disquiet in the heart of a genuine seeker of beauty.

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Art is one though its facets are many. It is predilection that defines its nature and function differently, colouring them, however, with the light of its own eyes. It is indisputable that art which has the greatest appeal to senses, and is unique in that it is not abstemious but combines pleasure with profit to an utmost degree and has the rarest power to lift us out of ourselves into subtle realms of the human spirit, should be our most reliable guide to spirituality. Thus the function and the object of art is not merely temporal. Art abides in eternal values, inspiring and helping one to become that from which both the edible and the inedible, and the ineffable have proceeded as though from a magician's wand. Art is never deficient, but always full. The forms in which it shows itself are various and inexhaustible. Its residuum is also full. It does not suffer from surfeit. Behind its cloying appearance there is the indestructible Norm of all things. There is nothing like the good and the bad, nor the true and the false in art that endures. The main function of the critic lies in lifting the golden bowl of illusion from off appearance to discover for us the Truth concealed thereunder. It is, therefore, imminent that the art critic should be an ideal guide.

Assessment of a piece of art should be only on permanent values. In the matter of their determination it is no good shying at the issue saying that it is metaphysical or hyper-psychological. When once it is granted that the mind is the seat of all ideas, and that all theories are but tangible expression of them, the inward constitution of man becomes the real actor behind the scenes. As Dr. Cousins has put it, "Art is religion turned outwards: religion is art turned inwards." Simply because the motive force is complex or undecipherable it is no reason to justify the eccentric specimen of art on the ground of its author's independent outlook or originality. Novelty is not necessarily an element of beauty. In fact, there is nothing new under the sun save perhaps the antics of the mad; for, the mad is the most original because he is possessed of an infinite number of faces and his acts are sporadic and seemingly unrelated either to past or the future. A piece of art does not become charming or true because majority apprehend its import, or less so because all are unable to understand it. Therefore, the critic is really the negotiator of an understanding of the artist by the layman.

'Art for Art's sake' in the pure material sense is now a dead slogan, for all photographic

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realism stands condemned. This slogan is alive only on the metaphysical plane where art is deemed *yoga*, and perfection is defined as *karmasu kausalam*. The creation of genuine and enduring art-pieces is motiveless, spontaneous, unpremeditated and unintentioned. Since everything is linked up by time and causation, nothing is free and existing for its own sake. Everything reflects the divine though in different degree. Thus the cubistic trend which strives to incorporate multiple planes of existence through geometrical patterns is really laudable provided it could give us a synthetic composition instead of a criss-cross medley of unpolarized planes analysed through intellect. The cubistic art as it now obtains even at its best lands us into an eerie realm of archaeological remains of dead bones rather than into a world of living beings where like is attracted to the like with the sensuous spell of flesh and blood by a life force both temporal and eternal. For, the cubistic piece is a product of pure intellect and appeals only to the intellect. It does not touch and sway the heart. This intellectual attempt to break up rather than compose form is like dissection of a *Sirisa* to know its melody of tint and perfume; for, art's glory and delectability lie only in synthesis and not in analysis.

Expression is the concretization of the intangible abstract with the aid of tangible medium like sound or form. Impression is the perceptible image made over the mind by expression. Impressionism and its supertypes are but conditions for any precept. There cannot be expression or impression communicated without the attempt to crystallize the nebulous or margining off the infinite into the finite. Thought is abstract but the delineation of it is not strictly abstract any longer even in its most cloudy state. Thus we see there is absolutely no meaning in any regimentation of art into the different schools excepting perhaps to grade its quality from the technical viewpoint. This cannot change either the nature or function of art, which remains yet supreme. Life is made up of the gross as well as the subtle; the technique that may be appropriate to hit off the gross can in no manner be deemed so in our dealings with the subtle and the eternal. Rugged masses of tint recklessly splashed or scratches of broken lines criss-cross, or the eye-piercing angular attitudes, cannot be justified in any true conception of art and its appropriate technique, essential for administering *Santam*, *Sivam*, and *Sundaram*, which is necessarily the supreme

triune function of all art. For the cactus can nowise be deemed the maidenhair.

Many of the above schools of art are differentiated mostly by technique. They are based upon different notions of effectiveness. Pointillism is, in fact, the decomposition of the organic and the synthetic into what may be called its elemental amorphous state. At its best it manipulates successfully the blending of one element of composition into the other effacing their marginal outlines. In a way this style transfigures the essential unity of life in that objects are not quite independent of one another, and that true edibility lies only in the mutual blending of one into the other in a holy 'camaraderie', as it were, of the softest colour-blend. This flowing in of the colour masses, one into the other, like the nonegoistical blending of individualities is really symbolical of harmony. That technique is the proper and best which appropriately and adequately sets out in the most glamour-way the aesthetic concept. It can never be labelled as such and such. The poetry of Turner's landscapes, the sublimity of Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo, the eternality of our Padmapani, Sarnath Buddha, Srisaile Nataraja-Siva, Elephanta's Mahesa-murti, the cloying sweetness of Sithanivassal Dancer, and the spell of the Titian tint or the luminant dark of Rembrandt, are very much to be wished for in the modern nascent India.

If we believe in evolution, biological and spiritual, and its continuous progress there is no need to hark back to primitive types of art despite their being spontaneous, rhythmical and vigorous. These qualities are not their monopoly. There ought to be levelling up rather than levelling down in any activity of life. The sedulous aping of the modern western art, conceptionally as well as technically, has only landed us into a morass and wiped out our unique and precious art-heritage.

### III

An individual piece, however true and representative, may not suggest the artist's quality fully. It is only a record of his mood or being at a particular moment of his evolution. Most pieces of art register only being and not becoming. The 'becoming' ones are the really prophetic. It is also true that most works of art are pictorial delineations of the artist's lyrical or metaphysical flashes. These moments are as fugitive as the artist himself, though not his quality that has over-reached itself on the way to the eternal and the Absolute. This seeming

paradox of existence in both temporality and eternity at the same peak of time, between being and becoming, is not peculiar to the artist and his creations. It is the critic's duty to be similarly comprehensive.

There is absolutely no shadow of the critic's ego in a just or proper appraisal save perhaps his own individual manner or style of interpretation. Just as the artist is a vehicle for divine thought the critic is a vehicle for its correct interpretation. The critic is, therefore, bound to 'deliver the goods' all safe and sound. He cannot legislate his own terms in such a bargain. In a way a just critic is often the artist's best showman. He is not his 'conductor' or 'stage-manager'. Though criticism is roughly an accompaniment in a different medium of the artist's tune in creation, yet it is individual in the sense it is the critic's own. It should be purged of all 'dispersion and diffusion' in order to be clear and authoritative.

A good critic is also an enjoyer of the piece of art, to the same degree as the artist himself. But there is a difference between the critic and the layman. The critic's enjoyment and the apprehension of its truth is deeper and more comprehensive, intellectually and intuitively, than that of the layman. Hence, the critic is entitled to be its interpreter and educator.

High art may or may not be a true reflection of the times but its *genre* type is. The latter portrays the social, the ethical and the spiritual trends of the society. In every form of art there is the suggestion of That that is beyond one's pure intellectual cognition and sensory apprehension. Hieratic art may be cited as an instance. It is only the supra-logos akin to spiritual insight that can be sure of reaching the artist's supermental activity and apprehend the Truth it has gasped. Like the spiritual artist his critic is also "no man in every man, and every man in no man". In other words, for true and valid criticism the critic should have sunk his own individuality in the Universal like Sri Ramakrishna and lived out imaginatively the multiple existences of life. He should lean

only on 'Truth, Goodness and Beauty' in order to be just, fair and attractive. In a way the good critic, like the artist, is a high-priest of the Divine in that he also interprets the Divine. Like Isis hiding herself in her cloud of tresses the artist may hide himself in his technique. The artist's duty lies in unravelling the mystery. His duty is not the counting of the spots in the sun or the moon; for the sun and the moon are great not because of them but in spite of them. The artist and his critic therefore adore the Divine though in different ways. They are indispensable complements of each other like the knower and the knowledge.

"But" is an eternal shadow over existence. It delimits perfection. As Browning stressed the artist should "prepare the eye for future sight and the tongue of speech, present us with the complete engineering of a poet, . . . the function of beholding with an understanding keenness the Universe, Nature, and Man in their actual state of perfection in 'imperfection'." The artist does not paint pictures and hang them on the walls, but carries them on the retina of his own eyes; we must look deep into his own eyes to see those pictures on them. He is rather a seer accordingly than a fashioner and what he produces will be less a work than an effluence. That effluence cannot easily be considered in abstraction from his own personality,—being indeed the very radiance and aroma of his personality projected from it but not separated.

The primary function of both the artist and his critic,—one with his own creation and the other with a true and an adequate interpretation thereof—is to lift their "fellows with (their) half-apprehensions up to (their) sphere(s) by intensifying the impact of details (of) the phenomena around (them), whether spiritual or material and rounding off their universal meaning." For, "not what man sees but what God sees—the Ideal of Plato" and of Sri Samkarā (*Svatma-nirupanam*: V. 95) "the seeds of creation lying burning in the Divine Hand—it is towards these" both the artist and his critic struggle.



# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## Afanasi Nikitin and His Journey to India

In an article in the *News and Views from the Soviet Union* N. Goldberg and A. Osipov observe:

Early in the 19th century the famous Russian historian Karamzin found a 15th-century chronicle in a monastery library which among other accounts contained a tale by Afanasi Nikitin, a Tver merchant, on his travels in India. The tale is called *Journey Beyond Three Seas*, in which the author told in lively literary style the story of his travels and impressions of what he had seen and experienced in the far-away country.

### TRAVELOGUE OF THE TVER MERCHANT

Karamzin properly understood the instructive importance of the story and was justly proud that 15th-century Russia had its own Taverniers and Chardins, who though less educated were equally fearless and enterprising; he was also proud that Indians learned of Russia before they had of Portugal, Holland, or England. While Vasco de Gama was only thinking of the possibility of finding a route from Africa to Hindustan the Russian merchant from Tver had already been trading on the coast of Malabar.

That is how the splendid specimen of 16th-century literary work was made available to the Russian educated community. Soon thereafter it also became known to Western European intellectuals. In the thirties of the 19th century it was translated into German, and a score of years later count Vyegorsky, a close friend of the great Russian poet Pushkin, translated the *Journey* into English, and through that, true, far from perfect translation, it became known to Indian historians, taking a proper place among the best European sources of 15th-century Indian history.

### GLIMPSSES OF 15TH CENTURY RUSSIA

All that is known of Afanasi Nikitin himself is what he told in his *Journey*, which extended from 1466 to 1472. In this tale Nikitin appears before us a mature person who had seen much and grown wise with experience. His intellectually conscious life, therefore, dates to the second and third quarters of the 15th century. That was a grim period in the history of the Russian land. A struggle was on between Vasili II, Grand Duke of Moscow and other dukes, among them the Duke of

Tver, who tried to defend their independence and feudal privileges. A good many times the Duke of Moscow suffered defeat and Moscow was captured by his enemies. Everywhere the arbitrary rule of the feudal barons prevailed. That ceaseless confusion was made use of by the Tartars. Tartar horsemen penetrated deep into the Moscow duchy plundering or destroying everything on their way; sometimes they got close to its capital, Moscow.

Victory in that feudal war finally was won by the Moscow Duke, but that was after Nikitin had left Russian soil. The Moscow Duke won because he was backed by his military nobles and actively supported by the townspeople and merchant class. The townspeople of other principalities, including that of Tver, Nikitin's home, were also interested in putting an end to feudal anarchy, the arbitrary rule of the independent dukes and boyars and setting up a single centralized state which would unite all Russian lands. Loving his native land, Afanasi Nikitin deeply lamented the disorders in his country and severely condemned the feudal tyranny in it. He graphically expressed all this in the exclamation: "May God save the Russian land. . . . There is no country like it in this world."

### ORIGINAL DESTINATION NOT INDIA

Nikitin was no novice in far journeys. Knowledge of the language current among merchants in the Middle East and which for many reasons he used in his *Journey*, shows that he had been in those countries many times. Being a literate and inquisitive man he knew the records of earlier Russian travellers who had visited Constantinople, Damascus, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Cairo, Alexandria and other towns in the Near and Middle East.

The original goal of the journey on which Nikitin set out in 1466 in the company of other Tver and Moscow merchants was not India. He and his colleagues wanted to take their goods to Transcaucasia, with which Russian merchants had long traded, using the Volga route. This time too the merchants sailed on Volga vessels.

On the way there the merchant vessels were plundered and some of the merchants went back to Russia. Nikitin, however, got to Baku, one of the larger towns in Transcaucasia and from there went on to Persia. There local



merchants advised him to buy a horse, using the money which he evidently earned during his more than a year's stay in Transcaucasia and Persia. In Persia merchants told him that India was importing horses and that they fetched a high price in that country. Nikitin took their advice and after getting to Ormuz with his horse he took passage on an Indian vessel with other merchants, crossed the Arabian Sea and landed at the port of Chaul.

#### FASCINATED BY THE LAND OF INDIA

In his *Journey* Nikitin says very little, only in passing, about Transcaucasian and Persian towns. It will hardly be a mistake to attribute this fact to the relatively good knowledge Russians had of those areas of Asia. Everything, however, in style and content of the *Journey* changes when he begins to describe what he saw in India. From the time he sets foot on Indian soil everything becomes important for him and gets his close attention. He describes the appearance of plain people and gentry, and the arms of soldiers; he tells of the palaces of the feudal barons, the huts of the poor, and inns, also of town artisans and of peasants; he tells the reader of habits and customs, religions, political events, and the wars waged during his stay in that coun-

try, and even about the way they fed horses there, which amazed him.

Travelling from town to town, Nikitin got to Bidar, the capital of the Bahmani Kingdom, which along with the Vijayanagar Empire, was the strongest state in India in the latter half of the 15th century.

Nikitin told in detail about Bidar and its Sultan and the Sultan's extraordinary magnificent public appearances, about Mahmud Gawan, the Grand Vizier, exceptional beauty of the Sultan's palace in which "everywhere there were carvings and gold." He noted that "the town of Bidar had 1,000 night watchmen outfitted by the kotwal, and they ride their horses wearing armour and carrying torches." There were seven gates to the Sultan's palace, and every gate had 100 watchmen and 100 clerks who registered everyone entering and leaving the palace.

#### WIDENING CIRCLE OF ACQUAINTANCE

At first Nikitin seemed to have associated with the town's authorities, most of whom professed the Islamic religion, but gradually, the circle of his acquaintance widened. He made the acquaintance of many Hindus, chiefly merchants, became close friends with

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them and won their full trust. He says, "They did not keep anything back from me, either in food, trade, prayer or other things."

Nikitin looked upon India not just as a curious traveller. He tried to understand the social and spiritual life of the people in its varied manifestations. He wrote that India had many towns with large populations. During his journey from the coast to Bidar he "passed through three towns and sometimes four daily." This especially struck Nikitin who vividly remembered the wide depopulated expanses and the many towns of his native Russian land razed by the Tartars. A careful and thoughtful observer, Nikitin noted, however, that while India was populous and Nature there was magnificent and generous, there were also great social contrasts. He wrote: "The rural people are very poor and the boyars are rich and live in luxury." After staying for four months in Bidar he arranged with his Hindu friends to go to Parvata on the Kistna River, about 100 miles from the present Hyderabad, where a temple of Shiva stood. At that time a religious holiday in honour of Shiva was held in Parvata, and, to use Nikitin's figure of speech, "all India was there."

#### A FREE THINKER

Here we should underline another important trait of Nikitin. He was, of course, a religious man and loyal to the Russian Orthodox Church. He refused to renounce his religion even when the Khan of Junir threatened him that if he refused to accept the Islamic faith his property would be confiscated and he would lose his freedom. Nikitin was enough of a free thinker to state in his *Journey* after acquainting himself with the Hindu religions: "God knows the true faith and the true faith is to recognize one God and to pronounce his name in purity in every clean place." This free thinking explains Nikitin's respect for the religious views and rituals of the Hindus, a respect so rarely shown by other travellers to India before and after him.

It is amazing how this plain Russian merchant who had been left with practically no money and who, it may be said, was unknown to anybody, managed to make the acquaintance and even get friendly with people of diverse walks of life. This enabled him to comprehend the complex life of India.

#### VALUABLE INFORMATION ON INDIAN TRADE

Although Nikitin's approach to the descrip-

tion of India was not restricted to the merchant viewpoint, he did not neglect the interests of trade, and for this reason supplied much valuable information on trading centres in India as well as in neighbouring countries. He correctly stated that merchants from all over the world gathered at Ormuz and everything produced in the East could be found there. He noted that goods were brought to Dabul from Egypt, Khorosan and Turkestan. He stated that Calicut was the world centre of trade and that Gujarat was the indigo centre, Ceylon was famous for its elephant ivory and precious stones. Pegu, he said, was famous for its many Buddhist monks alone, called "dervishes", but also for its tin, which Burma was famous, and, finally, "Chin and Machin," that is, China, famous for its porcelain. In the spring of 1565 Nikitin decided to return home.

#### HOMEWARD BOUND

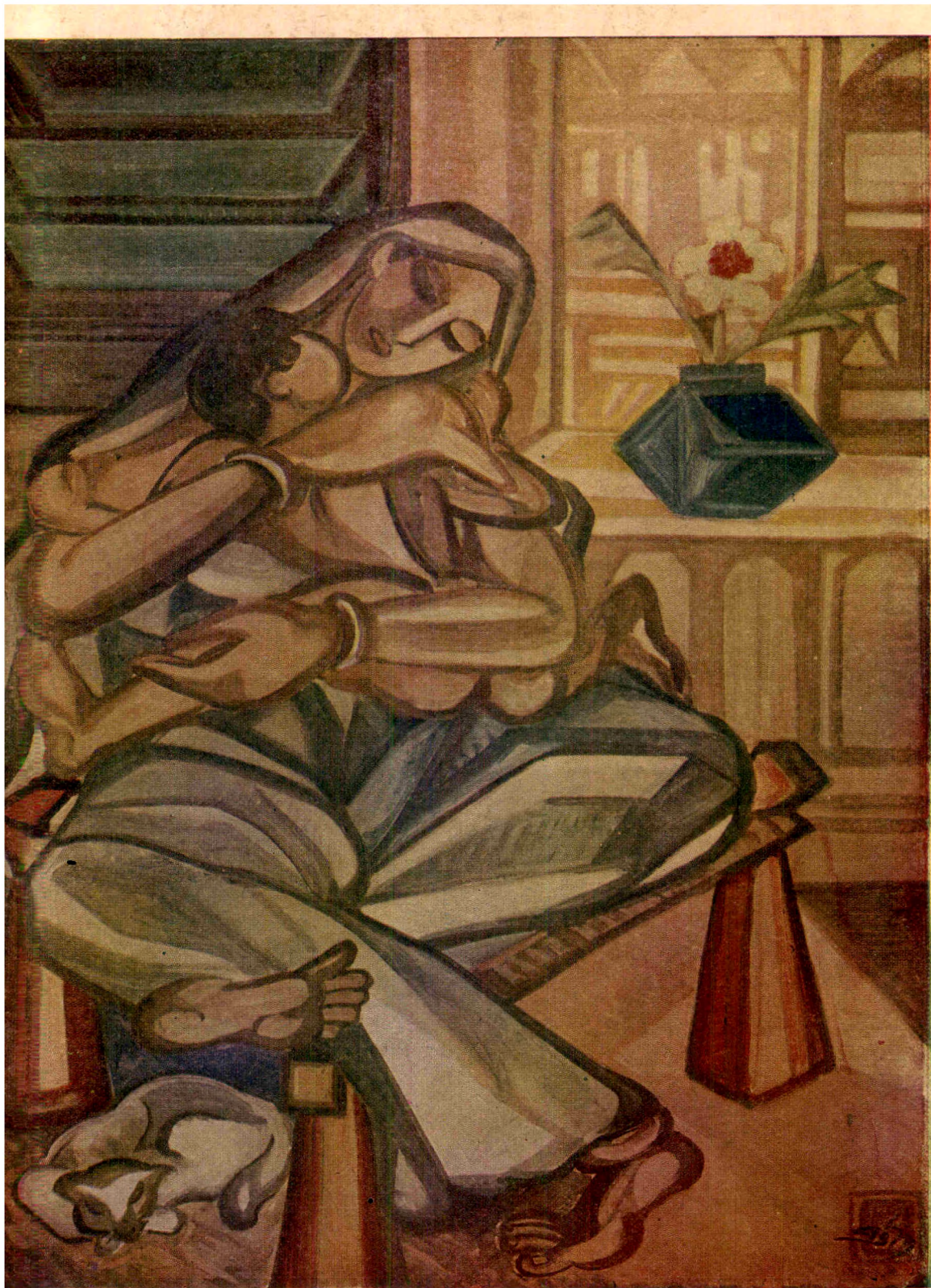
He left Dabul on an Indian vessel and after a little more than a month later, arrived on the Somali Coast, which was altogether expected by the seafarers. From there he paid a ransom in rice and pepper and Nikitin and his companions went on to the Arabian Peninsula, and later to Ormuz. In his *Journey* he tells of the recent wars in Persia, which prevented him from following the route he well knew to the Caspian Sea. From Koshan in the north of Persia he was compelled to turn in the direction of Tavriz in Azerbaijan and later to Trapezund, a port on the Black Sea. At the latter place Turkish officials informed him what little was left with him was happy, however, to have been able to proceed to his country. He crossed the Black Sea battling storms and bad weather and landed on the Crimean coast in the town of Kafa (the present Feodosiya), a port through which trade was carried between the Russian lands and countries of the Near East. His native land was not far away then, and Nikitin travelled by a regular route to the North via Smolensk, hoping to get to Tver from there. The privations he suffered on the return journey from India evidently undermined his health and he died not far from Smolensk, without seeing his native land and his near and dear ones.





During his second visit to the United States in 1916, Rabindranath Tagore planted an urn with ivy for the "Shakespeare Garden"





MOTHER AND CHILD

By Prabhat Neogy

Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

# THE MODERN REVIEW

AUGUST



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## NOTES

### *Justice in India*

Elsewhere in these notes we have put on record extracts from the speeches of the President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Mr. S. R. Das. Both have laid emphasis on the Supreme Court, being the final arbiter of law and justice, should dispense justice for all at a cost that can be borne by all sufferers from the wrong-doer.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the President, was very careful in not making any suggestions for this "Temple of Justice," as it was termed by the Chief Justice, becoming a veritable citadel of law and justice. He only laid a plea at its door, for lowering the costs and speeding the process of law. The Chief Justice, on the other hand, was more clear. He stated with emphasis:

"The writs which will issue from this citadel of law and order, *should run* to the farthest corner of this vast country, bringing adequate relief to the oppressed and *just retribution to the wrong-doer whoever he may be.*"

We are not in a position to suggest any remedies, either for the improvement in the process of dispensing justice, regarding delays and costs, for that duty devolves in another quarter altogether, nor can we suggest that the Supreme Court be vested with all the powers that the Supreme Court of the United States possesses, for that again is a matter for the Lok Sabha. But we can certainly affirm that there is very little justice available, as dispensed today, for the relief of the oppressed, and for just retribution on the wrong-doer. There is a crying need for remedial measures,

but the cries merely echo in the wilderness of a pseudo-democracy—for democracy in the Union of India seems only to operate for a few months, at each general election.

There is corruption and callousness at the highest quarters today, else there could not be such a rampant, open, and country-wide black-marketing in essentials today. What remedy is there for that in our highfalutin Constitution? There is oppression by high officials, the only remedy for which is an extremely costly and long-drawn process of law, in the working of which the scales are heavily loaded in favour of the oppressor, who operates with the moneys extracted from the tax-payer, and escapes scot-free even when found to be not only in the wrong but guilty of arbitrary injustice. This is the one thing that has fostered corruption and arbitrary and grossly unjust action by those who are in charge of the administration.

The absence of even a semblance of justice, in the matter of the two evils noted above, is deeply felt by *every honest man* in the Union of India today. The Constitution, over which our President waxed so eloquent at the opening of the Supreme Court, has provided every venue of escape for the wrong-doer, official or non-official, provided he has plenty of ill-gotten wealth. We say ill-gotten after due consideration, because to the honest even the process of making both ends meet, where bare existence is concerned, is an arduous and perilous process, let alone begetting wealth.

If democracy connotes the even dispensation of law and order for the law-abiding and the honest, and if India is, indeed, a democracy today, then what is needed is a *new definition of Justice.*



*Administrative Reforms*

Recently two important reports were published with regard to the problem of administration. One was the Kerala Administrative Report, the other was the Gorwala Report on the state of public administration in Mysore. The Kerala Administrative Reforms Committee's report was more broad-based and general, while the Gorwala Report dealt with particular aspects of Mysore administration. Both these reports deserved close study by all those who were interested in the future of the country. The importance of a sound administrative machinery for the formulation and execution of plan schemes could be hardly over-emphasized in the context of the constantly widening public sector.

The Kerala Committee headed by Shri Nambudiripad in its general report (a more detailed report on the reorganization of individual departments was expected to be published in early September) referred to the fundamentally altered objectives of Government in India after independence which called for greater and more effective popular participation at all levels of administration.

"There is need," the report said, "for establishing democratic bodies with substantial powers from the level of the village upwards. Arrangements should exist for the association of the people's representatives with the administration either in an advisory capacity or in a more positive manner according to the importance of the level and the nature of the activity. In matters of development these democratic bodies should have a definite and responsible role both in planning and in ensuring execution."

Along with this democratisation there should be decentralisation of authority. The committee urged for steps to be taken "to ensure (i) greater delegation of authority to lower units of administration, (ii) co-ordination of the activities of officials at all levels, (iii) improvement of the moral and social purposiveness of the services, (iv) proper adjustment of the relationship between officials and non-officials, and (v) proper canalisation of the democratic spirit for constructive work."

The committee suggested that panchayats should be made the units of administration.

"It is not meant by this that the panchayats should (or could) exercise the same degree and extent of powers in respect of all matters. The functions of panchayats may be divided into three categories: (i) those in respect of which they will have full devolution of powers; (ii) those in respect of which they will function as agents of Government with executive delegation of powers; and (iii) those in respect of which their role will be advisory."

The report dealt in some details with these three types of works and the financial aspect of their execution.

The committee took note of the public criticism about the functioning of the Secretariat and pointed out that the situation could not be improved without a change "simultaneously both in the nature of work done in the Secretariat and in the procedures adopted. Secretariat work should be confined to the framing of policies, laying down rules and principles of procedure, financial control, work connected with legislation, general direction and evaluation of the work done."

The report also dealt with the recruitment, training, promotion, conduct, rules, etc., of the services and the relation between the Minister and the civil servant and procedures for associating non-officials with the budgeting procedure and financial control.

"Government servants having dealings with the public," the Report added, "should set apart a prescribed time for meeting and hearing them and should also meet and hear them with patience and sympathy. There should be facilities in public offices for people to wait. Whenever possible requests made by parties should be examined and the orders made known to them immediately. Where this is not possible, a definite time-limit before which orders will be passed should be intimated and it should be kept."

Shri Elamkulam Mana Shankaran Nambudiripad, Chief Minister of Kerala, was the Chairman of the committee of which the other members were: Shri Joseph Mundassery, Minister for Education and Co-operation, Shri N. E. S. Raghavachari, I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Kerala Government, Prof. V. K. N. Menon, Director, Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi, Shri H. D. Malaviya, formerly Editor of the *A.-I.C.C. Eco-*



*nomic Review*, New Delhi, Shri P. S. Nataraja Pillai, Ex-Minister of Travancore-Cochin State and Shri G. Parameshwaran Pillai, Retired Chief Secretary to the Government of Travancore.

The picture of Mysore administration disclosed by the report submitted by Shri A. D. Gorwala to the State Government of Mysore might not be found too much different from that obtaining in some of the other States. It depicted a state of incompetence, indecision and bungling. There was extensive slackness of administration. Ministers often held up files for too long either because they were unable to make up their minds or because they did not wish to deal with a particular matter till the Cabinet as a whole had reached an unanimous decision. Files in the Mysore Secretariat had shown a strange facility for getting lost. Shri Gorwala referred to the extravagance in the administration. The Vidhan Sabha building was constructed at a cost of two crores of rupees. The Ministers had shown a particular fondness for numerous costly entertainments at public cost, maintenance of costly guest houses and for luxurious tours. The officials also naturally followed suit.

Shri Gorwala, whose views on prohibition were well known, suggested a radical reorganization of the State's finances, recommending the abandonment of prohibition. On this point the *Hitavada* remarks:

"This is a suggestion which is bound to be frowned upon by the State Government as prohibition has become an article of faith and a prestige issue with the Congress Governments. Yet any dispassionate observer of the prohibition experiment in Mysore as in other States will come to the conclusion that it has, on the one hand, failed to wean the addicts from drinking and has, on the other, led to large-scale illicit distillation and smuggling of liquor into the dry areas. Crores of rupees are being spent on the enforcement staff and yet drinking goes on unabated. Prohibition has resulted in a heavy loss to the exchequer, from the point of view of revenue and enforcement, corruption among the excise and police staff and a defiant attitude towards law by those engaged in the I.D. liquor trade. We are, therefore, glad that Mr. Gorwala has sounded a note of warning against any idea of extending prohibition to the

remaining part of Mysore State. It is time that the Congress Party does some rethinking about prohibition. Hundreds of crores are being lost due to prohibition with no corresponding benefit to the country and at a time when the Second Plan is collapsing due to lack of finance. Realism demands that the prohibition policy should be submitted to a searching and impartial review by a team of observers."

### *Foreign Aid and Development*

Professor Tibor Mende, the noted French political scientist examines in an article in the Bi-monthly *United Asia* some of the aspects of economic development in the under-developed countries with particular reference to the Western attitude. He believes that the West can still exercise a decisive influence over the course of economic development in the retarded areas provided it adopted a clearly thought-out policy. In practice, however, the West did nothing to foster the process of development which could be beneficial to the inhabitants of the area. Western aid, given so far under the various programmes and schemes, served three clearly-defined aims, Professor Mende writes: "Firstly, and in their most enlightened form they were designed to help the economic progress and strengthen the social resistance of the recipient countries. Secondly, they were destined to prepare the ground for, and to render more remunerative, private investments. And, thirdly, they were openly armed at assuring strategic advantages."

All these programmes had certain common features. "The most obvious common feature has been," Prof. Mende adds, "that the sums employed within frame, have been, and without exception, grossly inadequate even for the limited tasks prescribed to mix schemes. Their second general characteristic has been that they have tended to fortify to patch up, or to revive the economic system which the imposed bilateralism of the colonial relation has created, rather than to aid in the formation of a new kind of economic structure suited to the political conditions and the psychological corollaries of national independence [i.e., Western aid had always sought to maintain economic colonialism—Ed., *M.R.*]. The third distinctive feature of all this aid-schemes has been in their almost

universal lack of serious results in the form of improved living standards or of greater social contentment. Fourthly, and finally, these schemes desired to aid the 'under-developed areas' of the world—whose funds have been voted by appealing to the selfish interests of the voters of the donor countries—have (apart from minor exceptions) failed to convince the recipients that they served 'noble' motives and have led to more hostility than gratitude. In reality—and particularly where aid was openly linked to strategic conditions—these aid schemes tended to create friction and irritation and rather than to cement the links between donors and recipients, have encouraged suspicions concerning the motives of industrialized countries."

Prof. Mende's assessment covers the same points as are often made by the Asian critics of Western aid. This endorsement by a leading Western political scientist should help public opinion in the West to take a more objective view of the Asian attitude than has hitherto been evident. A changed perspective of aid in which strategic considerations would be less prominent would not only be more helpful to the recipient countries but would also lessen mutual suspicion and tension and would be a great indirect help to world peace.

#### *Statistical Tables Relating to Banks in India*

The "Statistical Tables relating to banks in India, 1957," recently published by the Reserve Bank of India, contains as usual, a wealth of statistical data pertaining to individual banks and the banking system as a whole, based on their balance-sheets. The various tables in the volume disclose the all-round progress made by the banking system during 1957. There was a rise in deposits, advances, investments and offices of both joint-stock and co-operative banks covered by the Tables.

The general improvement in business in the joint-stock sector, was, however, confined to scheduled banks only. Non-scheduled banks showed all-round declines in deposits, advances, investments and number of offices. A major portion of this was however attributed to the shifting of two important non-scheduled banks from non-scheduled to scheduled category. As regards scheduled banks, the most outstanding feature during the year under review was the

spectacular rise of Rs. 280 crores in their deposits. Deposits of Indian scheduled banks showed a rise of Rs. 264 crores while the foreign scheduled banks which had suffered a loss of Rs. 7 crores in their deposits in 1956 showed a rise of Rs. 16 crores in 1957. One-half of the increase in deposits under the Indian scheduled banks was accounted for by the State Bank of India alone, bulk of which may be attributed to a special factor, namely, the accrual of deposits arising from transactions connected with import of foodgrains, under P.L. 480.

By types of deposits, it is observed that two-thirds of the deposit expansion took place under time deposits. The large increase in time deposits was also responsible for a sharp rise in interest payments by banks on deposits. The general expansion in deposits may be related to factors such as the expansionary effect of Government deficit financing, the sharp import cuts during the year which might have led to temporary investment of surplus funds with banks in time deposits, mobilization of savings facilitated by the increase in deposit rates and the opening of new offices during the year.

Advances of scheduled banks continued to rise during the year. At the end of 1957, total advances and bills of scheduled banks stood at Rs. 894 crores showing a rise of Rs. 74 crores over the year as compared with an increase of Rs. 155 crores in 1956. The smaller rise during 1957 was attributed to a reduction in demand for finance following the severe import cuts, to attempts made by banks to press down the level of advances following advice from the Reserve Bank and to a sharp seasonal contraction in advances since the middle of 1957. The average level of advances and bills as disclosed by the weekly returns of scheduled banks, however, showed a rise of Rs. 129 crores during the year as compared with an increase of Rs. 140 crores in 1956. The earning capacity of banks from this source was, therefore, maintained during 1957.

Investments of scheduled banks which had remained steady around Rs. 400-420 crores in the past three years rose sharply to over Rs. 500 crores by December 1957. This indicates an investment of surplus funds by banks. The change in the structure of liabilities and assets had their impact on the earnings and expenses of banks. Both earnings and expenses

of banks showed increases, the latter mainly because of interest payments.

Net profits of scheduled banks (Indian and foreign) rose further by Rs. 2½ crores during the year 1957 as against an increase of over Rs. 3 crores a year ago. The total current operating earnings of the Indian scheduled banks rose steeply by Rs. 12.7 crores or by 25.8 per cent as compared to a rise of Rs. 7.9 crores or 19.2 per cent in 1956. The current operating expenses rose by Rs. 10 crores or by 26.1 per cent in 1957 as compared to a rise of Rs. 5.1 crore or 15.3 per cent in 1956. The balance of net profit, as a result rose by Rs. 2.4 crores only this year as compared to a rise of Rs. 2.7 crores in 1956.

Deposits of co-operative banks (having paid-up capital and reserves of Rs. 1 lakh and over) also registered a rise of Rs. 39 crores in 1956-57 as compared to Rs. 37 crores in 1955-56 while their loans and advances rose from Rs. 135 crores to Rs. 177 crores in the same period. The number of offices in the Indian Union of Joint stock banks went up by 155 in 1957 as compared to a rise of 65 in 1956. The increase, it may be noted, was in spite of a sizeable fall in the number of offices of non-scheduled banks. The State Bank of India accounted for as many as 84 additional offices in 1957 as compared to a net increase of 54 offices in 1956. The number of offices of co-operative banks also rose during the year by 192 to 1,421. Taking the offices of Joint Stock and co-operative banks together, there was one office for every 9,543 of the population served by banks at the end of 1957 as compared to one office for every 9,937 of the population a year ago. On an average, there was one banking office for about 69,000 of the population. About 50 per cent of the offices of scheduled banks were concentrated in the larger towns having population of over 50,000.

### *Refinance Corporation*

The Refinance Corporation of India was registered on June 5, 1958. Its registered office is at Bombay. It will be managed by a Board of Directors consisting of seven members, including the Governor of the Reserve Bank of India (who will be the Chairman), and one of the Deputy Governors of the Reserve Bank, the Chairman of the State Bank of India, the

Chairman of the Life Insurance Corporation and three representatives of the bank associated with the scheme.

The authorised capital of the Corporation is Rs. 25 crores. It will have an initial issued capital of Rs. 12½ crores contributed jointly by the Reserve Bank, the Life Insurance Corporation and fifteen other scheduled banks. These banks include the State Bank of India, Central Bank of India, Punjab National Bank, Bank of India, Bank of Baroda, National Overseas and Grindlays Bank, United Commercial Bank, Lloyds Bank, Allahabad Bank, Chartered Bank, Indian Bank, United Bank of India, Mercantile Bank, Devkaran Nanjee Banking Co., and State Bank of Hyderabad. The share of the Reserve Bank in the capital of the Refinance Corporation is Rs. 5 crores and that of the State Bank of India 2.5 crores. The Life Insurance Corporation will provide Rs. 2.5 crores and the balance will be provided by the other scheduled banks. The issued capital will be supplemented by the American counterpart funds to the extent of Rs. 26 crores.

Under the Agricultural Commodities Agreement, entered between the Government of India and the Government of the USA in August 1956, a sum of about Rs. 26 crores from the counterpart funds has been reserved for relending to private enterprises in India through specified banks. The Government of India will make available to the Corporation the amounts required by it from time to time, in the form of interest-bearing loans and arrange to obtain reimbursement in due course from the counterpart funds. The total resources that will be available to the Corporation at present will be of the order of Rs. 38½ crores. Out of this amount, each of the participating scheduled banks will be allocated a quota within which it will be eligible to obtain refinancing facilities from the Corporation.

The Refinance Corporation has been set up to augment the resources available for the use of medium-sized industrial units in the private sector. The Corporation has been designed for the purpose of refinancing. That is, it will not lend itself to the industries, but it will assist banks to lend to the industrial concerns. Its function will be indirect in extending loans to industries.



The aim of the Corporation is to encourage and extend lending facilities of commercial banks to the industries. Loans given by the member banks are eligible for assistance from the Corporation. Loans are to be given to medium-sized industrial concerns for amounts not exceeding Rs. 50 lakhs in any case and the period of loan should not be less than three or more than seven years. These facilities will be available only to industrial concerns whose paid-up capital and reserves (excluding reserves for the payment of taxes and normal depreciation reserves) do not exceed Rs. 2½ crores in any particular case. Loans must be for the purpose of increased production, primarily in industries included in the Second Five-Year Plan and succeeding Plans.

The first meeting of the Board of Directors of the Corporation was held in the last week of June at Bombay. At this meeting the Board decided to fix the issued capital for the present at Rs. 12.5 crores, made up of 1,250 shares of Rs. 1 lakh each.

#### *World Petroleum Production*

The world crude oil production outside the USSR increased by 4 per cent during 1957. This was half the average rate of increase over the past ten years. In the first half of 1957 Middle East production was reduced as a result of the cutting of transport facilities occasioned by the Suez crisis. In the second half of the year, the stagnation of demand in North America led to a reduction in United States and Canadian Production. If the production of the U.S.S.R., is included, the increase in world crude petroleum production would amount to 5 per cent.

In 1957, the world oil reserves continued to grow at a faster rate than production. Published proved oil reserves increased from 31,250 million tons in 1956 to 33,705 million tons in 1957. The main increases were in the Middle East, chiefly in Kuwait and the Neutral Zone of Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, in the East Indies and in Venezuela. The Middle East now accounts for 63 per cent of the total world oil reserves, followed by the United States with 13 per cent and the USSR with 10 per cent. The average annual rate of growth of oil production by main areas during the period 1946-

57 indicates as follows: 4 per cent in the USA, 9 per cent in the Caribbean, 16 per cent in the Middle East, 32 per cent in East Indies, 14 per cent in the USSR, 34 per cent in Canada and the world average is 8 per cent. In the following table, the world crude petroleum production during the years 1956 and 1957 are given. The figures are in million tons.

#### WORLD PETROLEUM PRODUCTION

(Million tons)

	1957	1956
<i>Western Hemisphere:</i>		
U.S.A. (including gasoline)	380.4	380.5
Venezuela ..	141.5	125.6
Columbia ..	6.4	6.2
Trinidad ..	4.9	4.1
Canada ..	24.1	22.8
Mexico ..	12.4	12.9
Argentina ..	4.8	4.3
Peru ..	2.5	2.4
U.S.S.R. ..	98.0	83.0
Others ..	2.8	1.9
Total Western Hemisphere	677.8	643.7
<i>Eastern Hemisphere:</i>		
(Middle East)		
Bahrain ..	1.6	1.5
Iran ..	34.9	26.2
Iraq ..	21.5	30.8
Kuwait ..	56.4	54.1
Neutral Zone ..	3.4	1.7
Qatar ..	6.5	5.8
Saudi Arabia ..	48.1	47.9
Total	172.4	168.0

Western Europe ..	12.2	10.4
East Indies ..	20.7	18.6
Others ..	3.4	3.0

Total Eastern Hemisphere 221.5 200.0

The total crude petroleum production in 1956 was 857.7 million tons and in 1957 it was 899.3 million tons.

#### *Consolidation of Land Holdings in India*

The revised edition of the *Agricultural Legislation in India* (Consolidation of Hold-

ings), published by the Union Ministry of Food and Agriculture, has incorporated all up-to-date statutory provisions in the direction of land reforms in the country, particularly those relating to the consolidation of holdings. The publication states that the small size of the agricultural holdings and their dispersal into fragments constitute the greatest impediments to the efforts being currently made to improve the standards of agricultural productivity in the country. "Technological research has opened up vast possibilities for increasing agricultural productivity and the State in India is expanding extensions and credit facilities in order to bring within the reach of the cultivators the results of such research as also the means required for putting these results to practical use. The small-size and the defective lay-out of a large majority of our farms, however, makes it impossible for these farms to take maximum advantage of these programmes. These two factors are thus responsible for a lot of wastage of national effort in this direction because the benefits derived from these programmes would be very much greater if the individual units of farming are larger in size and more rationally and compactly laid out. It is being increasingly recognised, therefore, that schemes for improving the lay-out of farms should form an integral part of the total programme for agricultural development, for such schemes are absolutely essential for enlarging the scope for improvements in various directions."

In India, the average per capita availability of culturable land is about 2.8 acres and the size of the farm is more or less predetermined by the gift of nature. The over-population in India rules out any possibility of enlarging the size of the farms in the near future. The agricultural farms can be enlarged in size only when there takes place a large-scale diversion of the people working in the agricultural sector to the industrial and commercial sectors of the country. That requires a long period of economic development resulting in the redistribution of the people in the different economic sectors of the country and also the creation of opportunities for their re-employment in new sectors. Unless the diversion of employment takes place, it is useless to talk about increasing the size of the agricultural farms in the country. It may be pointed out here that the Study Group which

was sent to Japan to study the agricultural aspects of that country gave the verdict on their return that small holdings by themselves are no impediments to increasing the productivity of the soil. In Japan the land holdings are comparatively small, but on account of technological improvements the productivity of the soil is much higher than that of India. But small holdings have to face many difficulties and technological improvements are not possible to the fullest extent. In a country, however, with a large population, larger holdings cannot be expected and therefore the national effort should be directed towards raising the largest possible crop from the existing small holdings. Where it is possible, the consolidation of holdings should be effected. But mere legislation will not bring about the desired result and mere large-size of the holdings will not be able to increase the output of the country.

It is stated that in its nature and even in its origin, the problem of the excessive fragmentation of farms is different from the small size of farms. But these two problems are inter-connected and one deteriorates the other. Cultivators of small holdings normally have less margin to spare when suffering under physical and economic disabilities imposed by excessive fragmentation. It is not possible for them to deploy economically and effectively their limited resources of labour, livestock and equipment. The increasing pressure of population on land aggravated by the decay of village industries and lack of scope for employment in the organised industrial sector in the country are collectively responsible for the fragmentation of land holdings in India. Our laws of inheritance are also greatly responsible for the fragmentation of holdings.

The pressure of population on land is continuously on the increase and the secondary and tertiary industries have not been able to keep pace with the growing number of population in India. Although the area of cultivable land has increased, but not in the proportion of increase in the number of population. The 1951 Census Report states that while the agricultural population has increased in India from 17.6 crores in 1911 to 25 crores in 1951, that is, 42.04 per cent, the net sown area has increased by 8.4 per cent only, thus indicating

a decrease of 23.68 per cent in the sown area per person dependent on agriculture. In India, 16.8 per cent of cultivators' holdings have the area of 1 acre and below, and another 21.3 per cent of holdings vary between 1.1 to 2.5 acres.

For the purpose of agricultural improvement in the country, larger doses of labour and capital are required to be effectively employed and such a step will raise the per acre productivity in agriculture. Both institutional and technological reforms are essential for re-organising Indian agriculture.

### *The State of Congress Organisation*

The *United Press of India* reports:

New Delhi, July 12.—The Congress Working Committee which commenced its two-day session here today reviewed the by-election results since the last general elections.

Summing up the assessment of the Committee in this connection, Mr. Shriman Narayan, Congress General Secretary, told pressmen that so far as the State Assemblies were concerned, the net loss was two seats. In the Lok Sabha elections also the Congress lost two seats to the Opposition.

Since the last general elections till the end of June, Mr. Narayan said, in all 46 by-elections were held for the State Assemblies.

The analysis of the Party's gains and losses was:

*Losses:* Andhra 2 and Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Mysore and Rajasthan 1 each.

*Gains:* Orissa 2 and Madras and U.P. 1 each.

In the last elections the Congress had won 20 of these 46 seats and now it secured 24 out of them.

In terms of percentage of polling also the Congress has improved its position. In the by-elections to State Assemblies, the Congress has polled 47.4 per cent of votes as against 44 in the last general elections.

Earlier, the Congress President, Mr. U. N. Dhebar gave his impressions about his recent tour in parts of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Andhra and Tamil Nad in connection with the organisation of the Mandal Congress Committees.

He reported that about 13,000 Mandal Congress Committees have already been formed in different parts of the country and expressed the hope that after further elections to be held soon it would be possible to complete the formation of 18,000 Mandals in all the Pradeshes.

The programme which has been given to these Mandal Congress Committees is five-fold: (1) mobilisation of small savings, (2) increasing agricultural production, (3) co-operation and small industries, (4) community development and (5) removal of local difficulties.

The Congress President suggested that every Congress M.P., M.L.A., members of the A.I.C.C., P.C.Cs and the District Boards should be entrusted with the intensive organisation of one or two Mandal Congress Committees in their respective areas.

An effective machinery should be devised for the removal of local administrative difficulties at the district level.

Arrangements should also be made for training cadres, both short-term and long-term, to equip the Mandal Congress workers with the necessary knowledge and ability for carrying on intensive and house to house work through the Mandal Committees in the villages and cities.

### *Acute Food Situation*

The mounting shortage of food supply in India has reached an alarming position and it seems that the authorities have been caught unawares. On August 20, the Union Food Minister told the Lok Sabha that the next six to eight weeks were going to be difficult for India. On account of the serious shortfall in the production of food-grains, the rise in prices of food-grains—a usual feature at this lean period of the year—has been much higher than usual this year. The prices have risen highest in West Bengal and Bihar, these two areas being persistently in deficit. Prime Minister Nehru defended his Government in the Lok Sabha saying that the obstacles of over-population, under-development, over-dependence on the Government and the extremity of ill-luck were mainly responsible for the shortage of food production in the country. Prime Minister Nehru assured the House that the entire Government was giving first priority to food.



It was stated in the Lok Sabha that not only the Food Department, but also other departments of the Union and State Governments are responsible for the present position of food production in the country. It is in the agricultural sector that success on the desired scale has not been forthcoming during the Second Plan. Over the period 1950-57, the annual increase in agricultural production came to 2 to 2.5 per cent. This rate of increase is not sufficient to support a larger plan of economic development. The results have been varied and uneven and in certain cases they did not reflect adequately the large outlays which had been incurred. There has not been enough concentration of efforts on increasing yields per acre in irrigated areas and in areas with assured rainfall. Progress in the utilisation of the irrigation potential created in major and medium irrigation schemes has not been satisfactory. Minor irrigation programmes have tended to develop into departmental programmes with insufficient public participation. Even in N.E.S. and Community Project areas, the provisions for minor irrigation have not been adequately utilised and programmes were not fully co-ordinated with the agricultural departments of the Union and the States.

The revised target for food production for the Second Five-Year Plan was laid at 8 crore tons to be reached by stages in 1960-61. The Food-grains Enquiry Committee, however, pointed out that it would be possible for India to reach a lower target, namely, 7.75 crore tons, as against the estimated demand for 7.9 crore tons by 1960-61. The output of food-grains is much lower in 1958 than in 1957 when it aggregated 6.87 crore tons. The production of food-grains calls for an integrated effort involving all the connected departments of the Government. The effort to raise the food production is essentially one of implementing a comprehensive programme in which the provision of irrigation facilities, fertilisers and improved seeds all have to play equally important roles. It is now an admitted fact that the irrigation potential created by the large river valley projects has not been properly utilised. This has resulted in a considerable loss in output in areas where irrigation facilities exist. The Deputy Chairman of the Planning the other day pointed out that by the end of the Second Plan.

Rs. 788 crores would have been spent on irrigation. "It is obvious that, if utilisation is to proceed according to the old ideas—that is, if it is left to the people entirely and is spread over 10 to 15 years—the nation will be losing Rs. 30 to 40 crores a year in interest alone and three to four times that amount in output." In West Bengal, particularly in the deltaic areas, there has been continued drought for the last several years and as a result food production in these areas have fallen considerably. The country needs a food production council whose function it will be to lay down targets for every village and to set up organisations to reach those targets. It is the primary responsibility of the States to raise the food production by integrated efforts, but their achievement in this respect are totally disappointing.

#### *Food Prices*

Food prices have continued to rise throughout the length and breadth of India. In West Bengal, the situation has already assumed an alarming picture with the price of rice per maund rising over thirtytwo rupees even in suburban and rural areas. The assurance that government were "watching the situation" or that they would not "allow prices to rise" loses all meaning in the context of this constantly rising index of food prices.

The *Hitavada* writes with reference to the situation in Madhya Pradesh and Bombay:

"Prime Minister Nehru has given an assurance at the Press Conference, that the food prices will go down shortly as the Government has large stocks of rice and wheat. People have been living on such assurances from Ministers for quite a long time but there is no indication of any fall in the price of foodgrains. In the Nagpur market, fine rice is sold at one *pailee* and one *chatak* for a rupee and rice merchants have given notice that the *chatak* will be cut down next month. They complain that there is some defect in the mechanism of supply in the Bombay State. Formerly, they were getting rice supply from the districts of Chhattisgarh. When this was stopped, the Bombay Government made no alternative arrangement to ensure a regular supply. Whatever be the real cause of high prices of foodgrains in place like Nagpur, the very fact

that prices continue to soar irks the consumer particularly when he hears assurances of the type given by Prime Minister Nehru at his Press Conference. The Consumer is losing faith in such assurances."

### *Financial Devolution*

The Government of India announced on July 4 its decision to delegate greater financial powers so far exercised by the Finance Ministry to the administrative ministries

This decision was taken with a view to facilitating the execution of plan schemes and removing administrative delays. To achieve this end a revised arrangement for budgeting and financial control would be introduced shortly. Internal financial advisers attached with, and forming part of, the administrative ministries would have the duty to ensure that wider financial powers thus delegated were exercised with due regard to financial principles.

The decision of the Government of India involving devolution of financial powers would evoke a mixed reaction. The matter had been debated for several years now since Mr. Chanda, the present Auditor-General of India, had in his earlier capacity as Secretary of the Production Ministry, recommended this measure. There could be no denying the fact that the extreme centralization of financial authority under the Ministry of Finance had on many occasions led to much avoidable delay without in any way contributing to real economy. While there was the obvious danger inherent in any liberalisation of the stringencies of financial control, the new decision of the government certainly merits a sincere trial.

### *Removal of the Jaipur Bench*

Referring to the movement for the retention of the Jaipur Bench of the Rajasthan High Court and the government's policy the *Bombay Chronicle* writes editorially:

"Neither the Congress Party nor the country at large can hope to benefit from the disciplinary action that is contemplated against Congressmen who supported the agitation against the abolition of the Jaipur Bench of the Rajasthan High Court. Among those who

openly sided with the so-called 'rebels' are said to be Mr. Raj Bahadur, Union Minister for Communications, two former Chief Ministers of Rajasthan and two present State Ministers. The terms "agitational attitude" and "public defiance" are distortions to describe what was an outcry against a public grievance. It is wrong to say that the move will entail hardships merely to a few hundred lawyers who will now have to go to Jodhpur for every case before the Rajasthan High Court. Litigants themselves will have to suffer considerable inconvenience and monetary expense involved in the removal of the Jaipur Bench. Lawyears alone could not have incited members of the public who hurled stones at the police and even indulged in acts of incendiarism in Jaipur when the agitation was at its height. On one occasion, the demonstrators numbered 5,000, and the police had to use tear-gas and lathis to curb the unruly crowd. It cannot be forgotten that at one time all the municipal councillors of Jaipur thought of resigning on this issue. To voice public sentiment in full strength, the Jaipur City Congress Committee unanimously reiterated its earlier stand for continuance of the Jaipur Bench and appealed to the State Government to reconsider its decision.

"All this public furore does not add up to the work of a few Congress "rebels". It will be a sad day for Congress when the party ceases to give vent to people's grievances because of ukases from the High Command. Democracy, too, will suffer a grievous setback."

There would appear to be great strength in the arguments made by the *Chronicle*. Further we have to strongly criticise the action of the High Command if they have ignored the suffering of the people, in taking this "disciplinary action." "Discipline" of that type has an evil stench, reminiscent of the days of our slavery.

### *Medium of Higher Education*

The *Hindu* of Madras in a leading article in its issue of July 27 came out strongly against the replacement of English as the medium of higher education by the regional languages. "It would lead to nothing less than the Balkanisation of India and its division into fourteen separate countries each of which would put up an effective language

barrier to persons from other states. Competitive examinations would become a farce and there could be no inter-change of personnel either in Government or business", the newspaper writes.

"The usual 'democratic' argument against English (apart from appeal to crude nationalism) is that the English graduate will form a new caste or class. The argument is scarcely valid when such graduates are well-versed in the mother tongue. The other familiar argument runs that, in an era of mass education, a foreign language is a barrier to the newly-educated. To this, the answer is that the statistics do not bear it out. In 1926, the total number of college students was less than 100,000. In 1947 the figure rose to 230,000. Today it is in the neighbourhood of 900,000. If this last figure is compared with the total for British Universities which was only 91,000

last year, it becomes clear that, while the standard of college education may not be high, it cannot be said that English is a barrier which is keeping out the new matriculates. We do not, however want to give the impression that there should be no higher education in the regional languages. There is no reason why ample provision should not be made in some colleges for education entirely through the mother tongue. But students who opt for such higher training should be made aware that their chances of employment outside their own State are pretty slender," the newspaper adds.

The comments of the *Hindu* high-lighted some of the difficulties of the replacement of English as the medium by the mother tongue. While the points made by it were not to be laughed at or brushed aside, it did not appear to have considered the problem of ensuring a *properly oriented* education which could only be gained through the medium of the mother tongue. While English might as yet serve for some years more as the official language, its replacement as a medium of higher education would have to be accelerated.

### 3 The Kerala Firing

Two persons were killed and six others were injured, four of them seriously when on

June 26 police opened fire to disperse an unruly mob of workers who had surrounded a cashew factory at a place about seven miles from Quilon. The trouble reportedly arose out when the management, who had earlier declared a lock-out, attempted to remove some of the goods from the factory in their lorries with police protection.

There was a country-wide furore over this incident of firing which, to anyone not acquainted with Indian developments, might appear as an unprecedented thing, though as a matter of fact it was not.

There have been quite a few deaths caused, since independence, by the bullets of Indian police. But never before had there been such an all-India movement to denounce firing. There were police firings elsewhere in India since July 26 but no comparable condemnation of those firings.

This is not to suggest the condonation of firing in Kerala or elsewhere nor to overlook the misguided policies and bunglings of the Communist-led government in Kerala. Democratic government was based upon certain assumptions about the codes of conduct of the government and the opposition. Unless both of these facts sincerely adhered to those codes of conduct democratic government would become impracticable.

### 49th State of USA

Alaska is soon to be made the forty-ninth state of the United States of America which since 1912 has been the Union of forty-eight states. Admission of Alaska—purchased from the Russian Czar in 1867 at a price of \$7,200,000 (or less than two cents an acre the price having since been repaid more than 300 times)—would add to the United States an area of 586,400 square miles, roughly equivalent to one-fifth of the existing 48 states. The admission of Alaska (which had so long been treated as a "territory" as distinct from a "state") would involve a change in the national flag of the United States. The flag now is made up of 13 alternate stripes of red and white and 48 white stars on a field of blue. Soon the flag would have another star, the 49th, for the new State of Alaska.



*Ministers with Picks and Shovels*

China is one of India's great neighbours. Chinese successes in several fields of production have been widely acclaimed throughout the world. How things are happening in China; how the leaders behave there are therefore, questions about which interest is naturally keen. An interesting account is provided by the report of the participation of leading government and Party functionaries in manual work. In June leading cadres including Chairman Mao-Tse tung and Premier Chou En-lai participated in such manual work. Premier Chou En-lai led two contingents of more than 540 ministers, heads of departments and bureaus of the Central Government and members of organizations directly under the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party at the Ming Tombs Reservoir Construction site on the north-eastern outskirts of Peking. Each of the contingents work for a week.

Reporting the work of these contingents *People's Daily* of Peking writes: "It was a hot day with a blazing sun overhead. The sand underfoot was scorching." It was on that day that work began. "Everyday as the whistle blows at 3 P.M. people [Ministers, Chiefs] fall in and set out for the work-site. For until 11 o'clock in the evening do they return to their camping grounds where they sleep on pallets on the ground."

"Under the blazing sun, the stones were hot to the touch but this group was not mindful of this. They cheerfully called the big stones 'water melons' and the small stones 'musk melons'.... All the members of this contingent, whose average age is over 45 vied with each other in working hard."

Premier Chou En-lai, whose right hand had suffered a permanent strain during the Long March back in the thirties, brushed aside the advice of friends not to take up heavy work. He insisted on pushing a few cart-loads of stones. Other ministers and officials did likewise.

The frugality of the Chinese leaders is well known. Their personal participation in real manual labour cannot but create new enthusiasm among the people to work hard and economically.

*Pakistani Intrusions*

*The Delhi Hindusthan Standard* writes: Incursions of East Pakistani personnel into Assam and West Bengal along the borders have become not only a great nuisance but a danger. Since the Pakistani Army's "Operation Closed Door" started in December last year and border trade was closed down on the pretext of controlling smuggling activities Pakistani armed personnel have been steadily reinforced along the frontiers. In a recent statement Dr. B. C. Roy, Chief Minister of West Bengal, has referred to the increasing number of cases of trespass by Pakistani citizens, sometimes backed by Pakistani policemen, with the object of lifting cattle or illegal cultivation of *char* areas or harassing and kidnapping of Indian boatmen who plied their boats along rivers where the midstream had been accepted as the Indo-Pakistan boundary. It is the West Bengal Chief Minister's irresistible conclusion that this situation has resulted from the aggressiveness and instigation of Pakistani Army personnel who not only take recourse to high-handed action themselves but also encourage and assist Pakistani police and civilians on the border to undermine border peace and tranquillity. He has also noted that the Government of East Pakistan is either unable or reluctant to restrain their officials and nationals from committing these felonies and that on the contrary it invariably covers up "the misdeeds of Pakistani nationals who harass Indian nationals or trespass into Indian territory."

From this very unreassuring picture two conclusions can be drawn: firstly, that the East Pakistan Government offers, by its passive acquiescence, indirect encouragement to violations of the border by its nationals; alternatively, that it has no power to restrain or control the Army personnel under whose active instigation violation of the border is being committed. There is reason to believe that the unit of the Dacca Government has, by and large, ceased to run along the borders with West Bengal and Assam. But it is difficult to dismiss the impression that the East Pakistan Government is [not?] entirely innocent in the matter in view of its evident unwillingness to implement the decisions of the Bagge Tribunal demarcating the border

between West and East Bengal. Dr. Roy is of opinion that the root of 'this and other Indo-Pakistan problems' is Pakistan's desire to grab whatever territory it can without consideration for rightness or wrongness.

### *Middle Eastern Drama*

Events in the Middle East were moving very fast during the second half of July. The region had long been smarting under the double yoke of western imperialism and local feudalism. The revolution in Egypt, particularly since the coming to power of President Nasser, has always served as a beacon-light to the oppressed peoples of the other Middle Eastern countries. The unification of Egypt and Syria at the beginning of the year held out a renewed hope of Arab reunification and independence. Popular forces in every country were trying to seize the right moment to strike back at their oppressors. Great ferment was evident in Jordan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Lebanon. The popular forces gained a new position through the successful revolution in Iraq in the middle of July. The monarchy tumbled there practically without offering any opposition. The Iraqi revolution was purely internal Iraqi development and was an expression of the spirit of nationalism and independence of the people of Iraq. This precisely was most distasteful to the western Powers who had so long been accustomed to ordering about things in the region. The immediate reaction of the government of the United States of America was to send a contingent of U.S. troops to Lebanon where an internal controversy had been raging on the future President of the country. The British Government in its turn ordered its troops into another Middle Eastern country—Jordan. Such a development could by no means be palatable to the Soviet Government who had ample cause to be concerned at such briskness of the Western Powers along her borders. It appeared as if war would break out. Thanks to the restraint shown by all the Powers concerned, the situation did not worsen, though efforts to settle the impasse were not very successful. Meanwhile the Presidential election in Lebanon turned into a victory for the Opposition and a great blow to United States

prestige. The foolhardy measures of the Western Powers reduced their stock of goodwill in the region still further.

Independent opinion everywhere deprecated the despatch of U.S. troops to Lebanon and British troops to Jordan.

### *The Summit Talks*

Now that the crisis in the Middle East has lessened and tranquility seems to be in the offing, the following extracts from the *New York Times* editorials, which give a summary of the situation at the peak of the crisis, are worthy of record:

"The international picture changed radically last week. These were the manifestations of the change:

"(1) Chances for a summit conference on the Middle East vanished. The whole issue was shifted to the eighty-one nation General Assembly.

"(2) The Chinese Communists asserted themselves forcibly in the policy councils of the Communist world. They did so in a context that suggested a possible division within that world over what course to pursue in relations with the West.

"(3) Events in the Middle East solidified the position of President Gamal Abdel Nasser of the United Arab Republic. The prospect was that, at best, the West could hope only for neutralization of the area.

"The week's developments pointed to a harsher and more inflexible Communist policy towards the West. The strengthened influence of Communist China brought with it the threat of new military pressures in the Far East and a new diplomatic offensive for a seat for Peiping in the U.N. The major issues dividing East and West remained as far from solution as ever."

"Khrushchev's urgent call on July 19 for an immediate summit conference to avert 'a world catastrophe' opened one of the most extraordinary chapters in the history of Big Four relations. In the ensuing flurry of notes, four distinct positions emerged:

Russia wanted a five-power conference with the United States, Britain, France, India and

U.N. Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld.

The *United States* wanted the chiefs of government to attend a regular meeting of the Eleven Nation Security Council.

*Britain* endorsed the Security Council idea, but emphasized that the big powers should meet as a kind of Council sub-committee to conduct their summit business in private.

*France* wanted a summit meeting completely independent of the U.N.

In Washington, there was considerable concern, and some confusion, about precisely what kind of meeting was in the offing. The U.S. was convinced that Khrushchev intended to use the conference, not for negotiations, but for a free-swinging propaganda attack on the West. The only way to salvage its position, as the State Department saw it, was to try to keep the meeting within the Council rules and procedures.

Khrushchev, for his part, did not seem unduly concerned at first about any restrictions a Council meeting might impose on him. He apparently saw sufficient leeway between the U.S. and British positions to give him the kind of conference he wanted. On July 23, he had written British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan: "We share your views about the approach to a discussion of this question (the Middle East) at a special meeting of the Security Council with heads of government participating."

Five days later, although no change of any importance had occurred in the Western positions, there was a marked change in Khrushchev's attitude. In a note on July 28, he accused the U.S. and Britain of reneging on the concept of a flexible Security Council procedure and he strongly endorsed the position taken by Premier Charles de Gaulle of France for a heads-of-government conference independent of the U.N.

The West did not interpret the July 28 note as closing the door on a Security Council summit meeting. Khrushchev, it was felt, had demonstrated too strongly his desire for a heads-of-government conference to boggle now over details.

That was the situation over last week-end as the West awaited Khrushchev's reply to a new series of notes restating the Western position. Three days passed without word from

Moscow—a marked contrast to the rapidity with which Khrushchev had fired back previous replies. Then last Sunday came a communique—but not from Moscow. A joint statement, issued in Peiping, announced that a meeting between Khrushchev and Chinese Communist leader Mao Tse-tung had been in progress in the Chinese capital for the past four days. The communique said:

China and the Soviet Union . . . firmly maintain that a conference of the heads of the big powers should be called at once to discuss the situation in the Near and Middle East and resolutely demand that the United States and Britain withdraw their forces immediately from Lebanon and Jordan.

The Peiping meeting startled the West. From the outset of the latest chapter in summit manoeuvring, Khrushchev had urged that India be included and he also asked for the participation of the Arab States. But he had never mentioned the Chinese Communists—presumably because he knew the West would not sit down at the summit with the Mao regime. Now the Peiping communique strongly suggested that Mao had called Khrushchev to book for the omission and that pressure from Peiping might explain the signs of a Soviet switch as early as the July 28 Khrushchev note.

What remained uncertain for two days was whether Khrushchev was now going to back out of a summit conference altogether.

Last Tuesday the doubt was dispelled. In a sharply worded note, Khrushchev scuttled plans for a summit meeting. He charged that the Security Council was an "auxiliary organ" of the State Department and he accused the United States and Britain of having "evaded" a heads of government conference by insisting on holding it within the Council framework. Khrushchev said he was instructing Russia's representative at the U.N. to demand an extraordinary session of the General Assembly to discuss United States and British troop withdrawal from the Middle East.

Within a matter of hours, President Eisenhower issued a statement expressing "regret" that Khrushchev had rejected a Security Council meeting, but stating that a General Assembly session was "completely acceptable."

On Thursday, acting under the "Uniting for Peace" procedure adopted in 1950 which permits



the General Assembly to act when the Security Council is paralyzed by the veto—as happened in the debate last month over Lebanon and Jordan—the Council met and voted to call the Assembly into session.”

“The shift of the Middle East debate from the Security Council to the General Assembly changes abruptly the ground rules for the debate. The two bodies are notably different in composition and capacity. Among the differences are these:

*The Security Council* has eleven members, five of which (the United States, Britain, France, Russia and Nationalist China) are permanent. A negative vote by any permanent member is a veto. Originally the Council was the only U. N. agency with power to act, but because of vetoes it has been able to act in only one major crisis—the Korean war, which broke out while Russia was boycotting Council sessions. As now constituted the Security Council has a built-in Western majority.

*The General Assembly* has eighty-one members, each with one vote but none with veto power. A two-thirds vote is required on important questions; with every member voting, two-thirds would be fifty-four. The major blocs in the Assembly are the Western, consisting of twenty-three nations; the Soviet, with ten members (counting Yugoslavia); the Afro-Asian, with twenty-eight; and the Latin American, with twenty. Originally all the Assembly could do was make recommendations, but the Uniting for Peace resolution of 1950 broadened its powers.

On Friday the Assembly met for opening formalities. Immediately U. N. Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld came forward with a plan for dealing with “the basic problems” of the Middle East. His principal proposals are:

(1) Agreement by the Arab states not to interfere with one another's territory or internal affairs.

(2) Enlargement of U. N. activities aimed at preserving stability in Lebanon and Jordan.

(3) Action by the Arab nations, with U. N. help, to make “arrangements for economic co-operation.”

Then the Assembly agreed to begin its substantive discussions Wednesday. The Assembly President, Sir Leslie Munro of New Zealand,

cautioned against turning the forthcoming sessions into a propaganda battle.

By all indications, however, that is what the sessions will be. With neither East nor West certain of mustering a two-thirds vote on any resolution, each will be out to make a case that will woo some uncommitted votes. The strategy taking shape at the week-end was as follows:

*The Communist Bloc:* The Russians obviously intend to hit hard at the theme that the U. S. and Britain have committed ‘aggression’ in Lebanon and Jordan and that this proves their imperialistic designs. Russia is expected to introduce a resolution calling for the U. S. and British forces to withdraw—a resolution which would have no chance of winning a two-thirds vote.

*The West:* Secretary of State John Foster Dulles has made plain his belief that the West ought to hammer at the theme that the real source of trouble in the Middle East is indirect aggression, inspired by the Soviet Union and executed by President Nasser. Such an attack might be used to try to win support for a United States resolution calling for a U. N. force to replace United States and British forces as a stabilizing influence in the Middle East. But there were some signs of Western wavering on this approach last week. For one thing, such a resolution might fail to win enough support from the Afro-Asian and Latin-American blocs to achieve a two-thirds vote.

Washington's alternative—or companion—approach, it was reported last week, will be a broad program for Middle East development. President Eisenhower set the theme at his news conference last week, saying:

Troops are never going to win the peace. We have got to do something positive, and this must be in the field of moral and spiritual and economic and political strengthening of all these areas.”

### *The Fall of the French Republic*

The inside story of the fall of the Fourth Republic in France is now coming out piece by piece. It is a story of political bankruptcy and lack of courage on the part of those Frenchmen on whom lay the responsibility to defend the Republic. It is the story of a nation in decay.

“The Fourth French Republic,” writes Sal

Tass, Paris correspondent of the New York weekly *New Leader*, "was not strangled, it choked on steak and wine. The National Assembly's acceptance of General Charles de Gaulle was the product of an intricate series of manoeuvres, but it also sprang from the deep unwillingness of the French to defend their Parliament. The deputies who had never had the courage to denounce the reactionary Algerian policy have now been swallowed up by it."

"If on the first day of the revolt—May 13—the Government had acted vigorously against the Algiers' generals," Mr. Tass adds, "the latter might have submitted and the crisis might have passed. Surely the mutineers were thoroughly shaken on the second day, when the (French National) Assembly invested (Premier) Pflimlin with a large majority and thus refused to give in to the mutineers' demands. If the Government had then isolated de Gaulle or forced him to denounce the mutiny, it could again have re-inforced its position."

This assessment made by Mr. Sal Tass from Paris is endorsed by Mr. Hal Lehrman who was an eye-witness of the events in Algiers on the momentous days of May and who had access to much inside information there. In his despatch to the fortnightly *Reporter* of New York, Mr. Lehrman describes how the revolt had been planned long before with the direct participation and patronage of leading Frenchmen. Referring to the situation immediately following upon the revolt in Algiers he writes: "Soldiers obey their superiors, and (Brigadier-General Jacques) Massu's superior was (General Raoul) Salan. From Paris, Pflimlin, whose government was ratified that night, invested Salan with supreme military and civil powers in Algeria. This put Salan and his staff in an extraordinary dilemma. For several days thereafter the top army command talked as if the (public safety) committee's only objective was the maintenance of law and order."

"And an even more extraordinary quandary was created for Massu's civilian colleagues among the original organisers of the rising, who could never be sure during this period that Salan would not arrest them on orders from Paris at the next committee meeting. This was why they kept the Unite Territoriale Blindée (armoured corps reservists upon whom they

knew they could rely) in the corridors outside their offices in the ministry; and why they maintained crowds night and day on the huge esplanade forum outside the ministry windows as a constant reminder of the source of their ultimate power."

The Government in Paris, however, consistently refused to act and the Republic fell.

### "The Temple of Justice"

We append below the speeches of the President and the Chief Justice, at the opening of the Supreme Court building as given in the *Statesman*:

"Dr. Rajendra Prasad declaring the 'temple of justice', open, said: 'Traditionally we look upon justice as a pair of scales, the two pans of which have to be held evenly without allowing the beam from which they hang to incline to one side or the other,' adds *U.P.I.*

"Just as the building is modelled on European architecture but the idea underlying it is Indian in conception, even so, should our Constitution which is modelled very largely on the British Constitution, be understood, worked and interpreted in accordance with our Indian genius," said the President.

"It is well known and well understood that our Constitution is based largely on the British Constitution and yet there are certain basic factors which distinguish the one from the other. For example, the British Constitution is an unwritten constitution which has been evolved in the course of centuries and has grown from precedent to precedent. It is a unitary constitution with one Parliament which is sovereign whose right there is none to dispute.

"The Indian Constitution, on the other hand, is a written Constitution. It is also a Federal Constitution in which Parliament is not supreme or sovereign in all matters, but has its powers limited and supremacy restricted only to those matters in which it is given exclusive jurisdiction or in regard to those which do not fall within the exclusive competence of the State Legislatures or concurrent competence of Parliament and the State Legislatures. No wonder that in interpreting it not only deep and wide knowledge of the British Constitution has to be requisitioned, but also acquaintance with our conditions, and above all the ingenuity which

is so peculiar to India of simplifying complicated matters and reconciling conflicting ideas.

"In the welter of politics and political parties and ideologies the courts of justice furnish the one stable element and if they with the Supreme Court at the apex from which they should draw inspiration and sustenance continue to hold their own by fair and just decisions and no less by their quick disposal of disputes, we can look forward with confidence to the future for steady growth and progress."

"The President said: 'While there is general satisfaction with the quality of justice dispensed, we hear complaints in regard to one matter and that is delay in the disposal of disputes coming up before courts. Whether such delay is due to rules of procedure, to paucity of time, to shortage of personnel or to any other causes, there is no doubt that in many cases delay does occur and it is up to the legislators as well as judges to see to it that delay is reduced to the minimum. This delay occurs all along the line, from the preliminary stages right up the highest court of appeal. It should not be taken lightly because justice delayed is in many cases justice denied.'

"I believe vigilance and supervision could help in improving matters. I think also that the expenses of litigation should be reduced as far as possible, but whether it is a question of delay or a question of expenditure, the bar, no less than the judges, have to play their part particularly in the peculiar circumstances of this country.

"We have evolved a system and procedure based largely on English practices and precedents and law of evidence is derived more or less exclusively in this way. We have in the process introduced many artificial rules which do not fit in with conditions prevailing here. I have a feeling that a revision of the rules of evidence and procedure will be conducive not only to reduction in the time spent and expenses incurred but also to improvement in the quality of justice. It is not for me to make concrete suggestions and I content myself by throwing out the suggestion for the consideration of all concerned."

"The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Mr. S. R. Das, in his welcome speech, said that the new building was more than a magnificent mansion adds P. T. I. It stood forth as

a solemn and sublime symbol of the 'majesty of the law.' He added that the portals of the Supreme Court which he described as the 'temple of justice' would be open to every citizen who might seek redress for wrong done by his fellow-men or by the State.

"The writs which will issue from this citadel of law and justice,' the Chief Justice added, 'should run to the farthest corner of this vast country, bringing adequate relief to the oppressed and just retribution to the wrong-doer whoever he may be.'"

### *Official Callousness*

The Allahabad correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* writes in the July 24 issue of the paper:

Allahabad, July 23.—Allowing the writ petition of a student, Justice S. S. Dhawan yesterday passed severe strictures against the U. P. Education Board and its officials.

His Lordship was delivering judgment on a petition filed by Ram Krishna Varma who had appeared for the Intermediate examination conducted by the Board in 1957 and whose result had been withheld by the Board on the ground that an inquiry was still being held by the Board to discover whether Varma had been rusticated for one year while he was reading in Class VIII of Nehru College, Bindki, and whether he had concealed this fact in his application to the Board before appearing for the High School Examination and Intermediate Examination or whether it was his brother who had been rusticated from Nehru College.

Ramkrishna told the court that it was his brother Ramkishore who had been rusticated.

His Lordship ordered the Board to declare the examination result of the petitioner within two days.

His Lordship also ordered the Board to pay Rs. 500 as costs to the petitioner who "lost one year of his educational career irretrievably by this extraordinary and scandalous delay in completing this inquiry."

His Lordship said: "I hold that the conduct of the respondents comes within the legal meaning of *mala fide*.

"The respondents do not appear to have any consciousness of the irreparable harm they have done to this boy by this inexcusable delay



in conducting the inquiry but coolly state in their counter-affidavit that allegations made by the petitioner to the effect that not he but his brother was rusticated is still the subject-matter of an inquiry which is to be conducted by the Board.

"This is bureaucracy at its worst."

Fifteen months had elapsed since the Board received an anonymous letter against the boy, his Lordship said. The matter under investigation was a simple one. Had a serious attempt been made by the Board the inquiry could have been completed in a few weeks, his Lordship observed.

### *Student Disturbances*

Below we append a news-item of this growing malady:

"A hartal was observed and processions were taken out today by students in several towns of Uttar Pradesh to protest against the police firing on students in Lucknow on Saturday and in support of the demands of the students of the State Ayurvedic College.

"The U.P. Government has meanwhile ordered that all educational institutions in the State be closed for a week from today.

"While the demonstrations in Lucknow, Kanpur and Allahabad, held with the permission of the authorities, went off peacefully, in Banaras, it was reported, police personnel were attacked and State vehicles damaged.

"A Banaras report said that students beat up four police constables and that two shops were looted. The students damaged a police jeep and an Information Department pick-up vehicle, and ripped open the cushions of two State Transport vehicles.

"The students, including those of Banaras University, stayed away from classes.

"The Lucknow procession was led by the leaders of the five Opposition groups in the State Assembly.

"In Lucknow, although the procession went off peacefully, some students later came out of the University in contravention of Section 144 and 23 were arrested.

"In Kanpur a students' procession carrying an effigy of the State Health Minister terminated in a meeting at which was demanded the holding of a judicial inquiry into the Lucknow

firing, compensation for the families of the killed and wounded, the resignation of the U.P. Health Minister and Home Minister, acceptance of the demands of the students of the Ayurvedic College, 'restoration of civic liberty in Lucknow University' and withdrawal of the prohibitory orders under Section 144 Cr. P.C.

"In Allahabad all shops in the civil lines and the Chowk area, the main marketing centre, remained closed and cinema houses cancelled their matinee shows as students took out processions in the afternoon."

### *Jesuits in India*

The forced resignation of the noted Indian Jesuit scholar, Rev. A. De. Mendonca from the St. Xavier's College, Bombay, bring to the fore the hard core of the reactionary attitude of some of the foreign Jesuits in India. Prof. Mendonca had been teaching in the college and the University of Bombay for many years and he had been a member of the Jesuit order for over twenty-five years.

Though a Jesuit, Prof. Mendonca never gave up his independence of thought or forsook his love for his motherland, India. As it turned out this was his peril. The Jesuit fathers asked him to give up his post in the University and to refrain from writing upon Indian philosophical topics on which he was a leading authority. Such an injunction could not be accepted by any decent man—far less by a man of Prof. Mendonca's integrity and character.

As usual the Jesuit fathers have come out with an explanation. But, as the *Hitavada* points out, it leaves out many significant points. There is really no explanation for the refusal of the Jesuit-General in Rome to receive Rev. Mendonca personally and accord him an opportunity to explain matters.

Rev. Mendonca's resignation is not an isolated affair. In the past grave charges were made against some of the Jesuit missionaries in India and their political behaviour. We are given to understand that several other Indian Jesuits are under constant surveillance of the non-Indian Jesuits in India.

We have no quarrel whatsoever with the religious views of the Jesuits so long as these are not sought to be imposed upon others. It would, however, be foolish to overlook the nefarious political activities of some Jesuits.

On all evidence Rev. Mendonca is a victim of their anti-Indian attitude. The seriousness of the matter calls for an impartial enquiry into the matter.

### *Encephalitis*

An as yet unidentified disease which is generally known as encephalitis has been taking a rather heavy toll of lives for several years past. This year also it has been highly mortal. Until the current year the spread of the disease had been restricted to North and North-West India. Cases are, however, being reported from East and Central India also. The disease is generally accompanied with high fever and brain troubles. Experts are inclined to believe that the virus was possibly carried by the mosquitos and that the children are more prone to be attacked than the adults. Proper arrangements for civic and private sanitation may, therefore, be regarded as one of the most effective ways of checking the spread of this mortal disease. In some parts of Calcutta in particular the human congestion and the mosquito menace are equally great. Such a state of affairs makes those areas particularly vulnerable to the disease.

The progress in the battle against the mosquito menace in the city, as elsewhere, has been extremely unsatisfactory to say the least. The State Government's programme does not cover the city which is the responsibility of the Corporation of Calcutta. The latter body is doubly crippled by financial and administrative disabilities. The first reports of this new, and highly contagious and mortal disease should induce the authorities to take more vigorous and effective steps to check the mosquito menace in the city.

### *History in U. P. Assembly*

History was created in the Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly on July 25 when a Communist-sponsored resolution was passed by the House despite opposition by the Minister concerned. The resolution called for an increase of the price of sugarcane by Rs. 1-12 per maund. It was opposed by the Agriculture Minister, Shri Mohanlal Gautam, but was nevertheless passed by the House.

The Lucknow correspondent of *Delhi Hindusthan Standard* adds:

"The resolution, which was moved by Sri Bhikhulal, was supported by the Opposition, while the Treasury benches sat quiet when the voice vote was taken.

"It is for the first time in the House that a non-official resolution by the Opposition, more so by a Communist, was passed.

"Earlier, during the debate on the resolution, speakers pointed out that the cane-price fixed at the rate of Rs. 1-5 per maund ex-field and Rs. 1-7 per maund at mill-gate was much too low as compared to the price fixed in other States.

"Opposing the resolution, Sri Mohanlal Gautam, Minister for Agriculture, said that raising of price of sugarcane would seriously retard food production in the State as more and more acreage would go under cultivation of sugarcane."

The most significant thing in the episode was, as anyone could see, the fact that the resolution was passed against the opposition of a Minister. This incident in a way showed the depth to which the organisational solidarity of the Congress had degenerated.

### *Floods in Delhi*

Delhi was hard hit by the recent rains. The whole of the town remained submerged in water for hours. Old Delhi was particularly hard hit. The seriousness of the situation was discussed at a special meeting of Delhi Municipal Corporation on July 25. The Mayor, Shri Aruna Asaf Ali, disclosed the staggering fact that two-thirds of the houses in Old Delhi were in a state of near collapse. Already more than 150 houses had been ordered to be demolished. She suggested the construction of 10,000 two-room tenements for the benefit of the citizens.

Several speakers criticized the Municipal administration and other concerned authorities for their failure to take adequate measures to save the city from the ravages of a few hours' rainfall. Shri Sham Nath, leader of the Congress Party, maintained that the extent of the damage could have been considerably reduced if help had been rushed to the low-lying areas of the city in time. He particularly referred to the shortcomings of the Engineering Depart-

ment. Shri Kidar Nath Sharma repeated the criticism and accused some of the municipal employees of "inhuman behaviour." He referred to an official who, even when asked, had refused to visit an affected area. Shri Kanwarlal Gupta criticized the bad planning of the city as one of the factors responsible for the havoc and called for a public enquiry into the circumstances of death caused by a few inches of rainfall.

### *India Returns Burmese Guns*

Press Trust of India reports :

Rangoon, July 25—Six guns, captured by the British during the Anglo-Burmese wars and taken to India, were returned to Burma yesterday. The oldest of the gun dates back to 1751.

They were handed over to the Burmese Deputy Premier, Thakin Tin, at a function in the Jubilee Hall by Sri Laljee Mehrotra, Indian Ambassador to Burma.

Thakin Tin, thanking the Government of India for its prompt action in acceding to Burma's request for the return of these mementos said, it was further proof of the friendly and cordial relations that existed between the two countries.

This is a piece of welcome news. It also reminds one about the fact that a good many properties of Asian countries are still in the possession of others. Canons of reason and justice demand their restoration to their rightful owners. An example that readily comes to mind is the collection of the India House Library which the British Government has not yet handed over to India on one pretext or another.

### *Rakhaldas Palodhi*

Rakhaldas Palodhi, an ex-member of this organisation, died recently at the ripe old age of eighty in his home district, Hooghly. He

went to Lucknow in his youth and served a factory for some time. From Lucknow he came to Allahabad where he made his acquaintance with the late revered Ramananda Chatterji, the then Editor of *Prabasi*. Mr. Chatterji appointed him as an itinerant agent of the journal in Northern India. Rakhaldas came into contact with every prominent Bengali gentleman then residing in Northern India. He wrote a few articles in *Prabasi* about his varied experiences in this capacity. After Ramananda Babu shifted to Calcutta, Rakhaldas was given the responsible job of the advertisement manager. He served as such for over thirty years. He retired in 1940. Since then he was living in his village home. Rakhaldas Palodhi was of amiable nature. He suffered bereavements, but nothing could deter him from discharging his duties faithfully. May his soul rest in peace.

### *Bejoyendra Krishna Seal*

We have suffered a severe loss in the death of Bejoyendra Krishna Seal, one of the assistant editors of *The Modern Review and Prabasi*. He joined our staff sixteen years back. For his unassuming nature and devoted service he won the affection of all persons connected with this institution. From his boyhood Bejoyendra Babu formed studious habits. He used to read books of various sorts, and we often wondered how he could very well remember their contents. He was an M.A. of the Calcutta University, but his mental make-up and equipment were far above the average run. He would read more and write less, a rarity with modern litterateurs. His wide range of studies rendered him very useful in the discharge of day-to-day editorial duties. He was a man of retiring nature. His constant friends in weal and woe were truly speaking; his books. But he was humane too, none-the-less. His heart melted at the distressed humanity. He was very simple in his talks and demeanour. He died at about fifty-nine.



# DYNAMISM OF INDIAN AGRICULTURE

By DR. P. C. BANSIL, M.A., Ph.D.

## DEPRESSED AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

Table I

It needs no elaborate discussion to say that agricultural productivity in India has remained depressed over a long period. Even today our yields are much lower as compared with those of other countries. For one reason or another, agriculture in the country has so far lacked the necessary incentive. Agricultural production is not merely a study of input and output analysis. The exogenous factors play the greater role and the paper proposes to examine them more carefully.

Constant croppings reduced the fertility of land and no steps were taken to replenish it. An idea of the grave injury thus done can be had from a comparison between the yields now and some few centuries back.<sup>1</sup> Dr. V. G. Panse in a paper read by him before the meeting of the Crops and Soils Wing of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, March 1950, stated that "the average yield on medium type of *pooley* (annually cultivated) land during the reign of Akbar, was 2240 lbs. on an acre of wheat land (equal to the present average yield in Western Europe), 2,333 lbs. on rice land (equal to that in China) and 1,940 lbs. on jowar lands<sup>2</sup>." The standard yields of wheat, rice, and jowar now are only 828, 902 and 590 lbs. per acre respectively.

A study of the average Indian yields of rice for the last 60 years as shown in Table I, indicates a steady decline.<sup>3</sup>

## AVERAGE ALL-INDIA YIELDS OF MILLED RICE PER ACRE IN LBS

Year	Yield	Difference	Percentage Decline
1895-96 to 1899-100	942	..	..
1900-01 to 1909-10	920	22	2.3
1910-11 to 1919-20	900	42	4.5
1920-30 to 1939-40	818	124	13.5
1940-41 to 1949-50	745	197	20.3
1950-51 to 1952-53	643	299	32.0

The decline in productivity by about 32 per cent is said to have continued even after the Grow More Food Campaign was launched in 1943. The position in the case of other food-grains was also practically the same. Japan on the other hand, during the same period, succeeded to raise her rice yields from 1729 lbs per acre to 2694 lbs or by 55.8 per cent as shown below:

Year	Yield per acre (lbs)
1881-1890	1729 .. ..
1891-1900	1872 .. ..
1911-1920	2399 .. ..
1921-1930	2462 .. ..
1931-1940	2632 .. ..
1941-1950	2694 .. ..

*Bogey of Soil Exhaustion*—From all this, we must not conclude that our soils have either been exhausted or permanently harmed. The bogey of soil exhaustion, raised in the past, had only led to wrong conclusions.

The point of soil exhaustion was raised by Voeleker as far back as 1893, but he failed to put forth any positive evidence in support of his contention<sup>4</sup>. Thirty-five years later, the Royal Commission on Agriculture<sup>5</sup> (when faced

1. "There are parts of Bengal," wrote Ditcher (*Capital*, Vol. III, 1934, India Analysed), "which the Government of India found garden and left as desert and Bengal as an administrative and economic unit never recovered from the grave economic injury thus inflicted." About the productivity of Bengal during the Mugul period refer to Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mugul Empire*.

2. Quoted in *Agricultural Legislation in India*, Vol. III, p. viii. A recent survey carried out by the FAO (*The Hindustan Times*, September 19, 1952) also states, "Rice yields were about 50 per cent higher during the Mugul period than at present."

3. Dr. Punjabrao S. Deshmukh's circular letter No. IX dated June 3, 1954.

4. Dr. Voelcker, *Report, Op. Cit.*, pp. 36-37.

5. *Royal Commission on Agriculture Report*, para 77.

with the same problem) attributed some loss due to lack of manure, but fully conceded that a "balance has been established and no further deterioration is likely to take place under existing conditions of cultivation." Later, the Bengal Provincial Enquiry Committee<sup>6</sup> (1930) and Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee<sup>7</sup> reiterated the same view. The notion that there was soil exhaustion was based on the then available data regarding the yield per acre of various crops.

Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee<sup>8</sup> and Rao Bahadur<sup>9</sup> Bal, the then Agricultural Chemist to the Government of CP and Berar, proved that India's soil was not in any way inferior to that of other countries<sup>10</sup>. Food yielding capacity of 100 acres, according to the former, was—India 100 to 110 persons; Great Britain, 45 to 50; and Germany, 70 to 75. In the case of Indian soil only the humus, called the 'Reserve Bank of the Soil' was being depleted and called for immediate attention. Otherwise, the 17th Indian Science Congress<sup>11</sup> concluded that the soil was responsive to improved methods and proper manuring.

*The Cultivator*—Our cultivator also, though primitive in his methods and orthodox in his views, is as efficient as his fellow cultivator in the advanced countries<sup>12</sup>. The conservatism and fatalism of the farmers are more or less the same the world over. The Report of the American Business Men's Commission on Agriculture was quite vocal when it pointed out that "the farmer is ordinarily a prudent and conservative man but as his prosperity

depends more and more on forces outside his control, this prudence and conservatism are affected with a touch of fatalism and in some cases, recklessness<sup>13</sup>." Even then, as Dr. Voelcker observes, the Indian peasant is not to be viewed as a "a living emblem of inertia. In reality he is not so very conservative as he is supposed to be."

*Possible Explanation*—Though India has had a long tradition of sound agricultural practices, the gradual deterioration in methods resulted from the lack of encouragement and proper technical help. Other factors contributing towards such deterioration were the migration of more efficient agricultural labour to the industrial area, lack of equipment and finance, inability of the administration to mobilize the resources of the cultivator and the then existing land system under which the cultivator had no *locus standi* on the land.<sup>14</sup>

#### UNRELIABLE DATA

The position was, however, made to appear worse because of the unreliable data. Statistics in Indian agriculture were attached the least importance in the past. The collection of such data was merely treated as an appendix to the administrative routine and incidental to the collection of land revenue. It was more or less a by-product of official activity<sup>15</sup>, or a luxury which was enjoyed in relatively easy times and skipped over in times of stress. As a result, many a time the average yield per acre, as depicted by the available statistics, was untrue or even imaginary<sup>16</sup>. Sir Bryce

6. *Report of the Bengal Provincial Enquiry Committee*, pp. 21-22.

7. India Analysed, *Capital*, Vol. III, 1934, p. 169.

8. *Food Planning for Four Hundred Millions*, Op. Cit., p. 126.

9. *Proceedings of the Third Meeting of Crops and Soils Wing of the Board of Agriculture*, December, 1939, pp. 190-193.

10. "Speaking generally, however, we may say that the land is fertile in India." (P. N. Banerjee, *A Study of Indian Economics*, 1951, p. 49).

11. *Proceedings of the Indian Science Congress*, p. 34.

12. *Indian Farming*, Special No. 1946, p. 51; Voelcker, Op. Cit., p. 12; J. Molison (*A Text Book of Indian Agriculture*, 1901), quoted by Chowdhry Mukhar Singh, *Rural India*, Op. Cit., p. 18; Royal Commission on Agriculture, Op. Cit., pp. 14, 120 and 237; and Sir John Strachey, *India—Its Administration and Progress*, p. 394.

13. *Report*, p. 111. Also see Dr. P. S. Deshmukh's circular letter No. XVII, p. 291 and *Villager, Famine or Plenty*, p. 33.

14. *Agricultural Legislation in India*, Part III, Op. Cit., p. (ix).

15. "The Statistics of India have largely originated as a by-product of administrative activity. As a result, the statistics are un-coordinated as issued in various forms by separate Departments . . . they are unnecessarily diffuse, gravely inexact, incomplete or misleading while in many fields general information is almost completely absent."

16. D. H. Grist, *Rice* (pp. 272-273), says that many of the technical workers and production of specialists in India are emphatic in their belief that the crop reports in recent years have underestimated total production. He quotes J. N. Efferson in *Foreign Agriculture Report*, No. 35 (UP Department of Agriculture 1949) who pointed out that "the average yield of food-crops, especially rice, are at least stable as compared with pre-war and, if moving in either direction, are increasing gradually with improved varieties, cultural methods and fertilizer use."

Burt, the then Vice Chairman, ICAR, made a review of the progress of Indian agriculture during the decade following the submission of the Royal Commission Report in 1928. He contended that the average yield per acre of several crops had been raised. The crops surveyed by him included rice and wheat in addition to the well-known cash crops<sup>17</sup>.

### OLD METHOD

Such statistics were of doubtful character in permanently-settled areas where there was no primary reporting agency. Then there were the princely states, where as much as 50 per cent of the area was not even surveyed. Whatever little reliable data could be obtained were from temporarily-settled provinces. Even here the source of origin was the illiterate and disinterested patwari or the Karnam who would estimate the outturn of the produce in terms of annas or sixteenth of a rupee. It were these estimates channelled through the Tehsildar, Deputy Commissioner, the Director of Land Records, and ultimately the Director of Agriculture which figured in the all-India estimates.

All these yearly calculations are in terms of annas. The normal yield per acre for each district is fixed. In the case of Madras, for example, it was fixed as early as 1919<sup>18</sup>.

It would be seen that the whole of this system is technically defective and logically wrong. Keeping the village Patwari at the

back of all this was unscientific,<sup>19</sup> as well as arbitrary<sup>20</sup>.

Realising these defects the Board of Agriculture in 1919 came out with the first authoritative recommendation that crop-cutting experiments must be carried out in randomly-selected fields and villages. It was, however, left for John Hubback to carry out the experiment in 1923-25. Hubback's method was later used by C. D. Deshmukh in the Central Provinces in 1928-30. Indian Statistical Institute also did some work in Bihar and Bengal, but their results were not published. None of these early efforts in crop-cutting experiments could, however, bear any fruitful result.

Then came Profs. A. L. Bowley and D. A. Robertson who in 1934 reiterated the necessity of the sampling method in their *Scheme for an Economic Census for India*. But for some stray efforts here and there, the scheme was never implemented. Sir John Russel in 1939<sup>21</sup> and the Food Grains Policy Committee<sup>22</sup> in 1943 again emphasised the need for improved methods. Some interest was raised in the subject after independence when Dr. W. Shewhart visited India.

Even today these statistics are not very reliable and efforts are being made to place them on scientific footing.

*Intentional Underestimation*—Besides the absence of a proper machinery there were also other depressing factors responsible for the malady which has fortunately died out. All along there had been a tendency on the part

The Editors, *South Indian Village—A Re-survey*—Op. Cit., p. 433, concluded that during the period of 20 years that had elapsed between the first survey, the area under cultivation had not extended with the increase in population though there was no indication that the food supply had not kept pace with the growth in numbers. We cannot generalize the results of this survey which was restricted to only 8 villages. But it is a sufficient indicator that our yields per acre might not have fallen.

17. A paper read by Burt before a Joint Meeting of the India and Burma Section of the Royal Society of Arts.

18. Dr. B. Natarajan: *Food and Agriculture in Madras State*, Second Edition, 1953, p. 123. The definition of 'normal' according to J. K. Pande (*Crop Estimates in the United Provinces*, 1945—pp. 42-43) was unreal, inaccurate and unscientific. Also refer to Dr. S. G. Tiwari, (*The Economic Prosperity of the United Provinces*, 1951, pp. 85-88) for similar views.

19. Mr. W. J. Jenkins while speaking on the subject at the 2nd meeting of the Crops and Soils Wing of the Board of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry (1937—p. 83) held that "the statements prepared were merely the result of the work done in the Director of Agriculture's office."

20. According to Dr. Sukhtame (*Report on Crop Cutting Experimental Survey*, Op. Cit., p. 19) the whole method was arbitrary, there being no means of finding the extent to which the estimates were either biased or accurate. Official estimates according to him further tried to keep close to the average of the preceding years.

21. *Report on the work of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research in Applying Science to Crop Production in India*—Sir John Russell—1939 p. 93.

22. *Report of the Foodgrains Policy Committee*—1943—pp. 9-10.



of the cultivator to underestimate yields. This point was illustrated by Bryce Burt, Chairman of the 2nd Meeting of the Crops and Soils Wing. Difficulty in obtaining standard yields according to him was due to the fact that 'Land revenue and other taxes were based on this yield and the farmers were naturally anxious to make that figure as low as possible'.<sup>23</sup>

The introduction of rationing and procurement in 1943 aggravated this tendency to underestimate Crop Yields. Surplus as well as deficit States showed their actual yields to be much lower than the real position.<sup>24</sup>

*Future Outlook*—This discussion should not, however, give us the impression that our yields compare favourably with the yields in other countries or that they have not gone down over a period. It only proves that not much reliance can be placed on the existing data. And there can also be no two opinions about the fact that the existing yields are much low.

#### DETERMINANTS OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

With our soil quite fertile and cultivator efficient as well as keen to improve, there is thus an immediate need to rejuvenate agriculture. Every productive activity depends upon the existence or otherwise of both endo-genous and exo-genous factors and agriculture is no exception to this rule. The former are those which are inherent in the system and the latter originate from some external source.

The main factors of production as enumerated by Marshall are land, labour, capital, and organization. All these are the endo-genous factors. The exo-genous factors are the land policy, size of holdings, communications and marketing facilities and the pricing policy. These factors do not have any direct effect on production but have considerable indirect influence.

23. *Proceedings, 1937, Op. Cit.*, p. 39.

Besides this 'experience in other countries of the world has also been that growers are usually inclined to underestimate their production.' (*The National Sample Survey General Report No. 1*, p. 80).

24. *The Grow More Food Enquiry Committee*, p. 110.

#### ENDO-GENOUS FACTORS

Land is the first requisite in agriculture and its supply is more or less inelastic. But in India, all the available fertile land has not so far been brought under the plough. Not more than 300 million or 36.4 per cent out of a total of 821 million acres are at present under cultivation. In European countries, on the other hand, as much as 90 per cent of the available land is under the plough<sup>25</sup>. In the world as a whole, Prof. Fawcett estimated years back that nearly 30 per cent of the land was cultivable<sup>26</sup>. But hardly 9 per cent of it is being cropped<sup>27</sup> at present<sup>28</sup>.

Maximum economy in the case of land can at the same time be obtained if only the marginal product of labour as well as capital is zero. This, in other words, means that the high input of capital and labour per acre should result in a high output per acre<sup>29</sup>. Land is actually like a living being. It gives nourishment to the crop and calls for nourishment in return<sup>30</sup>. The inputs are water, manure, seed, human or cattle labour and the use of machine. The optimum utilization of men, cattle, or machine power depends upon the availability of other factors in a country. In India, for lack of capital, both men and cattle are required to be used to the maximum in agriculture<sup>31</sup>. The

25. Wadia and Merchant, *Our Economic Problems, Op. Cit.*, p. 285.

26. C. B. Fawcett, "The Extent of Cultivable Land," *Geographical Journal*, LXXVI (1930), pp. 500-509. Quoted by L. Dudley Stamp, *Our Underdeveloped World*, London, 1953, p. 49.

27. According to the Year-book of Food and Agricultural Statistics, FAO, 1949, the total area of the land available in the world is estimated at 33,113 million acres, out of which only 3,006 million acres is under the plough.

28. Cf. *Rural India*, September, 1956.

29. *Progress in Land Reforms*, UNO, p. 2.

30. S. Arnold, *Indian Journal of Power and River Valley Development*, May, 1951.

31. The subject enters the field of mechanization or otherwise of agriculture. It is not necessary for us, to go into a detailed discussion of the subject. We can, however, say that in the present context of conditions in India, a dovetailing of all the resources is necessary. We need heavy machinery to reclaim jungle-infested lands and cultivate big estates. Human and cattle labour will still be more economical as well as useful in the matter of intensive cultivation in all areas where the holdings are small and capital scarce. For an interesting study refer to Deshmukh's Circular Letter No. XVIII, pp. 63 to 72 and the *Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics*, March 1949, pp. 78-193.

best use of land is a fit subject for discussion under the head 'Intensive Cultivation' and has been discussed in detail in subsequent chapters.

The Indian cultivator is quite capable of organising his agricultural operations efficiently. But so far he has lacked the normal facilities required for intensive cultivation. This has sapped his enthusiasm so much that today he has lost all his interest not only in his profession but also in life. Efforts are now being made to infuse in him the new spirit and encourage him to take to improved methods of agriculture. This is being done on an intensive scale in the Community Project areas and on an extensive scale in the National Extension Blocks<sup>32</sup>. There is every reason to believe that the Indian Farmer will soon come to his own and reorientate Indian agriculture.

#### EXO-GENOUS FACTORS

It is difficult to measure the effect of these factors statistically, but all of them have an indirect effect on agricultural production and we cannot afford to ignore<sup>33</sup> them.

#### LAND POLICY

Until recently there prevailed in India a feudal land system whereby the tiller of the soil was deprived, in a majority of the cases, of the well-known three F's—fair rents, fixity of tenure and free sale. He had, therefore, little incentive to improve his agricultural methods.

Dr. Gangulee pointed out long ago that low agricultural production in India was due more than anything else to the circumstances in which the Indian peasant worked, the ownership of land under the existing agrarian system being unequal and unjust<sup>34</sup>. The title

to land is a thing a farmer cherishes the most. "Possession of land gives him a status in society<sup>35</sup>" so goes a local saying. This being the case land values in most parts of the country are incredibly high<sup>36</sup>. A removal of these handicaps is thus a necessary pre-requisite to improve our agriculture.

The urgency of changing the old order was felt long back. Land reforms which aimed at both increasing production as well as dispensing social justice, were taken up as far back as 1937, but much headway could not be made till recently<sup>37</sup>. Wolf Ladejinsky, architect of land reforms in Japan, and Kenneth Parsons, Professor of Agricultural Economics at the University of Wisconsin, who visited India in 1953 on an invitation from the Government, declared that "the progress in land reforms was too slow to meet the rising discontent of the villagers<sup>38</sup>." Recent land reforms have, however, swept away the 162-year old zamindari system established by Lord Cornwallis which, like an over-ripe fruit, came down in the sheer fullness of time. The existence of philosopher-landlords has come to an end and a direct relationship has been established between the farmers and the State by the elimination of intermediaries and zamindars.

Agriculture under the Indian Constitution is a state subject as against the central head. Measures have, therefore, been taken by the State Governments to bring about land reforms. While the main plank of such reforms is the conferment of proprietary rights on the tiller which we will discuss in detail, legislation has also been passed by the various State Governments to fix reasonable rents and ensure of security of tenures where conferment of

35. V. V. Sayana, *Readings in Rural Problems*, p. 52.

36. According to Chester Bowles (*Ambassador's Report*, New York, 1954, p. 184) an ordinary rice paddy land in West Bengal valued at \$1,500 an acre!

37. *Recent Development in Certain Aspects of Indian Economy*, ILO, p. 22. The original constitutional, financial and other difficulties are also given at pp. 23-25.

Most of the legislation for the abolition of intermediaries was put through during the last four or five years. For details refer to *Agricultural Legislation in India*, Vol. IV, Land Reforms, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, 1953.

38. Ambassador's Report, *Op. Cit.*, p. 185. Again, the measures taken by the Government according to Ladejinsky were "half-hearted and inadequate." (*The Indian Express*, October 3, 1953).

32. For a detailed study of the Community Projects and the National Extension Schemes refer to *The Modern Review*, June 1956.

33. W.S. and E.S. Woytinsky (*World Population and Production—Trends and Outlook*, p. 324) while discussing agricultural production in under-developed areas point out that "agriculture in these areas is handicapped less by the scarcity or the poor quality of the soil than by the lack of good roads, storage facilities, organised markets and by diseases among men, plants, animals."

34. Dr. N. Gangulee, *Health and Nutrition in India*, p. 23.

immediate proprietary rights was not possible.<sup>32</sup>

### PEASANT FARMING

In a country like India where there is an intense love for land, the very title to it naturally serves as nothing short of magic in the matter of stimulating agricultural production. The old Carver type of argument in favour of tenant farming is no longer valid in the present-day world. China<sup>40</sup> and Egypt<sup>41</sup> have given conclusive proof of an increase in agricultural production as a result of the restoration of land to the peasants.

It may be that peasant farming failed in countries like Rumania and Yugoslavia where the holdings proved to be too small<sup>42</sup>. Such a system might have also been less successful in Russia than in Germany<sup>43</sup>. Hungary too was faced with an acute problem when in 1945, as a result of the introduction of land reforms, 642 thousand agricultural workers found themselves in possession of 1,914 thousand hectares of land. There were no communications, drainage facilities and technical skill. Equipment, and other resources were also lacking.<sup>44</sup>

There is all the same an overwhelming evidence to prove that once land is restored to the actual tiller of the soil, agriculture gets an impetus. A reconstruction of the legal fabric of the land system is actually a pre-condition to any improvement in land management. R. H. Tawney rightly observed, "Improvement of agricultural methods is no doubt indispensable, but it is idle to preach that doc-

trine to cultivators so impoverished by exactions of parasite interest that they do not possess the resources needed to apply it<sup>45</sup>." With the exit of the absentee landlord the fear of ejection and the perpetual dread of increase in rents<sup>46</sup> are removed. The cultivator finds himself in a better position to invest in the land and bring about permanent improvements<sup>47</sup> in it. Even the early British administrators, brought up in the school of Adam Smith and Ricardo, pointed out, "Give the cultivators a definite property in the land, give them security of tenure, a guarantee that the improvements will not be taxed, and a light equitable assessment, and with settled conditions there will be a great improvement in agriculture and a marked increase in prosperity<sup>48</sup>."

China has already shown the way. Jack Beldon in *China Shakes the World* explains at length how land reforms are not just a question of land, but also a question of the whole social structure tied to the landlord system. Our first problem is to give the peasant a chance to live by freeing him from landlord exploitation. When he gets land, he realizes he is an individual and that every one has equal right and then he realizes the need for democracy.

Maybe that there is some lacuna left<sup>49</sup> in the existing land legislation, but the odds are all against the parasitic elements living on the land. All the forces are focussed against them

45. Quoted by Dr. R. V. Rao, *Studies in Rural Economy*, Op. Cit., p. 90. Also refer to Ambassador's Report (Op. Cit., p. 187) which says that land reform is the first essential step to agricultural improvement.

46. "The heaviness of existing rents would be judged from the fact that for the country as a whole, the rents account for anything between one-fourth to one-half of the gross produce. Land taxes in Europe on the other hand represent only about 3 per cent of the gross revenue on the farm." (V. G. Ramakrishna Aiyar, *Agricultural Economics*, p. 223).

47. "Cases are not rare where the cultivator has been prohibited or brought into court of law simply because he tried to dig a well or improve his holding in one form or another." (Chowdhry Mukhtar Singh, *Rural India*, Op. Cit., p. 107).

48. Keatinge, *Agricultural Progress in Western India*, p. 181.

49. Dr. Karuna Mukherji (*Land Reforms*, p. 125) goes so far as to say that the loopholes in the legislation may be responsible for introducing landlordism by the backdoor.

39. *Progress in Land Reforms*, Op. Cit., pp. 143 and 127.

40. Premier Chou-En-Lai's Political Report to the Third Session of the First National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference on October 23, 1951 (reproduced in the Supplement to *People's China*, Vol. IV, No. 10, November 16, 1951).

41. *Egyptian Bulletin*, published by the Egyptian Embassy at New Delhi. Reproduced in the *All-India Congress Committee Economic Review*, October 1, 1954, p. 19.

42. P. N. Driver, *Problems of Zamindari and Land Tenure Reconstruction in India*, p. 197.

43. Doreen Warriner, *Economics of Peasant Farming*.

44. Co-operative Farming, Reserve Bank of India, p. 61.



and whatever is left out of the purview of the existing legislation, will be swept away under the tidal forces of social movements like Bhoodan.<sup>50</sup>

### FUTURE POLICY

Though land reforms have so far been directed towards eliminating intermediaries, the ultimate aim is "to work out a co-operative system of land management in which the entire land and other resources of the village will be so managed and developed as to increase and diversify production and provide fuller employment to all the people working on the land."<sup>51</sup> If in the second phase, steps could be taken to bring about a change in the management so that transactions in land become easy and it begins to change hands like any other commodity, most of our land problems would be automatically solved. As 'land gifts' under the Bhoodan movement increase in a particular area, there follows a drop in land markets and their prices.<sup>52</sup> Other social movements like the Hindu Code Bill may also help towards greater flexibility in landed property and bring about a fall in its values. The combined effect of these factors may result in a psychological change in our ideas towards landed property.

It will, indeed, be a happy day for India when such a change takes place. But decentralization of industries would be the first prerequisite for the introduction of such a policy. The cultivator is now wedded to the soil per force because he has no other place to go. When he can find other avenues of employment nearer home, he would be tempted to give up his uneconomic holding and thus release pressure on land.

Although the success is not so marked, efforts are already being made to encourage co-operative farming. Any progress in the scheme

50. The movement launched by Acharya Vinoba Bhave, based on the 'Law of Love' in place of the 'Law of the Jungle', is a unique experiment on Gandhian principles. It aims at collecting 5 crore acres of land for redistribution among the landless and land-hungry people. Dr. G. D. Patel, *The Indian Land Problem and Legislation*, pp. 205-222 for a critical study.

51. Land Reforms, UNO. *Op. Cit.*, 22.

52. Ambassador's Report, *Op. Cit.*, p. 193.

will also serve as a first step towards reducing intense love for the land. The next step of separating ownership from possession and emphasis on the best utilization of land resources will follow.<sup>53</sup> Whatever our achievement in the field, they are all directed towards our final goal of rehabilitating agriculture.

### SIZE OF HOLDINGS

India is admittedly a land of small farms. The average size of holdings in the various provinces varied between 2 to 11.7 acres in 1931. Nothing definite can, however, be said about the present average size of holdings<sup>54</sup> in the country. In the absence of a regular land census, work on which has already been taken up, various scattered enquiries<sup>55</sup> suggest that the situation has not improved.

Such a state of affairs is, however, not peculiar to India. It is a common feature of all old countries where every male heir is entitled to an equal share of the landed property of his father. Japan in East Asia, Egypt in the Middle East, France, Germany, Switzerland and Holland in Europe are some of the glaring examples where the evil is marked. According to Keatinge, the size of an individual share in France in some cases has been reduced to a single vine

53. V. Y. Kolhatkar, *Reconstruction of Indian Agriculture*; and M. L. Dantwala, "Objectives and Criteria of Land Policies," *AICC Economic Review*, January 15, 1956, pp. 10-12.

54. Royal Commission on Agriculture, *Op. Cit.*, p. 133.

55. Some of the salient enquiries are: Borsad Taluka (Kaira Dist., Gujarat), A. D. Patel, *Indian Agricultural Economics*, pp. 124 and 171; Olpad Taluka (Surat District), J. B. Shukla, *Life and Labour in Gujarat Taluka*, 1937, p. 92; Dr. H. H. Mann, *Land and Labour in a Deccan Village*, study No. 2, pp. 46-48; Thomas and Ramakrishnan, *A Resurvey*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 339; Social and Economic Survey of a Konkan Village, Provincial Co-operative Institute, Bombay, *Rural Economic Series* No. 3; *Economia Life in a Malabar village*, Madras University, Palme Dutt, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 172-173; *Rural Economy in India*, R. K. Mukherjee, p. 40; *Report of the Land Revenue Commission, Bengal*, Vol. II, pp. 114-115; Dr. Baljit Singh, "Whither Agriculture," *Op. Cit.*, p. 91; G. Keatinge, *Agricultural Progress*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 70; M. G. Bhagat, *The Farmer—His Welfare and Wealth*, p. 94; Famine Inquiry Commission Final Report, 1945, pp. 252-257; Report of the Congress Committee on Agrarian Reforms, p. 14; and Wadia and Merchant, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 173-178.

or a single tuft of lucerne grass.<sup>56</sup> The position in Egypt is even worse. The field belongs to one person while different date trees thereon are the property of other persons.

### CONSOLIDATION OF HOLDINGS

In India, as in any other country, where the holdings are not only fragmented but also subdivided, the remedial measure adopted has been the consolidation of holdings. In spite of the best efforts of the Government, no tangible results have, however, been achieved.<sup>57</sup> Total area consolidated in India by July 1954 was only £2.27 lakh acres.<sup>58</sup> This seems to be rather negligible when compared with the present net sown area of about 300 million acres. In the Punjab alone which tops the list with 37.85 lakh acres, the total area involved is 13.5 million acres.

### ADVANTAGES

Though there has been little progress, we cannot deny the advantages of consolidation of holdings which reduces the number of petty village quarrels over field boundaries. A fairly large area may also be released from the existing boundaries.<sup>59</sup> In Japan, during 1922, out of a total cultivated area of 14 million acres, nearly 1½ million acres of land were re-stripped. The area available for cultivation increased by 69,000 acres from 1,471,000 to 1,540,000 acres by the abolition of superfluous boundaries.<sup>60</sup> This may also help the villager to look after the fields properly when it is in one compact whole

and may mean a good deal of saving in his time and energy, both human and cattle. The cultivator may as well be enabled to introduce some improvements in the land by digging a well, resorting to contour bunding and other dry farming practices, or by preserving more of manure if under the changed circumstances he keeps his livestock near his holdings.<sup>61</sup>

### CASE FOR SMALL UNITS

But too much emphasis on consolidation seems to be misplaced.<sup>62</sup> As stated by Moomaw on the basis of his interview with farmers, "Scattered land means less risk of crop failure. With land scattered in different places one field may suffer from flood, frost or drought while fields in other localities might escape. Again, a farmer can have different kinds of soils"<sup>63</sup> to enable him to have a more diversified cropping pattern.

The argument of a saving in time and energy would also seem to be not of much consequence under the existing Indian conditions because our cultivator as well as his oxen remain unemployed from four to six months in a year.<sup>64</sup> It must, however, be borne in mind that most of the agricultural operations being seasonal, a saving of time during the sowing and harvesting periods is of an advantage which cannot be ignored. There is also said to be a

56. G. Keatinge, *Agricultural Progress, Op. Cit.*, p. 67. Also Dr. R. V. Rao, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 32-33.

57. *Agricultural Legislation in India*, Vol. II—Consolidation of Holdings, and Dr. Vidya Sagar, *Agricultural Holdings in the District of Kanpur*, pp. 73-34.

58. *The Hindusthan Standard*, August 25, 1954

Cf., *Recent Developments in Certain Aspects of Indian Economy, Op. Cit.*, p. 31 also.

59. There are also examples in the Punjab (personal enquiries in village Doudhar, Ferozepur District) where hitherto un-cultivated land has been brought under the plough as a result of consolidation. Cf., *Vidya Sagar, Op. Cit.*, p. 69 also.

60. Narayanaswamy and Narasimhan; *The Economics of Indian Agriculture*. Part II, p. 235. Also refer to Royal Commission on Agriculture, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 134-135 for conditions in the Punjab.

61. For evils of sub-division and fragmentation and advantages of consolidation refer to Keatinge, *Agricultural Progress, Op. Cit.*, p. 71 and Vidya Sagar, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 64, 65 and 69.

62. Dr. D. R. Gadgil, while addressing a meeting at the Delhi School of Economics said, "Consolidation of holdings is the basic plan of a progressive land policy for India" (*The Hindusthan Times*, October 11, 1952). Also refer to his presidential speech at the 14th Annual Conference of the Indian Society of Agricultural Economics—*The Indian Express*, December 28, 1954.

63. I. W. Moomaw, *The Farmer Speaks*, p. 73—also Hailey. (Quoted by Narayanaswamy, *Op. Cit.*, p. 232).

64. P. J. Thomas and Ramakrishnan, *Op. Cit.*, Studies made by Dr. R. K. Mukherjee in Northern India; Dr. Slater in South India; Keatinge, *Agricultural Progress (Op. Cit.*, p. 127) in Bombay and Calvert in the Punjab. Even our agricultural labourer according to *All-India Agricultural Labour Enquiry* (p. 15) remains unemployed for 98 days and self-employed for another 49 days in the year.

reduction in the cost of production.<sup>65</sup> But all these things are not of much consequence in the existing rural set-up under which the cultivator does not reside on any particular field but returns home every evening along with his oxen. So long as these scattered holdings are not far removed from his homestead, it does not matter much for him. More so, when the time and energy thus saved cannot be employed elsewhere.<sup>66</sup>

Along with the problem of finding useful employment for the spare time already at his disposal and now released, after consolidation of holdings, there may crop up another problem of finding alternative avenues of employment for the displaced labour.<sup>67</sup> Although it is desirable

to siphon off surplus farm population to the industry, this may not be possible under the present conditions of India. These sub-divided holdings—small as they are—will help in keeping all these people on the soil in conditions which render them reasonably<sup>68</sup> happy. This point was raised by the Government of India in a resolution on the Report of Sir James Caird (on Famine Commission) submitted to the Secretary of State for India in 1879. The resolution rightly pointed out that such a step on the part of the Government would not prevent all these heirs from remaining on the land so long as some alternative avenues of employment are not opened out for them.<sup>69</sup>

We may thus agree with Levy who concludes that large holdings are preferable where capital is required, and small holdings where intensity of labour is essential.<sup>70</sup>

(To be Continued)

65. According to studies made in Austria (Vidya Sagar, *Op. Cit.*, p. 64), the expenses of cultivation increase by 5.3 per cent for every 500 meters of distance for manual labour and ploughing, from 20 to 25 per cent for the transport of manure, and from 15 to 32 per cent for the transport of crops. Vidya Sagar also gives (p. 68) his own estimates and quotes those of U.S. Asthana and Cyril P. K. Fazal which compare well with the Austrian study.

66. Maybe that he indulges in some sort of un-social and harmful activities when he has nothing else to do.

67. Keatinge in his evidence before the Royal Commission (*Op. Cit.*, p. 137), however, maintained that there would not be any population displaced from the land. Some of those according to him, who otherwise might be owners would become labourers and it would mainly be a change in status. But we

have already seen that even existing agricultural labour has no employment on the field for 147 days in the year. This would go to refute the argument of Keatinge.

68. Final Report of the Agricultural Tribunal of Investigation of Britain 1924 (Extracts reproduced by S. Kesava Iyengar, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 48-50) advocated small holdings in England mainly on this ground.

69. Wadia and Joshi, *Wealth of India*, p. 257.

70. *Large and Small Holdings*, pp. 181-184 and Thomas, *The Economics of Small Holdings*, p. 5.





# A MODERN PHILOSOPHY OF SCIENCE IN ITS PARTICULAR APPLICATION TO EDUCATION

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## SCIENCE TEACHING IS ADJUSTMENT TO THE PHYSICAL WORLD

EDUCATION is basically the adjustment of the child to the three worlds, *viz.*, (1) the world of Nature (the physical world)—the arena of our activities on earth, shaped and controlled by physical forces, (2) the world of man, *i.e.*, the social order—the entire fabric of civilisation which is wholly man's creation, and (3) the world of morality that is the moral order, contained in the social order. In teaching the child science we are adjusting him to the physical world.

## NEED FOR A PHILOSOPHY

The real reason why there is so much waste in our effort in education is that we often lack a philosophy which alone can help us in considering an educational question from a single consistent point of view and in studying it from all aspects so as to see it steadily and as a whole. We must, therefore, re-examine some of the cherished postulates of our educational theories and practices in the light of this observation. Life is a system of relations and every such relation has a physical and a social aspect, for every individual is what he is through his interaction with his surroundings, *viz.*, the physical world, the social order and the unseen world of morality. As a social being, the child enters into all sorts of relations with human beings and with the physical world. Later on the range and scope of these relations increase in complexity and variety and he realizes the existence of a third world—the world of spiritual values. No man can save the soul of his brother and each must spin his moral web anew after his own pattern. So, the greatest task of education is to adjust the child to the two worlds and then to develop in him also the power and impulse to weave as much of his life as possible into the moral fabric.

## KNOWLEDGE AND ACTION

The relations between the three worlds can be broadly classified as theoretical and practical, *i.e.*, the relations of knowledge and action.

As a result of the predominantly intellectual cast of philosophic thought during the last two centuries, knowledge and action came to be regarded as antithesis and their mutual dependence was overlooked. This school of philosophy believed that knowledge is derived from a higher source than is practical activity, and as such, the former possesses a higher and more spiritual worth than the latter. The consequences of this antithesis between knowledge and action were serious: knowledge was confounded with erudition and action with rule of thumb aptitude.

## CONTRIBUTIONS OF SCIENCE TO EDUCATIONAL THEORY

The most direct blow to this traditional opposition between knowledge and action—that is, between liberal and technical education—and to the traditional prestige of purely intellectual subjects came from the progress of experimental sciences which now demanded entry into the curriculum. If the progress of experimental sciences during the last few decades has proved anything it is that there is no such thing as genuine knowledge and fruitful understanding except as the result of doing and experience. Actual experience is then the basis of knowledge. This is the first great contribution of the experimental sciences to modern educational theory and practice.

## MODERN CONCEPT OF "LIBERAL" EDUCATION

This great change has also resulted in an almost revolutionary concept of a truly liberal education. It is now recognised that mere intellectual training, encouraged by our predominantly bookish type of education does not cultivate the total personality of the child so that it is now difficult to see why a man should be said to have enjoyed a "liberal education," if he knows something about the classics and humanities and little about sciences. This change of values has brought about a new appraisal of technical education also. So long technical education was regarded as a rather inferior limb of the body educational—as the sort of place to which one sent a boy only when

it had become evident that he was incapable of assimilating any of the more fashionable and traditional forms of liberal education. Today it is now being increasingly realised in under-developed countries like ours that the possibility of a fuller life for the people depends on a greater application of scientific knowledge to the more intelligent utilisation of the material resources of a country by acquiring "the gadgets of a machine civilisation" and by using fully the powers which science and technology have created. Hence, technical education rightly conceived can have as much cultural values as any of the liberal studies.

In our task for evolving a modern theory of science teaching it should not be forgotten that man's knowledge really began in the practical needs of life and that every advance in knowledge has a practical bearing on life. The educational bearing of this concept is pretty obvious. To enter into any piece of knowledge is to apprehend this bearing of knowledge on the solution of our day-to-day problems of life and such apprehension can only result from actually working it out in practice. Knowledge is thus not merely something existing in the mind but it consists in actually dealing with the more important things of life in a masterly way, for education is basically the attainment of the power of dealing with life and its problems.

#### KNOWLEDGE IS A UNITY

The second important contribution of the experimental sciences is that knowledge is a unity, an indivisible whole, and that most of the curricular content of knowledge must be integrated to one or other of the two main centres of correlation, *viz.*, the natural and social environments of the educand, if learning is to take place at all. It is the business of the teacher to set forth the material of knowledge in such a form that its true relations may be grasped and that the dependence of part on part, of fact on fact and of idea upon idea—subject on subject—may be made explicit. Thus History, Geography and Civics should be studied hand in hand as social stories, composition will find its materials in the content of other studies including science and in the out of school life; drawing and modelling will be

called in to help Nature Study by the more definite apprehension of form which an attempt to reproduce it ensures.

#### THE UNITY OF SCIENCES IN "GENERAL SCIENCE"

Science is a unity and the branches of science cannot be completely separated. As more attention is now being given to matters common to two specialist sciences, more and more names are being invented to describe the area of common interest, *e.g.*, physical chemistry, bio-physics, electro-chemistry, etc. As the inter-locking and over-lapping of the various sciences become more and more evident, so the reason for the study of "General Science" rather than one science only, becomes more and more apparent. As, however, the frontiers of scientific knowledge extend, the process of selecting a small fraction of knowledge and giving it the status of a separate science must continue. To counter this, points of correlation and inter-connection between them should be discovered in order that they may ultimately come within the purview of "General Science." General Science presents the sciences as a whole—a vision which a pupil who has been too early restricted to one or more specialist sciences may never see. Hence the importance of correlating subjects as much possible in the primary stage.

#### CORRELATION OF SUBJECTS

During the last decade various schemes for regrouping of subjects for better organisation of the curriculum have been attempted in progressive schools owing to the inter-relationship or correlation of "subjects" and their relation to life, *e.g.*, History, Geography, Civics and Elementary Economics have been regrouped under Social Studies and so have the various sciences been re-grouped under General Science.

#### CORRELATION AND THE PROJECTS METHOD

Not only this but better methods of approach to the actual work of teaching have also been evolved with great success. For example, in teaching General Science, instead of following the lecture method or the demonstration method, the Laboratory method

in which students themselves do the experiments with their own hands, conjointly with the Unit or Project method, has been generally considered to be the best method of approach, wherever possible and particularly in the lower secondary stage.

#### VALUE OF THE PROJECT METHOD IN TEACHING SCIENCE

The Unit or Project method of teaching science has certain definite advantages which may well be restated here. In a project the process of learning is motivated and as such it tends to focus attention on matters of spontaneous interest to the pupil and of use to the community. The onus of planning the activity under the teacher's guidance falls on the children, who form a planning habit. The joint execution of the project, in which every child gets his share and feels responsible for the job entrusted to him is calculated to develop a co-operative habit and a training in personal responsibility and leadership. Tasks may be provided within the frame-work of the project for pupils of different tastes and aptitudes. A project helps to widen the mental horizon of pupils, who will see that many other matters or 'subjects' besides those of purely scientific knowledge are used to benefit a community which has to adjust itself to the changes that large-scale schemes usually involve. The educational values of teaching science through the employment of the Project method may be summarised thus:

1. *Social Training*: (a) Joint execution of the Project distributed among the students develops a co-operative habit and gives elementary training in leadership. The teacher must see that every child does his part of the work well; (b) Managing Group work; (c) Borrowing, lending and sharing tools and equipment; (d) Responsibility to the group; and (e) appreciation of each other's work.

2. *Discipline in Methods of Study*: (a) Criticism of sources; (b) Use of reference books for collecting relevant materials; (c) checking of information recorded against facts observed; (d) Planning of work: independent study.

3. *Emotional Release*: (a) Pleasure in making charts, booklets, graphs, which involves

a sense of achievement; (b) enjoyment of freedom to work along lines of individual choice in an informal atmosphere; (c) Breaking down of barriers between school work and real life.

4. *Knowledge, e.g., of hospitals, clinics; factory, water-supply, housing, nutrition, refuse disposal.*

5. *Practice in Skills*: Handwriting, layout, reading for information, reading reports aloud to class.

6. *New Interests developed*: In subjects which normally would not come within the scope of a class lesson.

#### SCIENCE IN THE PRIMARY SCHOOL

Science starts from the children's natural interests and normal activities leading to the further knowledge of the things around them. It keeps the children into active touch with their immediate home environment, forming a link between life at home and life at school. The teacher of science, *i.e.*, Nature Study has, therefore, a special responsibility for keeping in close touch with village or civic life as his subject-matter must be planned and largely concerned with the immediate environment of the children. Enthusiasm for discovery is found in children and to keep it alive the teacher himself must be a discoverer ready to join in watching and considering the ways of living things, the weather, the stars, a machine and its working or whatever else, is the subject of interest. If the child finds out something by his own observation, then for him it is a discovery, which will undoubtedly have more importance than what he has only read or heard about. When a little child brings his teacher some familiar object which is new to him and, therefore, a discovery, the teacher should certainly do well to enter into his enjoyment. On no account should the teacher discourage the child by lack of interest or by assuming a superior attitude which will make him feel that his interesting find is of no importance. Careful observation is the very foundation of science. As such, children must be taught to report exactly without prejudice or emotion what they have seen, *e.g.*, shape, colour etc., of subjects and must be trained to draw conclusions. All the way through the whole

range of scientific knowledge of the child from 7 to 14 plus the teacher of science must ensure the intimate intermingling of action with cognition. Prof. Rignano, the Italian psychologist, says that there is primitive atavism in the rudimentary reasoning of the child on the perceptual level and that all arguments in adult life derive their logical force from the practical experiences of early life. Reasoning at the level of abstract thought in the adult has no value unless it can be brought into fruitful contact with the early experiences of the child. The child is by nature a pragmatist and loves activity. Long before he has attained sufficient intellectual maturity to understand the meaning of the various school subjects which figure in the school curriculum, the child can and does take interest in various kinds of practical work. His mind is not confused with a number of ready-made logically arranged subjects whose *raison d'être* is incomprehensible to him. The child is rather led along the direction of his own curiosity and intellectual interests till, as he grows up, he is able to distinguish the significance of the various subjects. This is a valuable psychological principle which the teacher of science in the primary (basic) school should do well to remember. The point is that the child's mind is an integral whole which interprets experience as a unity and not as a collection of separate unconnected fragments.

#### UNDIFFERENTIAL APPROACH IN SCIENCE TEACHING

To the young child the traditional division of curricula into "subjects" which are not only unrelated to one another but are also out of touch with the pulsating realities of life, is often quite unintelligible. Hence it is important to establish close correlation with other school-subjects in planning the course of study for primary classes in Science. Correlation is like a powerful magnetic wheel which, while whirling round itself, attracts to itself scattered iron filings from different bodies and introduces order and system into them by building up a co-ordinated and systematised body of knowledge at a later stage of development in the child-mind. Correlation

imparts to knowledge greater concreteness and reality and saves it from formal compartmentalization which makes it dull and meaningless. In the first two years of the primary stage, therefore, the curriculum in science should be one of self-directed activity and interest and not mere instruction and passive reception. There should, then, be an undifferential approach to school-subjects which should be inter-linked and correlated as far as possible. In child education we must, therefore, discard some of our old and cherished postulates about compartmentalized method of teaching and our subject-wise attitude to knowledge and our fondness for logical sequence and methodical treatment according to the traditional method in favour of the method of correlated teaching.

#### VALUES OF SCIENCE TEACHING IN DIFFERENT STAGES

Science teaching has a practical value to the child and gives valuable mind-training for careful observation and for preparation of accurate reports on what he observes and on how to consider evidence before coming to conclusions. It helps to train good citizens. Our children need some knowledge of science if they are to understand the modern world which depends so much on scientific discoveries and inventions. They need well-disciplined minds if they are to be good citizens of a democratic country.

In the lower secondary school the practical value of General Science will be apparent to all. New areas of the world are being opened up for cultivation and development as a result of recent discoveries in Genetics and social chemistry. Scientists are providing the means of the earth's increasing population, which otherwise will be in danger of perishing from starvation. The intellectual value of science teaching consists in the fact that it requires a lot of diligence, patience, high regard for truth, power to infer from data without prejudice and after searching test. All are now applying scientific methods (politicians, administrators, men of commerce, etc.), in a spirit of calm detachment. The aesthetic value of science teaching lies in the fact that the feeling of



wonder, curiosity and beauty, is aroused. A speck of living matter becomes a creature of incredible beauty. The need of science in our day to day life will be apparent from the scientific cultivation of land which is so necessary for the removal of poverty and the cure of diseases following the application of scientific rules of hygiene. The vast storehouses of natural power, *e.g.*, wind, waterfall, heat of the sun, etc., are now being harnessed for the relief of human drudgery and for raising the standard of our living.

A knowledge of science is an important part of liberal education and is needed for purposeful living. The benefits of science are more practical and immediate than those of the liberal arts. Scientific methods as has already been explained contribute to intellectual and emotional growth and to intellectual discipline. As the aim of science teaching is to give information about the world in which we live, scientific knowledge in the higher secondary school needs to be built up into an orderly body of knowledge so that the student may be encouraged to apply it to life-situations in various walks of life, demanding accurate observation, selection of, relevant facts without prejudice, etc., It is important for the teacher at this stage to train the student's power of observation and develop his power of judgment with an air of detachment without emotion so that he may keep an open mind on a question till he has had proof. As the child goes higher up in this science course he should be led by his teacher through what Prof. A. N. Whitehead has described "the wonder, utility and system" stages of his mental development. At the lowest stage therefore, it is essential for the teacher to plan his experiments in such a way that it may arouse the child's sense of wonder which must not be a kind of "uncritical" wonder, as otherwise it may not lead by a natural transition to the "utility" and "system" stages later on.

#### SELECTION OF SUBJECT-MATTER AND ARRANGEMENT OF THE SYLLABUS IN GENERAL SCIENCE

A General Science course must offer a body of knowledge of value to the community and a mental discipline to the student in order to acquaint him with the general underlying

principles in the events and happenings of the world. It should take into account the immediate needs of the community, *e.g.*, instruction in Elementary Hygiene and in fundamentals of agriculture and the beneficial changes which the application of science can bring to the cultivator. The course should also take into account the subsequent career of the pupil, *i.e.*, the syllabus should be biased to provide training in some means of livelihood for the school-leaver so that he may go in for some kind of specialised training in technical and vocational schools. The syllabus should also be biased to provide training in citizenship offering a wide range of interests and sympathies. It should take into account the needs and interests of young people.

The syllabus may be presented in any one of the following ways: (1) It may be offered in the order of its discovery, *i.e.*, in the historical order. This is not suitable for the pre-adolescent. (2) It may be presented according to some logical order, *e.g.*, that of each separate specialized branch of science. This is suitable only for the higher stages of development. (3) The material may be grouped round a scientific principle, *e.g.*, gravity (the whole of mechanics can be organised around the idea of work), energy (this may be a central theme containing various forms of energy, such as, chemical energy, animal and vegetable metabolism, calorific value of food, body temperature, etc.), wave motion (this may include sound, the measurement of frequency, resonance, characteristics of musical notes, speed of light, tuning into a radio broadcast, etc.), measurement of temperature, vertebrate pattern among living creatures, adaptation of creatures to environment, etc. (4) The material may be arranged according to its immediate interests to pupils, *e.g.*, what happens when things burn? (This will include the chemistry of Oxidisation, the physics of heat and its transference, the botany of plant respiration, the zoology of animals including human respiration, food and diet, vitamins and catalysts, etc.). In a country where hydro-electric power is being developed or big irrigation schemes are being implemented, themes of local and scientific interest may be chosen for Projects,

### ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCIENCE TEACHING BY PROJECT METHOD

#### (A) A Project on "Milk and Milk Products" (for middle School classes)

1. *Drawing up of an outline by the Teacher:* (a) How is milk produced? (b) What treatment is given to liquid milk at the milk-town (Haringhata) and why? (c) Butter-making. (d) Cheese-making. (e) Dried and Condensed milk. (f) Other milk preparations.

2. *Carrying out the Project:* (a) Production: Organize a visit to Haringhata or any other milk-town or dairy farm. Let children study feeding methods and milk-yields. Improvement of stock, fodder, pasture land, planned pastures. Collect illustrative materials.

(b) *Treatment:* Cooling and pasteurization of raw milk. Estimate the amount of contamination in raw milk. By filtration (which will arrest insoluble materials present) and culturing of diluted milk solutions of different origins, it is possible to get an idea of the bacteria present in the random samples. A talk on Pasteur.

(c) *Butter:* Cream for butter-making can be collected by allowing bottled milk to

stand for a few hours and taking a spoonful off the top.

(d) *Cheese:* The success of cheese making depends on the control of the acidity of the milk before rennet is added. After rennet is added curd is formed. Then the latter is cut into small pieces and the whey is allowed to drain away. After salting the drained curd is wrapped in muslin and processed in a mould.

(e) *Processed Milk:* Condensed milk is prepared by evaporation in a vacuum with the help of a vacuum pump. This can be shown by an actual visit to the farm.

(f) *The making of sweets* can be demonstrated by arranging a visit to a confectioner's workshop.

(g) *Knowledge Gained by the Project:* Biology: Lactation. Milk Composition. Meaning of fats and Proteins. Digestion of food. Growth of Bacteria—conditions which assist and retard growth. Chemistry—Acidity. Decomposition of substances by heat. Physics—emulsions. Evaporation under normal and reduced pressures. Measuring Pressures. Vacuum Pump, Distillation, filtration and methods of separation.

(B) A Hydro-Electric Project (for Higher Secondary Classes):

### ELECTRICITY

#### Teacher's Work

1. An illustrated lesson on electro-magnetic induction.
2. A lesson on advantages of electricity:
  - (a) Lights easily switched off or on,
  - (b) Not blown out by wind,
  - (c) Clean, smokeless, fumeless—no danger of naked flame,
  - (d) Uses—lighting, refrigeration, lathes, drills, saws, printing work, etc.

#### Pupil's Activities

1. Making of a model electric motor after a visit to a generating station.
2. Preparing a chart of local supply of power.
3. Drawing map of the State showing situation of industrial plants in relation to power supply.

### POWER AND ENGINES

#### Teacher's Work

1. What is the driving force of dynamos? How are engines driven by petrol or oil? How do steam-engines obtain power from coal and coke?
2. Discuss other sources of power with illustrations—wind, tides water (cost of natural power is nil, but dams, machinery, etc., are costly: why?).

#### Pupil's Activities

1. Collect pictures of electric machinery from magazines and paste them in your scrap-book.
2. Study mineral resources in a map.
3. Make models of water-wheels and wind-mills.
4. Consult geographical magazines, scientific journals (make clippings for your scrap-book).

## THE PROPOSED SCHEME FOR SETTING UP A PLANT

*Teacher's Work*

1. Determine location giving reasons. (Should it be very far from main towns and factories?).
2. Is the water supply likely to be constant all the year round? What are the sources of water supply? Is there any river with its source in snow-capped mountains? (Why is this an advantage over other alternative sources?)
3. Is there any problem of evacuation of villages? If so, what alternative arrangements for resettlement of evacuees would have to be made? What crops should be grown for home use or for export? How many families will the extra output support?

*Pupil's Activities*

1. (a) Prepare small-scale maps setting out therein course of river, site of plant, actual distance from towns, plants for industries, etc.
- (b) Prepare also large-scale maps setting out contours, areas for proposed artificial lake, etc.
2. Make a large-scale map of a proposed lake on squared paper calculating the approximate area.
3. Study Government reports on extent of progress made in Five-Year Plans.

## INDUSTRIES

*Teacher's Work*

Note that a hydro-electric plant is so costly that unless a great amount of power is generated it will not be ultimately a paying proposition.

1. What towns will benefit by the plant?
2. What new industries will it develop?
3. Where will the raw materials for the proposed industries come from?
4. Will the products find an easy market?

*Pupil's Activities*

Read newspapers, Government reports on industries and summarize your findings. Write a reasoned defence of the plant to be erected.

## TRANSPORT

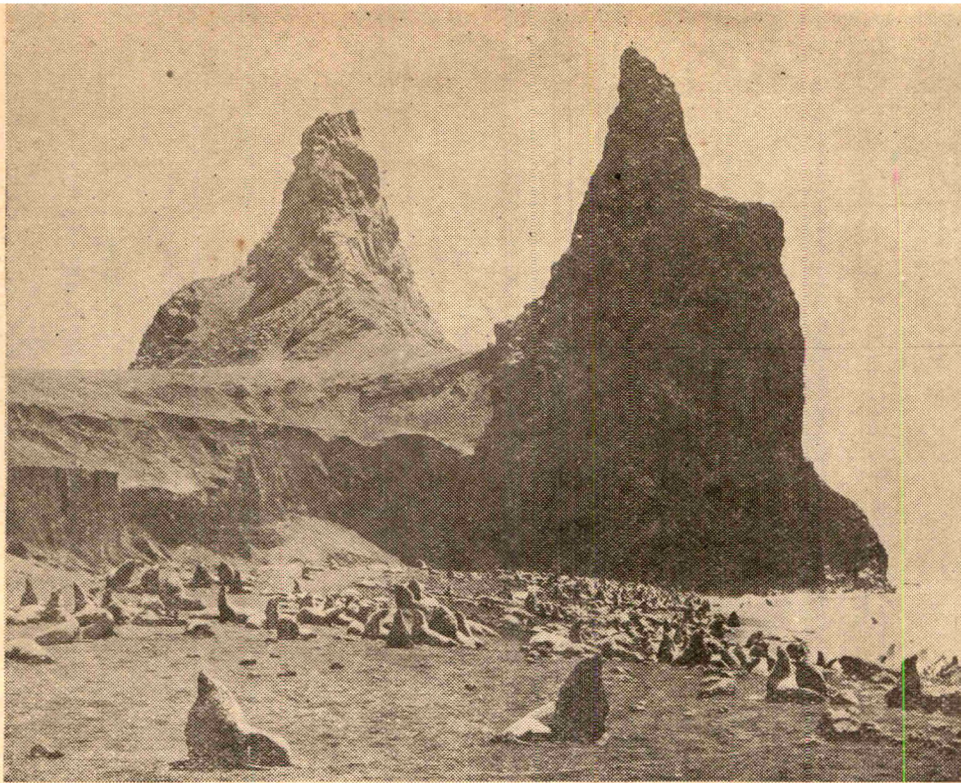
*Teacher's Work*

1. How will you solve the problem of transport to other parts of the State or to markets outside the State?
2. Find out from the map if the site is easy of access. If there are natural barriers (such as mountains or rivers) what bridges, roads, railways, waterways, ports; docks, is it proposed to construct?

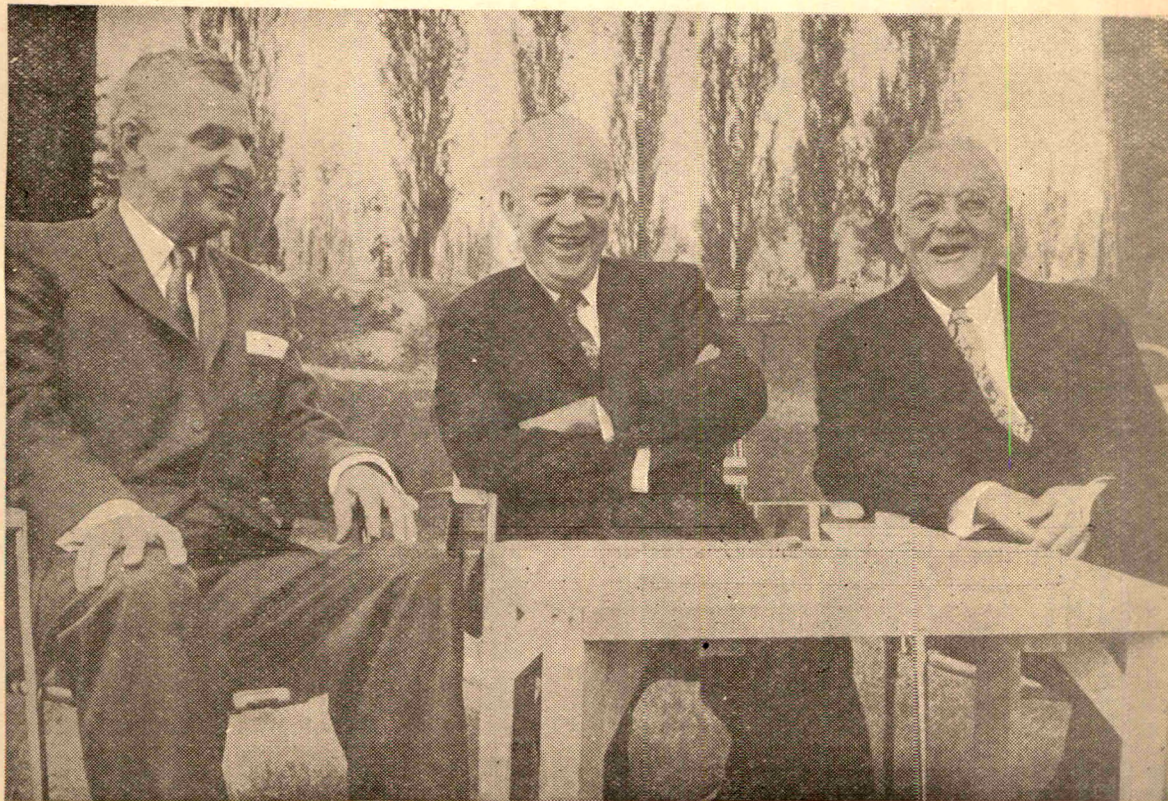
*Pupil's Activities*

1. For the new roads and railways, suggest the routes which can be constructed at the least expense.
2. Explain with reasons your choice of alternative routes and make models.





Sea lions on the breeding grounds at Bogoslof Island, Alaska, U. S. A.



President Eisenhower (centre) Canadian Prime Minister John Diefenbaker (left) U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk (right)





Students from Jamia Millia Rural Institute (one of the rural Institutes of Higher Education) march off to the fields for practical work





## MATERIALS NEEDED

*Teacher's Work**Pupil's Activities*

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. (a) If it is for railways make a full list of rails, sleepers, locomotives, wagons, etc., required; (b) for roads, list trucks, cars, etc; (c) for docks, list tugs, barges, water-supply, cranes, etc.</li> <li>2. For the construction—make a list of raw materials and equipment: steel, timber, cement, cement-making machines, bulldozers, excavators, cranes, pylons, wire-cables, transformers.</li> </ol> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Make out your own lists.</li> <li>2. Collect pictures of heavy machines and make models.</li> </ol> |
|---|---|

## PEOPLE EMPLOYED

*Teacher's Work**Pupil's Activities*

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Estimate the needs of the people to be employed in the plant and the industries—in respect of houses, food-supply, schools, hospitals, banks, etc.</li> <li>2. What trained personnel are to be employed? (e.g., engineers for railways, docks, roads, buildings, water, machines, electricity, etc., craftsmen, mechanics, teachers, nurses etc.).</li> </ol> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Visit school, hospital, etc., to enable you to make estimates of cost of equipment, furniture.</li> <li>2. Consult books, articles and pictures.</li> </ol> |
|--|---|

## TECHNICAL MATTERS

*Teacher's Work**Pupil's Activities*

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Lesson on conductors and non-conductors and insulators to make class understand how current is carried.</li> <li>2. Lessons on voltages and use of transformers, meaning of watts, precautions to be taken when using electricity in houses, earthing and wiring system.</li> </ol> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Collect various types of insulators and do experiments with them.</li> <li>2. Calculate the amount of current used in a house, school and factory, and prepare a list of instructions for use of electric.</li> </ol> |
|---|---|

## ECONOMICS

*Teacher's Work**Pupil's Activities*

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. What is the estimated cost of the hydro-electric plant?</li> <li>2. How is the amount to be raised? What is the expected profit (immediate or ultimate)?</li> </ol> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Calculate total cost of each item and then add up.</li> <li>2. Find out how a big scheme is financed.</li> </ol> |
|---|--|

### SCIENTIFIC INQUIRY AND THE INTER-RELATION OF SCIENCES

The above project will illustrate the extent of scientific enquiry and the fact that scientists are interested in a wide range of knowledge covering many subsidiary sciences. Thus no scientific calculation can be done without mathematics. Mechanics and dynamics have to do with the application of mathematics to the study of things that move, the calculation of velocities, accelerations, work, etc. Physics deals with measurement of various properties of material things. The chemist may be interested in those physical measurements which help him to find the composition of the chemical with which he may be dealing. The biologist, who deals with the nature of living things, how they affect and are in their turn affected by their surroundings, may be studying the chemical changes that take place in living cells. All these illustrate the interdependence of sciences.

### CORRELATING GENERAL SCIENCE WITH OTHER SCHOOL SUBJECTS

Teachers must make an attempt to correlate different aspects of the same subject. For example, events in world history may be correlated with famous scientific discoveries such as those of Lavoisier and the scientific and technological improvements made during the Great Wars of 1914-18 and 1939-45. The class may be asked to prepare a historical chart including scientific inventions, discoveries and developments, or to write an essay on a scientific topic or a description of an experiment in science. Logical arrangement, accurate description, neatness and tidiness are as valuable in the study of language and composition as in science. Every word that the child uses in his written composition must be tinged and coloured by the genuine and original emotion born of personal experience in order that the child's effort at composition may be encouraged as creative self-expression.

It is in co-operation with teachers of mathematics, geography and geology that the possibility of correlation arises most frequently. Here are a few examples: (1) Is it not possible for simple equations in a mathematics lesson to be illustrated by experimental data obtained in a science lesson on specific heat, latent heat or the simple properties of lenses? (2) Cannot the mathematics teacher deal with inverse ratio just before the Science master explains Boyle's Law? (3) Cannot the distances travelled by a stone falling under gravity and the route taken through the air by a cricket ball or the water coming out of a fire hydrant be connected with the graph of a simple quadratic? (4) Is it not possible to couple the measurement of angles and the drawing of triangles with the study of the mariner's compass and the use of the prismatic compass in science? It is needless to multiply examples to suggest points of correlation between these subjects. It is suggested that the syllabuses in Mathematics and Science be adjusted to make all these possible.

It should certainly be possible to let the Geography teacher deal with climate after the Science master has given his lessons on air pressure, atmospheric humidity and their measurement and on heat and the construction and use of thermometers. Again, such topics as the relationships between plant and animal distribution, the density and activity of the population and the occurrence and composition of chalk hills and coral reefs concern both the geographer and the scientist. Science can be correlated with Civics also. Our children need some knowledge of science if they are to understand the modern world which depends so much on scientific discoveries. They need above all well-disciplined minds if they are to be good citizens of a democratic country.\*

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\* Being synopsis of a course of lectures given to post-graduate students and teachers at the Institute of Education for Women, Alipur, Calcutta, during 1956-57.

## TAGORE AND GANDHI

By JOGES C. BOSE

RABINDRANATH Tagore was travelling in the West, when Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi led the Indian National Congress to launch Non-co-operation in the fermenting aftermath of the Punjab martial law days. It marked the crucial parting of ways in the leadership of India and in her relation with England. Tagore referred to the palpitating realities of the new alignment and warned British statesmanship to take note of the signal ahead. He said that it was not so much a condign punishment of swashbuckling jingoism, as, what was obviously lacking, the unequivocal condemnation of so deep an affront to India, which mattered. He sought to bring home to the ruling oligarchy that empires had in the past reaped the reward of extinction by their reliance on sword. But imperialism had so far tainted even men of letters that some of them tried to isolate him for, what they called, his contumely to the king in renouncing Knighthood. Bernard Shaw refused to join the game; H. G. Wells, Robert Bridges and others did.

On his way-back, Tagore was in the same boat with Subhas Bose, in the immediate glow of his resignation from the Indian Civil Service at the call of Non-co-operation. Bose says in *The Indian Struggle* that Tagore, far from being opposed to Non-co-operation, was rather for a stout line of action in the manner of the Siffin's 'state within sate.' On his return to India, he however, came to gather that Non-co-operation tabooed Western science and technology and snapped asunder the cultural tie between the East and the West. It was, as he said, a 'spiritual suicide.' He therefore, stood all-square against the movement, which was spreading over the country with the rapidity of a hurricane. To start with, he delivered in Calcutta two lectures, whose very titles *Sikshar Milan*, the Meeting of Cultures, and *Satyer Ahvan*, the Call of Truth, indicate and in a sense epitomise his new bent of mind. He said, in substance, that the upheaval, unless controlled in some essentials, was bound to swing India back to the age of stone

These reactions of Tagore disappointed, nay, stung many a soul to the quick. The question, which cropped up unbidden in most minds was: Did not he as much, protest against Science going ahead the Man? His clear-cut stand to slash anything, which induced a cultural subservience, was a headache to the old-school politics and a spur to the new. He was not only for abjuring British goods except those which would make the nation industrially efficient, but would have his countrymen eschew English dress and manner of living at the same time. He would not even have a Bengali write to another Bengali in English save strictly on business necessity. He had pleaded for organising the country for a gradual withdrawal of co-operation with the Government, short of a head-on clash. Furthermore, he had given us the vision of achievement in his epic character Dhananjay Bairagi with his techniques of passive resistance to stand up to the power that be, if it chooses to ride roughshod over the people. Where then is the room for conflict, unless these visualisings were the quixotic sallies of a dreamer of dreams? Naturally, there was a feeling of irritation against him and they awaited one saucy, strident reply from Gandhi. Gandhi's reply was, however, a model of dignity in polemics and a test of his size. The point he made out that India, prostrate at the feet of Europe, can give no hope to humanity, found an enthusiastic echo in countless hearts.

The Non-co-operation recalls in a great measure the Swadeshi Movement of Bengal. Due allowance should be made for what was confined to Bengal proper having had to operate now in the whole of India; but, equally, allowance should be made that, in the meantime, a global war, in the flash and steel of which, India participated in full, and that the Punjab episode, nothing more bitterly rigged than which can be imagined to bedevil Indo-British relation, and that the enfranchisement of our people on so large a scale under Montford Reforms, in which was implicit the promise of Dominion



Status, had quickened our political sensitive-ness in the track of several decades. These allowances being made, the master urge of either movement was to organise the country on the prospect of a 'No' to the Government. There were, however, differences and it is over these that Tagore and Gandhi, amazingly dissimilar and yet similar in fundamentals, came to grips initially.

Even in that incipient stage of our national growth, when nationalism was confined to a very few of the educated class and to the rest an exotic, leave alone the mass, the Bengal leaders, of whom Tagore was in the vanguard, did not flinch to undergo what suffering and sacrifice the Swadeshi movement called for to justify them calling upon the people not to bend knees to the British *Raj*. They as much believed in withholding co-operation, on which hinges the Administration. But in the sheer stress of the lean sanction behind it, they would have it gradually as the people were getting seasoned to the trials and tribulations of the struggle. They would not strike down educational institutions as such, but would supplant them in order to provide for those students, who were expelled from schools and colleges for their Swadeshi activities. They also chalked out a plan of national education and started a Technical Institute, which formed the nucleus of the Jadavpur University. To Gandhi, however, the hour of liberation had struck and he would not wait to tinker but pull down what he called the 'nursery of slave-mentality.' Nothing abashed, he told the students that they might have to, in the alternative, break stones on the road. In fact, either movement exploited youthful emotionalism, the Non-co-operation to the extent of collecting cannon-fodders, justifiable as in the extremes of war-time. Gandhi demanded of the lawyers to suspend practice, whereas the practising lawyers constituted the backbone of the Swadeshi movement. In the absence of any national fund to support them, they did what utmost they could within the limits of making both ends meet. Bengal sought to compete Lanchashire and Manchester by mills; Gandhi by making each home resound with the spinning wheel—*Charkah*.

A section of our people have by the way,

scouted the *Charkah*. They are far too obsessed with their old text-book lessons in the classic supremacy of the Law of Supply and Demand in terms of the cost of production. They do not seem to consider the economic self-adjustment, such as what Hieden in his *One Man Against Europe* emphasizes that "in the economic sphere, National Socialism has done things, which seem to mock the traditional doctrines of Political Economy." To apotheosize *Charkah* is one extreme, and not to give it the due weight and value, as an offset against enforced idleness the sole occupation of agriculture entails, is the other. Gandhi told Tagore, as he visited the Sabar-mati *Ashram* in 1930, "My calculation is that if one crore of us spin for one hour a day and turn an idle hour to account, we would add Rupees Fifty thousand every day to our national wealth." Notwithstanding the crudeness of such wishful ratiocination, *Charkah* has a place, worth an assiduous scratching in the economy of India.

Bengal voted down violence because of its inexpediency; Gandhi, because, it is ethically wrong—he would have no *Swaraj*, if it was by ways of violence. With Gandhi, the end does not justify the means, which must be clean and above-board. Tagore was no iron fundamentalist. He had rather in him the tug of Semitic justice. In his story *Megh O Raudra*, he advocates blow for blow as a prophylactic against an Englishman's chronic disposition to treat the Indian as a sub-man. When barely twentyone, he urged the elite of our country to teach the mass that 'an Englishman and Fate are not convertible terms' and help Nemesis overtake the insolence of the ruling class.

I am ill-fitted to discuss the ethics of Gandhi's non-violence, based, as he says, on India's ancient law of suffering and sacrifice. It is conceived to make those who practise it more sinned against than sinning, such as to sting the wrong-doer with remorse and induce a change of heart in him. What Einstein calls in Gandhi 'the dignity of a single individual confronting the brutality of Europe' is his steadfast adherence to non-violence as an instrument in the war of Indian Independence. The Quakers of the 18th century believed in resisting the wrong by peaceful means.

Thoreau preached the philosophy of Civil Disobedience. Tolstoy envisaged its success in Gandhi's experiment in South Africa, as he re-oriented it with the unerring force of, what Mathew Arnold calls, 'sweet reasonableness'—the strength, which accrued to him in being fair and square in all circumstances.

In Gandhi's trek to restore brutalised Noakhali to minimum human response, he asked the Hindus 'not to behave like cowards, not to submit to the wrong in any circumstance, but die fighting like a man if they had not the non-violent strength to face brute force unto death.' "It was here," he said meaning East Bengal, "that the heroes of Chittagong Armoury-raid were born, however misguided their action might have been in my eyes." He supported India resisting by arms the raiders of Kashmir and make it a Thermopylae. He said that he would rather resort to arms to defend his country than be a witness of her dishonour. It is just confessing outright to the limitations of non-violence for a country, pitted against invaders. And yet as an exemplification of his stand, the core of it shining intact on the anvil of a major challenge, he rigidly set his face against withholding Rupees Fifty-five crores to Pakistan under the head Partition-assets, even as India, Nehru said in Parliament, was facing behind the tribal people the regular army of Pakistan. This is understandable, because, Pakistan was not at war with India and the need to localise hostilities was greater than ever. What, however, baffles understanding is that Gandhi would not reconcile to Subhas Bose leaving the shores of India to fight for her freedom in alliance with the Axis-powers; but, all the same, he paid his Indian National Army a full-throated tribute of acknowledgement. He said addressing them, "You have failed in your direct objective to defeat the British. But you have the satisfaction that the whole country has been roused and even the regular forces have begun to think in terms of Independence." Dr. K. N. Katju, who got into the crux of the question as a defence advocate in the I.N.A. trial, said over the All-India Radio, "The final decisive blow to the British Raj was dealt by Netaji Subhas Bose."

Boiled to the concrete, this tampering with the loyalty of the military is the orthodox

technique of violent revolution. What justification then can there be for Gandhi eying askance at the Revolutionary Movement unless, of course, on the ground of inexpediency or prematureness, such as the old school leaders of the Swadeshi Movement did?

In any case, the great historian Hallam's dictum that Revolution as it succeeds is the highest virtue but the meanest crime when it fails remains unchallenged. But despite these obvious contradictions in Gandhi, nobody ever thinks of him, as Morley thinks of Cromwel, that the contradictions of life came forth with the fluctuations of his fortune. That credit is ungrudgingly conceded to Gandhi for the simple reason that no political leader of any country at any time had stinted himself for the people to the extent he did. Even if difficult as it is sometimes to follow the full implications of his non-violence, it is pretty certain that he is pre-eminently the man to have energised the conscience of the world to work steadily to evolve a code of conduct between nation and nation such as it obtains between two gentlemen. It is again true that Gandhi has not added to the ethical teachings of the world, but he has, beyond controversy, lived them, striving sleeplessly for perfection, such as the other heroes of liberation have done for power.

By his untiring insistence on spirit above matter even in dissolving moments of India's fight for emancipation, he has wrought a change in the outlook of a riven, distracted world. To him in an immeasurable degree the world owes the conviction that brute reciprocity must not be the last say were civilization, built up in the length of ages, to survive.

Churchill and those, who believed that between Gandhi and the English rule in India there was no choice left but that one must perish, called him a 'crank,' a 'charlatan,' a 'maniac,' a 'half-naked fakir.' They charged him of 'sanctimonious insincerities' and spoke of his method as 'hypocrisy masking intensified hatred.' But as Gandhi replied to the charge or discussed the subject-matter on the boil, he never used a harsh word, far less a banter. In the political world it is a phenomenon without a parallel. It is again inconceivable that anybody doing politics would so

scrupulously shy at a subterfuge and exercise limitless charity to appreciate the opponents' point of view. Stuck up in a gruelling fight for national ends, he was as much for a federal adjustment of all sovereign states. These are precisely what won him such transcendence that Bishops and Prelates openly acknowledged that he had given life and meaning to Christianity, just as the songs of the other heathen were sung in many a Sunday School and recited from many pulpits of Christendom.

Tagore hailed Gandhi into the field of Indian politics as 'a living truth'; but did not spare him for his hasty, spectacular promise of 'Swaraj within six months.' Later on, when Gandhi was to him 'a lesson for ages to come,' he did not hesitate to hack and hew him for ascribing the earthquake of Bihar to the sin of untouchability in Madras. I visualise the prince of intellectuals reading a homily on sin and superstition in terms of his encyclopedic learning to Gandhi, admittedly thin academically but dowered with his 'I am a man of faith', smiling his limpid smile. In 1939, Subhas Bose was elected President of the Congress for the second time in the teeth of Gandhi's truculent opposition. Gandhi did not attend the Congress on the plea of an issue, he raised in a small, benighted native state—and this could easily afford to wait for a few days. It is no less strange as it is painful that he did not move his little finger to bridle the excesses

of the two Congress-provincial Ministers bestirring themselves to humiliate the duly-elected President Subhas Bose. Rabindranath, even if so ill at the time, chafed at the unseemliness of the position and wrote Gandhi to beware of the 'rude hands which have deeply hurt Bengal with an ungracious persistence.' Gandhi wrote to Subhas Bose, "The more I study it (Govindaballav Pant's Resolution) the more I dislike it." There was not, however, enough punch to disturb his valiant proteges. And it remains a moot point if Gandhi, who suffered no idleness in his words, stretched himself to the full length of his dislike.

In a close-up study, Tagore and Gandhi complement each other in their dedication. And in between them they represent India. One reflects in him her art and literature, her composite culture and the philosophy of universalism; the other her agonised soul activated for redemption. Both lived intensely for India but to fuse the world into one. With the hard days of a nuclear challenge ahead, mankind fares ill if it is loath to devote to the cause for which they gave the full measure of devotion. Would it yet read aright what answer they have given to the question: Why civilization after civilization has broken down? Either has insisted on the answer: Because, the political power, which bore it, deteriorated in human value.

## THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

### An Outline History

By SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

## II

### FOURTH CONGRESS

The Fourth National Congress of the Communist Party was held in Shanghai on January 11-12, 1925 and was attended by twenty delegates representing 950 members in all. The congress correctly stressed the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal character of the Chinese revolution and succeeded in evolving a correct policy towards the KMT. It recognised the

leading role of the Party in the revolution and adopted correct measures for mass work.<sup>30</sup> The congress further "made organizational preparations for a new wave of mass struggle"<sup>31</sup>

But the Fourth Congress as well failed to note the importance of the role of the peasantry

30. Hsiao I-ping and Chang Kung: "A Brief Sketch of the National Congresses of the CCP," cited, *Current Background* No. 410, pp. 11-12.

31. Hu Chiao-mu: *Op. Cit.*, p. 11.



in the Chinese revolution and made the wrong decision restricting the initiative of the peasants.<sup>32</sup>

A nationwide anti-imperialist movement swept all over China beginning with May 30, 1925 when student demonstrators were fired upon by the foreign-controlled police in Shanghai.<sup>33</sup> In July, 1924, the Nationalist Revolutionary Army under the overall command of Chiang Kai-shek set out on the famous Northern Expedition<sup>34</sup> for the unification of China under the Kuomintang. On April 12, 1927, Chiang Kai-shek, Supreme Commander of the National Revolutionary Army, betrayed the revolution and attacked the Communists.<sup>35</sup>

#### FIFTH CONGRESS

In this context the Communist Party met in its fifth national congress in Wuhan on April 27, 1927. The congress was attended by eighty delegates representing 57,967 members. According to the Chinese Communist historians, Hsiao I-ping and Chang Kung, the congress discussed and adopted the following resolutions and documents: Resolutions of the Communist Party of China on the acceptance of the resolution of the seventh plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on China Problem, a resolution on the political situation in the country and the tasks of the Party, a resolution on the agrarian problem, a resolution on the workers' movement, and a Manifesto of the Fifth National Congress.<sup>36</sup> The

resolutions were, however, never put into effect.<sup>37</sup> Though Mao Tse-tung was present at the Congress he was deprived of the right to vote and his historic report of *An Investigation into the Peasant Movement in Hunan*<sup>38</sup> written in March, 1927 was suppressed.<sup>39</sup>

The Kuomintang-Communist relationship suffered further setbacks in the meanwhile and the position of the Communists became untenable even in the Left Kuomintang Government at Wuhan (the triple city of Wuchang-Hankow-Hanyang) where the Revolutionary National Government had been transferred from Canton on January 1, 1927, and from which Chiang Kai-shek had treacherously broken away on April 1, 1927. The Left Kuomintang Government under the leadership of Wang Ching-wei demonstrated its unwillingness to arm the workers and peasants and, in fact, ordered the massacre of workers and peasants on the contrary.<sup>40</sup>

The conciliatory policy of the Communist leader, Ch'en Tu-hsiu, was partly responsible for the failure of the party to assert its leadership in the Chinese revolution of 1925-27 but a larger share of the failure was ascribable to the confusing leadership of the Communist international which was then torn by Stalin-Trotsky rivalry. Ch'en Tu-hsiu, for example, wrote: "The International asks us to implement our

37. Hsiao I-ping and Chang Kung: *Op. Cit.*, *Current Background* No. 410; p. 13. The Fifth Congress was dominated by the Comintern delegate Shri M. N. Roy, see Brandt, Schwartz and Fairbank: *Op. Cit.*, p. 92.

38. For text see Mao-Tse-tung: *Selected Works*, Bombay, 1954, Vol. I, pp. 21-59.

Robert C. North (in his *Moscow and Chinese Communists*; p. 117) points to certain omissions in the latest Chinese version of the texts of Mao's Hunan Report. The points omitted stressed the importance of the role of the peasantry in Chinese revolution.

As to the importance of Mao's Report see Hu Chiao-mu (*Op. Cit.*, p. 17) who writes that "this work has become a classic document for the Chinese Communists in leading the peasants' struggle." Also see Schwartz: *Op. Cit.*, pp. 73-74; Chen Po-ta: *Notes on Mao Tse-tung's 'Report of an Investigation into the Peasant Movement, Hunan,'* Peking, 1954; *Notes on Ten Years of Civil War, 1927-1936*; Peking, 1954, p. 47.

Prof. Hugh Seton-Watson writes that Mao's Report "contained some views that could hardly be accepted by an orthodox-Marxist" (*From Lenin to Malenkov*, New York, 1954, p. 150).

39. *People's China*, September 16, 1936, p. 19.

40. Epstein: *From Opium War to Liberation*, pp. 92-95. The KMT launched a "white terror"—see Schwartz, *Op. Cit.*, p. 97.

32. *People's China*, Peking, Sept. 16, 1956, pp. 18-19.

33. C. P. Fitzgerald: *Revolution in China*, London, 1952, p. 53; Arthur Clegg: *The Birth of New China*, Allahabad, 1944, p. 47; Israel Epstein: *From Opium War to Liberation*, Peking 1956, pp. 86-88.

34. T'ang Leang-li: *The Foundations of Modern China*, London, 1928, p. 169.

35. M. N. Roy: *Revolution and Counter-revolution in China*, Calcutta, 1946, pp. 490-528.

Robert C. North: *Moscow and Chinese Communists*, pp. 85-97; Edgar Snow: *Red Star Over China*, New York, 1944, pp. 52-54, 82. Israel Epstein: *The Unfinished Revolution in China*, Bombay, 1947, pp. 46-48; *From Opium War to Liberation*, pp. 88-93; Kenneth Scott Latourette: *A Short History of the Far East*, New York, 1954, pp. 477-478, 593-594; T'ang Leang-li: *Op. Cit.*, pp. 186-190; Fitzgerald *Op. Cit.*, pp. 64-66; Hu Chiao-mu: *Op. Cit.*, pp. 12-13; Clegg: *Op. Cit.*, pp. 46-54.

36. For an unofficial summary of the resolutions of the Fifth Congress see Brandt, Schwartz and Fairbank: *A Documentary History of Chinese Communism*, pp. 93-97.

own policies. On the other hand, it will not allow us to withdraw from the Kuomintang. There is thus no way out."<sup>41</sup> Indeed, as the leading authority on early Chinese Communism notes, "Whatever may have been the private inclinations of Ch'en and the 'right-wing,' however, in the implementation of policy they bowed to the superior wisdom of the Kremlin."<sup>42</sup> Discussing the charges accusing Ch'en as an arch-appeaser of the Kuomintang, Professor Schwartz concludes that during the years culminating in the defeat of the Communist Party in 1927 there was "little discrepancy between the specific directions of the Comintern and the official policies of the Communist Party leaders where such discrepancies did exist, where the Comintern did recommend a more 'radical' course than the Chinese leadership was pursuing, it was impossible for this leadership to implement such recommendations since the stipulation was constantly added that they be implemented through a political apparatus (Kuomintang—S.C.S.) which the Communist Party did not control."<sup>43</sup>

On August 1, 1927, Chou En-lai, Chu Teh, Yeh Ting, Ho Lung and others led the Communists in an armed uprising at Nauchang<sup>44</sup> which, however, proved abortive. The first phase of the Chinese revolution thus closed with a defeat for the Communist Party.

In such circumstances the party called an Emergency Conference on August 7, 1927 (the famous August 7 Conference)<sup>45</sup> which was

41. Ch'en Tu-hsiu: "Letter to Our Party Comrades", p. 10, quoted in Schwartz, *Op. Cit.*, p. 67.

42. Benjamin I. Schwartz: *Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao*, p. 64.

43. *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68. For Mao Tse-tung's evaluation see Edgar Snow, *Red Star Over China*, p. 166. For an interesting and authoritative discussion of Soviet-Chinese relations during the period, see Louis Fischer: *The Soviets in World Affairs*, Vol. 2, London, 1930, pp. 632-679.

44. There were four Communist uprisings during 1927: (1) The Nauchang uprising of August 1, 1927; (2) Autumn harvest uprising led by Mao Tse-tung on August 15, 1927; (3) The Canton commune of December 11, 1927; and (4) The South Hunan revolt led by Chu Teh on January 1, 1928. See Nym Wales: *New China*, Calcutta, 1944, pp. 50-51; Robert C. North: *op. cit.*, pp. 113-121.

45. For an account of the conference, see Hsiao I-ping and Chang Kung: "A Brief Sketch of the Important Conferences held by the CCP Central Committee" in *Jen Min Jih Pao*, Peking, September 15, 1956, reproduced in the *Current Background* No. 410, p. 410, pp. 36-37; Schwartz, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-96, 98; Robert C. North, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 110-112.

attended by twenty-two delegates,<sup>46</sup> including Mao Tse-tung, Chu Chin-pai and Teng Chung-hsia. The Conference removed Chen Tu-hsia from the position of the Secretary-General of the party and appointed Chu Chin-pai in his place. While correcting the "rightist" opportunism, the conference sowed the seeds of "Life" deviationism.<sup>47</sup>

In October 1927, Mao Tse-tung established the first revolutionary base in the countryside in the Chinggangshan area on the borders of Kiangsi and Hunan provinces where he was joined by Chu Teh in April, 1928.<sup>48</sup>

The Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of China was held in June-July, 1928. This time, however, the Congress had to meet outside China, in Moscow to be precise. It was attended by eighty-four delegates representing more than 40,000 party-members. The Congress, we are told, "took place under instructions and leadership of the Communist International."<sup>49</sup>

#### SIXTH CONGRESS

The Sixth Congress adopted resolutions on the political situation, the peasant movement, the agrarian problem, workers' movement, propaganda and several other subjects. It laid down the Ten great demands<sup>50</sup> of the Chinese Revolution (the Ten Demands included a call for the overthrow of imperialism, confiscation of foreign capital, unification of China, overthrow of Kuomintang rule, distribution of land to the tiller, various other economic demands and a call for unity with the proletariat of the

46. *People's China*, September 16, 1956, p. 19. According to Robert C. North (*Op. Cit.*, p. 110) only thirteen party-members were present at the conference of whom again only there were members of the Central Committee of the party.

47. Hsiao I-ping and Chang Kung, *Op. Cit.*, p. 37.

48. An account of the struggle in the Chinggang mountain is given in Mao's report to the Central committee, CCP in November, 1928. See *Selected Works*, Vol. I, pp. 71-104.

49. Hsiao I-ping and Chang Kung: "A Brief Sketch of the National Congress of the CCP", cited, the *Current Background*, No. 410, p. 13. Prof. Schwartz (*Op. Cit.*, p. 227) notes that the Sixth Comintern Congress, meeting after a month of the Sixth CCP Congress, had based its resolutions on China on those adopted at the Sixth Congress of the Chinese Communist party. See also *ibid.*, pp. 115-116.

50. Text in *A Documentary History of Chinese Communism*, p. 132.

world and Soviet Union). As a marked departure from previous Congresses greater attention was paid to the land problem of China and the Congress discussed in relative detail the agrarian problem and called for a total expropriation of all landlords as representatives of feudalism which, it was held, was being maintained in China by imperialism.<sup>51</sup> A revised constitution for the party was adopted by the Congress.<sup>52</sup>

Summing up the achievements of the Sixth Party Congress Hu Chiao-mu, historian of the Chinese Communist Party, writes that the Congress "reaffirmed that the Chinese revolution was a democratic revolution in character," "worked out the various aspects of the programme for the workers' and peasants' democratic dictatorship and put forward the task of founding a Red Army, establishing revolutionary bases in the countryside and carrying out land redistribution."<sup>53</sup> The Congress further decided that the Party would adopt a defensive strategy.<sup>54</sup>

The shortcomings of the Congress were its "lack of correct appraisal of the protracted nature of the democratic revolution, the role of the intermediate classes and the contradictions within the reactionary forces." The Congress failed to point out that the Party should make a tactical retreat as well. The "Left" deviation involving rash and adventurist moves still persisted.<sup>55</sup>

Mao Tse-tung was not present at the Sixth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party; he was however elected to the 36-man Central Committee. Hsiang Chung-fa was elected Secretary-General of the Party.

Following the Sixth Congress the Party under Li Li San's guidance, became involved

in adventurist "putschism" in his futile efforts to activate the city proletariat in the Communist struggle against the Kuomintang<sup>56</sup>. In 1929 Mao Tse-tung and Chu Teh established the first Chinese Soviets in Kiangsi. On February 7, 1930 the Kiangsi provincial Soviet Government was organised. On May 30, 1930 a conference of delegates from Soviet areas in China was held in the suburbs of Shanghai in which it was decided to set up a Central Soviet Government in China. The First All-China Congress of Soviets convened at Juichin on November 7, 1931 and the Chinese Soviet Republic was established with Mao Tse-tung as Chairman, Chang Kuo-tao and Hsiang Ying as Vice-Chairman, and Chu Teh as Commander-in-Chief<sup>57</sup>. The Central Committee of the Party which had been functioning from Shanghai was then transferred to the Soviet areas in January 1933 and elbowed aside Mao's leadership in the Soviet areas<sup>58</sup>. The Kuomintang under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek launched a series of five "annihilation campaigns"<sup>59</sup> designed to crush the power of the Communists. But Chiang could not succeed in completely defeating the Communists. Japan

56. Hu Chiao-mu, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 32-33; *A Documentary History of Chinese Communism*, pp. 165-216. Schwartz, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 127-163.

57. It is interesting to recall how little the Comintern or for that matter, Stalin kept himself informed of Chinese developments. The organ of the Comintern, *International Press Correspondence* in March, 1930, carried the news of the death of Mao Tse-tung. See Schwartz, *Op.Cit.*, p. 136. The very idea of the establishment of Soviets in China was anathema to the Stalinists. See *A Documentary History of Chinese Communism*, p. 99, Chapter VII, pp. 127, 148-49.

Nym Wales (*Op. Cit.*, p. 232), however says that the first Chinese-Soviet Congress was probably not held on November 7, 1931, the appointed day, because of the delay in the arrival of the delegates. She gives the date of the Congress as December 11, 1931.

About the 'Soviet' Revolution in China, see Brandt, Schwartz and Fairbank, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 217-239; Nym Wales: *New China*, Calcutta, 1944, pp. 42-45; Arthur Clegg, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 68-75; Robert C. North, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 148-160.

58. *People's China*, September 16, 1956; Arthur Clegg, *Op.Cit.*, p. 72. Clegg's statement that the Central Committee had moved to the revolutionary bases in 1931 and had elected Mao as its leader is apparently not correct. See also Schwartz, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 185-186.

59. For an account of the annihilation campaigns of Chiang Kai-shek, see Edgar Snow: *Red Star Over China*, pp. 182-188, 191-195; Clegg, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 69-74; Hu Chiao-mu, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 30, 34.

51. Schwartz: *Op. Cit.*, pp. 122-123.

52. Text of the Party Constitution adopted by the Sixth Party Congress is given in Paul M. A. Linebarger: *The China of Chiang Kai-shek*, Boston, 1943, pp. 359-370.

53. Hu Chiao-mu, *Op.Cit.*, p. 25.

54. On the subject of strategy and tactics as looked upon by Communist, see Joseph V. Stalin: "The Foundations of Leninism" in *Problems of Leninism*, Moscow, 1947, pp. 67-80.

55. Prof. Benjamin Schwartz (*Op. Cit.*, p. 116) considers that the Moscow Congress of the Communist party was designed (by Stalin) to get rid of the 'heretical elements' within the Chinese Communist party.

in the meanwhile had attacked China on September 18, 1931 and had been fast over-running Chinese territory.

In February 1932 the Chinese Soviet Republic declared war on Japan and called upon all groups and classes in China to resist Japanese aggression. In April 1933 the Communist Party issued the "Manifesto on Anti-Japanese United Front." The Second All-China Soviet Congress was held on January 21, 1934, attended by about seven hundred delegates. Mao Tse-tung was re-elected Chairman of the Soviet Republic. Meanwhile Chiang's successive attacks combined with intra-Communist dissensions had greatly weakened the Chinese Soviets in Kiangsi so much so that on October 1934 the Communists decided to leave the base and embarked on their historic 8000-mile long March from Kiangsi to Yen-an<sup>60</sup>.

Even during the period of the Long March the Party was not free from intra-party strife; this fact necessitated the calling of an extended conference of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. The conference was held at Tsunyi, Kweichow Province, in January 1935<sup>61</sup>. "The great historical service of the Tsunyi conference," says an authoritative Chinese Communist account<sup>62</sup>, "consisted in correcting military and organizational errors, which were of decisive significance at the time; in bringing to an end the predominance of the 'leftist' line in the Party centre and in establishing the

leading position of Comrade Mao Tse-tung in the whole party."

In December 1935 the Communist Party decided to set up Anti-Japanese National United Front. In the following December (1936) the Communist Party established its headquarters at Yen-an<sup>63</sup>. Mao Tse-tung's leadership of the party was confirmed. As second period of Kuomintang-Communist Co-operation<sup>64</sup> followed the Marco Polo Bridge Incident<sup>65</sup> of July 7, 1937 which heralded the all-out Japanese invasion of China. The Central Committee of the Communist Party met in another conference at Lochuan in August 1937 and adopted a Ten-point Programme<sup>66</sup> for National Salvation and Resistance which remained the Party's main plank throughout the period of the Anti-Japanese war. The Ten Great Policies were drafted by Mao Tse-tung<sup>67</sup> and called for the overthrow of Japanese imperialism, total military and political mobilization of the country in the struggle against Japan, political reforms in China including the convocation of a representative National Assembly and for the adoption of various political, economic and cultural measures to strengthen anti-Japanese solidarity of the Chinese people. As earlier, the second period of Kuomintang-Communist Co-operation was also very uneasy and reached almost a breaking point after the New Fourth Army Incident<sup>68</sup>. However, the United Front somehow lasted up to the end of the Anti-Japanese War in 1945.

(Concluded)

60. An interesting account of the Long March is given by Edgar Snow, *op.cit.*, pp. 189-218. See also Robert C. North, *op.cit.*, pp. 160-167; Hu Chiao-mu, *op.cit.*, pp. 34-36; Robert Payne: *Mao Tse-tung: Ruler of Red China*, London, 1951, pp. 138-156.

61. Hu Chiao-mu: *Thirty Years of the Communist Party of China*, p. 35; Hsiao I-ping and Chang Kung: "A Brief Sketch of the Important Conferences held by the CCP Central Committee"—*Jen Min Jih Pao* (People's Daily), Peking, September 15, 1956, reproduced in the *Current Background*, No. 410, p. 37-38. Mao Tse-tung's own account of the conference which established him in the position of leadership of the Communist party is given in Edgar Snow's *Red Star Over China*, pp. 187-188; see also Robert Payne, *op.cit.*, pp. 144-146.

62. Hsiao I-ping and Chang Kung, *op.cit.*, pp. 37-38. See also Mao Tse-tung: "Resolution on Some Questions in the History of Our Party", adopted on April 20, 1945, by the Seventh Plenum of the Sixth Central Committee of the CCP in *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, page 188.

63. An account of the Communist government at Yen-an is to be found in Harrison Forman: *Report from Red China*, pp. 55-75.

64. An excellent and fully documented account of this period is given by Lawrence K. Rosinger: *China's Crisis*, New York, 1945 and *China's Wartime Politics*, Princeton, 1945.

65. H. F. Macnair and D. F. Lach: *Modern Far Eastern International Relations*, New York, 1951, p. 415; Kenneth Scott Latourette: *A Short History of the Far East*, New York, 1954, pp. 600-604.

66. Text of the Programme in *A Documentary History of Chinese Communism*, pp. 242-245.

67. Hu Chiao-mu, *op.cit.*, pp. 48-49.

68. For an account of the incident, see Israel Epstein: *The Unfinished Revolution in China*, pp. 109-111; Theodore H. White and Annalee Jacoby: *Thunder Out of China*, New York, 1946, pp. 75-76; Robert Payne, *op.cit.*, pp. 169-170.

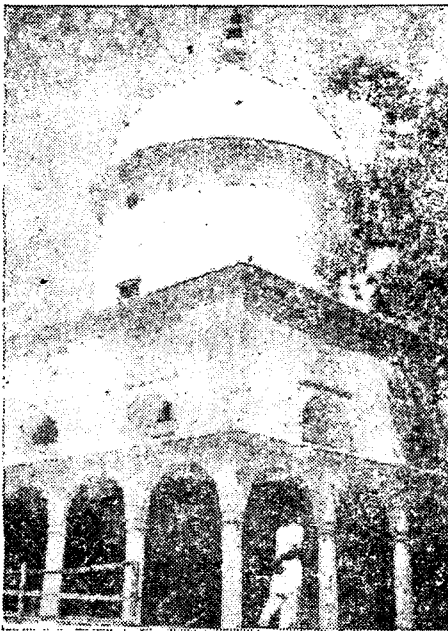


# THE SHRINE OF JALPESWAR

By PARIMAL KUMAR BHATTACHARYA

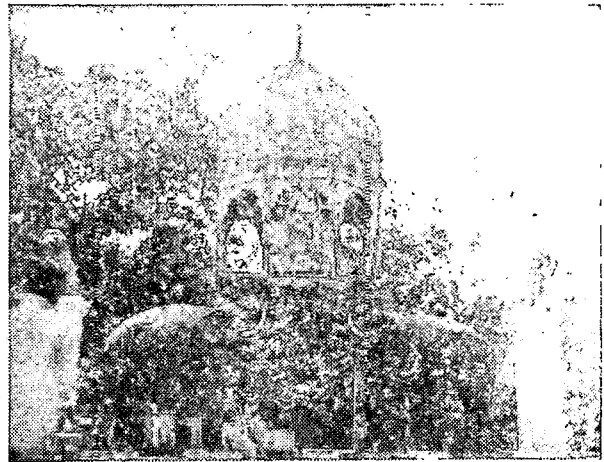
THE temple of Lord Siva at Jalpeswar has marked itself with importance for sundry weighty reasons. It is an antique shrine, which underwent many vicissitudes through the passing of years. There is no authentic annal of its origin and development. There are many stories current among the village-folk regarding the origin and development of this noted temple. Some of the popular ones are presented below.

The story is also in vogue among the village-folk that getting a trace of this seat of Lord Siva in dream, Maharaja Prannarayan initiated the constructive activities of the present shrine. He made provisions to defray the daily worship. The Maharaja passed away prior to the completion of the construction and it was concluded by his worthy son Maharaja Modenarayan.



The shrine of Jalpeswar

It is a difficult question to indicate the exact date of its erection. It is believed by the people that getting a glimpse of this seat of Lord Siva in his dream Raja Jalpeswar Barman of Pragjyotishpur built a temple on it. This sanctuary was devastated by foreign invaders during the aggression of the Tibetans. After this invasion this seat of Lord Siva was deserted and a dense forest covered the area. After many years Maharaja Prannarayan of Cooch-Behar came here for hunting. He was told by local people that a *kamadhenu* coming from the hamlet area pours milk every day on a particular spot in the wood. One day following the *kamadhenu* the Maharaja entered the forest and detected the Anadilinga Jalpeswar Mahadev in a heap of ruins.



The main entrance

Besides these, some maintain that, when Kalapahar was advancing in the northern direction after devastating all sacred places of the Hindus, to avoid his attention this temple was designed as a mosque, and the deity was preserved in a deep big hole in the floor. Even today, the deity is in the hole and a scrutiny of the shrine discloses an analogy to a certain extent with a mosque.

It has been written in the Tantras, the Puranas and some other religious books that Anadilinga Sri Jalpeswar Mahadev resides here through the ages. Sri Upendranath Barman in his book on the history of the Rajbansis has convincingly shown it by citing proofs from different sources.

One of the striking features of this temple is that, due to the inflow of water, the deity stands submerged during the period of June to October every year.

Jalpeswar is a centre of pilgrimage to the religious-minded Hindus, which attracts thou-

sands of pilgrims specially on the night of Sivaratri festival. There is a sacred pond contiguous to the temple in which pilgrims take an ablution. Admission to the sanctuary is restricted by 25 Naye Paise per head during the Sivaratri festival. An image of a bull stands at the entrance of the temple, which bears the stamp of a beautiful sculpture. Of course, it is not very ancient. The main gate is also of recent origin. The dexterity of the artist has been manifested in the gate. There are many temples of different deities around the main shrine. All of them are worshipped regularly. During the Sivaratri festival all the shrines are decorated in an imposing manner.

A month-long fair is held here annually beginning from the Sivaratri night. The fair is held on an extensive ground. A rivulet divides the temple from the fair. To facilitate

the movement of pilgrims, every year a couple of bamboo bridges are stretched over the brook.

Jalpaiguri is originally peopled by the Rajbansis. The king and the common people of this tribe in a large number visit the fair. Encircling the main shrine minstrels specially from this tribe squat and sing songs relating to God Hari on the Sivaratri night.

Jalpeswar is a hamlet, eleven miles distant from Jalpaiguri town. The communication of this place is far from satisfactory. Its celebrity rests on its historic shrine. A Post Office and a Charitable Dispensary have been set up at a stone's throw from the main shrine.

The Partition has resulted in a considerable decline in the number of pilgrims. Despite that, the adjoining areas are all a-stir with enthusiasm from a month before the commencement of this fair.

## COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN MANIPUR VILLAGES

MANIPUR is reckoned as the second State in India in respect of people's contribution in cash and labour to community development programmes. We had a great curiosity to find out the secret underlying the remarkable achievement of this tiny State (area—8,629 sq. miles and total population 577,635) on the eastern borders of the country. Our eagerness was richly rewarded by our recent visit to Thoubal Block in the heart of the Manipur valley.

The headquarters of this Block lie on the Indo-Burma road, 14 miles from Imphal, capital of Manipur. The road, which is one of the finest in eastern India, runs right across the Block and has made no small contribution to smooth progress of development work in the region. We were, therefore, not surprised to discover that in the hearts of some devout Manipuris, the Indo-Burma road is an object of as much reverence as the munificent river Imphal, which has turned the Manipur valley into one of the greenest and most fertile tract of land in the whole of India.

Manipur's biggest asset, however, is its people. Heirs to a complex culture, the Manipuris combine in their character the sturdiness

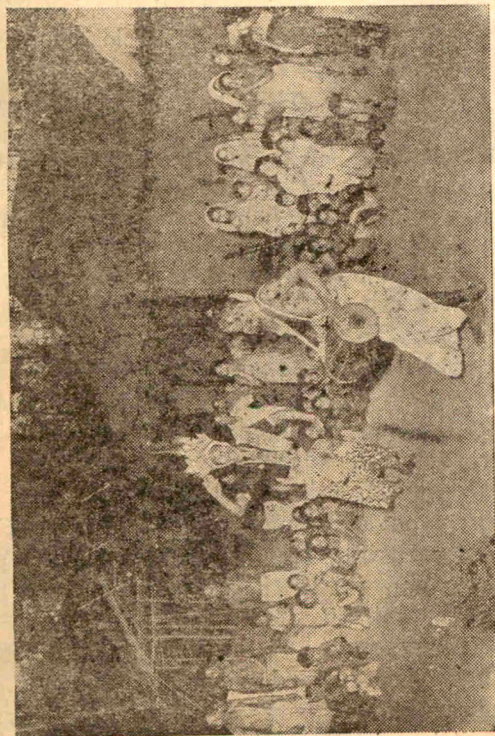
of the hills, from which long long ago their ancestors must have descended, with the graces of a rich and refined court life which flourished in the valley for unbroken centuries. They are among the gentlest and the most hardworking people one is likely to meet anywhere.

### COLOURFUL KAKCHING

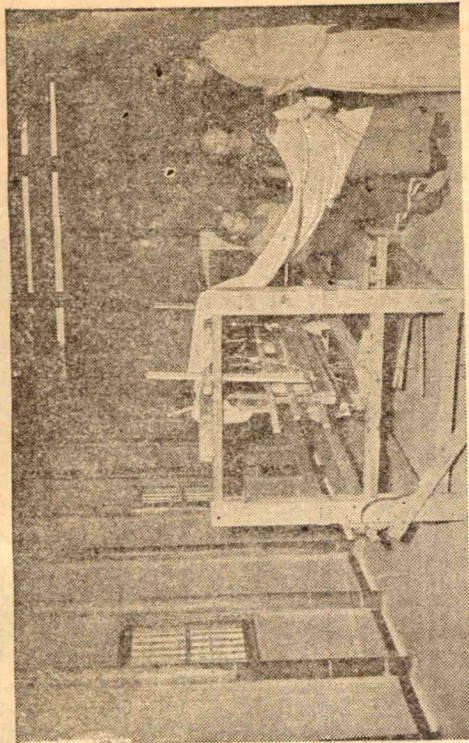
These qualities are clearly reflected in the way these people live and work and earn their living. Look at their villages. Kakching, where we spent a full day, could please the heart of the most fastidious town-planner. In the centre of the village is a big *maidan*, which serves as a recreation ground for children and adults alike. The Community Project people have enhanced its usefulness by building a small library and community centre on one side and a playground and water-tank for the children on the other.

A little away from the *maidan*, in front of the old Vaishnava temple with its elaborate Mandapa, is the market lined with five or six rows of wooden stalls which, every evening, as is the custom in all Manipur villages, are

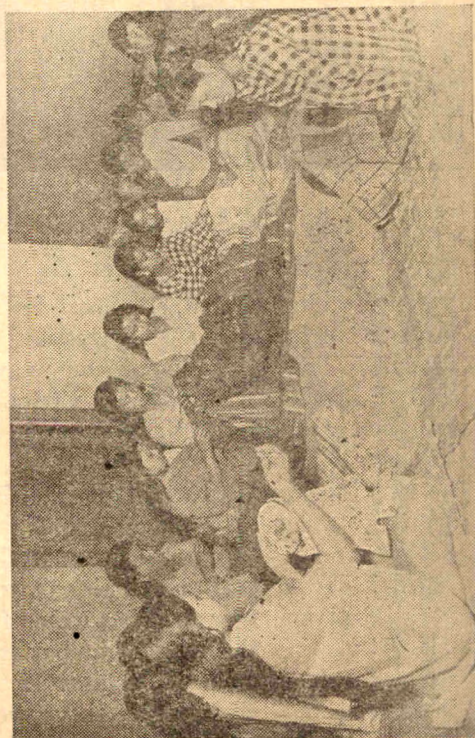




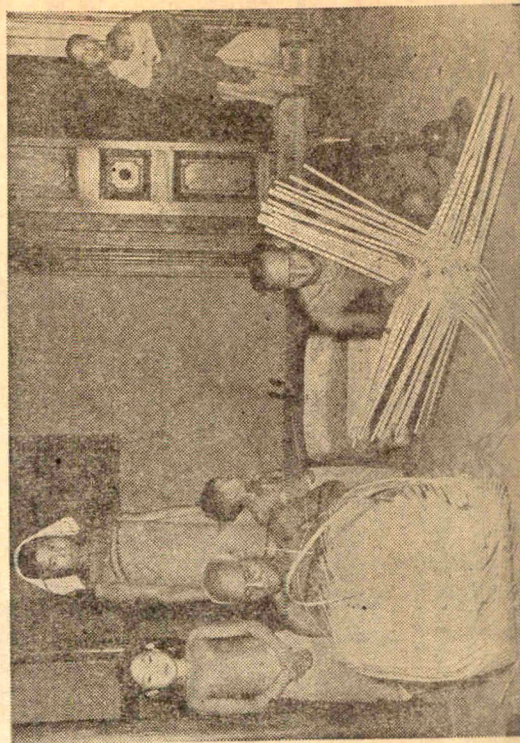
A group of Manipur villagers is enjoying a feast of dance and music after day's work



A lady instructor with two of her pupils at a Handloom Weaving and Spinning Centre at Kakching village



At a women's social centre at Kakching, village girls are taught the useful art of embroidery



A family of basket weavers in a Manipur village



full of goods of all kinds—rice, fish, handloom stuff and salt and with women, because it is they who handle most of the small trade in Manipur. (On that particular evening we were the only males in the Kakching market and were the bashful objects of much mocking attention.)

The houses in Kakching are a tribute to their builders' realism and fine aesthetic sense. They prove that cleanliness could be combined with colour and that simplicity need not be reduced to dreariness.



A group of cheerful fishermen from Pumlan is at work

All this can be attributed to the fact that a Manipuri is a born perfectionist. His is an artistic temperament. He is restless and likes to remain busy. Throughout our stay in the Thoubal Block area, we were conscious of something going on all the time. It was like being inside a bee-hive.

The most striking feature of life in Manipur was that women appeared to be doing most of the work. If they were not working in the fields, they were pounding rice or tending the cattle at home, or drawing water from the tank, or visiting the market to barter a little rice for a fancy pair of bangles. If they were doing none of these things, they would be sitting behind their handlooms, which is as indispensable a part of a Manipuri household

as the ubiquitous Mandapa or the ceremonial outhouse.

#### ROLE OF BLOCK WORKERS

This could, however, have been very frustrating for the Block workers at Thoubal, particularly Miss Gambini Devi, Thoubal's energetic little Social Education Organiser. "There is precious little you need teach these people in the way of community development. What they do not know about building a

richer and better life is not worth knowing about," she said, and added, "Consider the B.D.O., myself and the rest of us as so many articles of decoration."

The young lady was unduly modest. What she and the group of young Block workers have done for Kakching and other Thoubal villages cannot be dismissed as merely ornamental. Two instances will suffice: one that of the Small Industries' Institute at Athokpam, and the other of the Co-operative Society for Fisheries at Pumlan.

There has always been a very good scope in Manipur rural areas for the development of cottage industries, particularly the handloom industry. Manipuri handloom textiles have

always been famous for their colours and designs. Statistics show that there are more than one lakh of handlooms in the valley itself, and that more than three lakh people find employment in this craft. Until October 1952, when the first Community Development Block was launched at Thoubal, practically no organised effort had been made to put this industry on any sound economic footing. Supply of yarn was irregular, and the articles produced were sold in the narrow confines of the local markets at uneconomic prices.

The people at the Block headquarters thought they could do something about it. As necessary ground work, they started by organising little spinners and weavers' co-operatives in as many villages as possible. When these



co-operatives started functioning satisfactorily, there arose the need for a central training and marketing organisation. This is how the idea of a Small Industries Institute for the Block area took its shape. Help was forthcoming from the top in the form of finance and technical guidance; it came from the bottom in the form of an enthusiastic response from the industrial co-operatives in various villages.

Today, this institute, which is situated about a mile's distance from the Block headquarters, provides training to more than a hundred persons at a time in various crafts, ranging from weaving and spinning to manufacture of small tools and agricultural implements. It also serves as a supply centre for raw material and a link with traders in big towns in the region, like Silchar, Gauhati and Imphal.

#### PUMLAN FISHERIES

The second instance of the way in which the community development movement has helped the Manipuri villagers in improving

their economic and social condition is not as spectacular or far-reaching in its impact as the first, but it has greater human appeal.

Pumlan is a small fishing village situated on the lake of the same name. Here the small community of less than forty fishing families had long been exploited by contractors from Imphal, who would acquire the fishing rights in the lake from the Government and then lease it out to the poor fishermen on the most oppressive terms. The Block people at Thoubal, naturally, wanted to end this state of affairs.

The obvious solution was a co-operative of fishermen themselves. It was not, however, an easy task to build this co-operative up from a small group of characteristically individualistic fishermen into what is today one of the most flourishing institutions in the valley of Manipur; it took nearly three years and much painstaking persuasion and effort. Three days after leaving Thoubal, on the train journey from Dimapur to Gauhati, we were delighted and surprised to find a Pumlan fish served with our lunch.—*PIB*

## THE UNITED STATES INDEPENDENCE DAY

THE Fourth of July is celebrated in the United States as the nation's birthday anniversary. On this date in 1776 the thirteen American colonies adopted the Declaration of Independence and declared their determination to protect man's unalienable rights—life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

It is a day when hot weather of mid-summer attracts vast numbers of people to outdoor activity. The whole nation appears to become mobile as 45 million automobiles take to the highways, and aircraft, trains and buses carry people to picnics, resorts, sports events or family re-unions. Major League Baseball is in full schedule and the nation's waterways and seacoasts are alive with boats and swimmers. In the evening there are displays of fireworks.

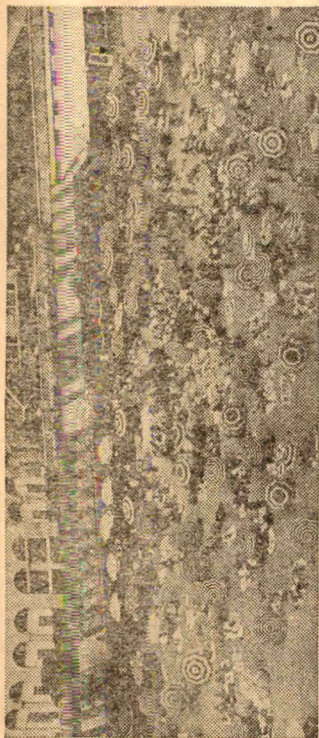
At national monuments, those who wish to, gather to hear speakers read the Declara-

tion of Independence and review the country's history as a free nation—the listeners are reminded by the orators that freedoms can vanish unless guarded by constant vigilance.

A bird's-eye view across the United States on July Fourth shows a great diversity of activities by individuals, families and groups. These people, or their ancestors, have come from every part of the world bringing with them their own concepts of freedom. They have received from their new country a firm belief in those rights so ably set forth in the city of Philadelphia 182 years ago when the Continental Congress adopted the Declaration of Independence.

These pictures, taken from a number of low-flying helicopters over different parts of the United States, show a typical Fourth of July.—*USIS*.

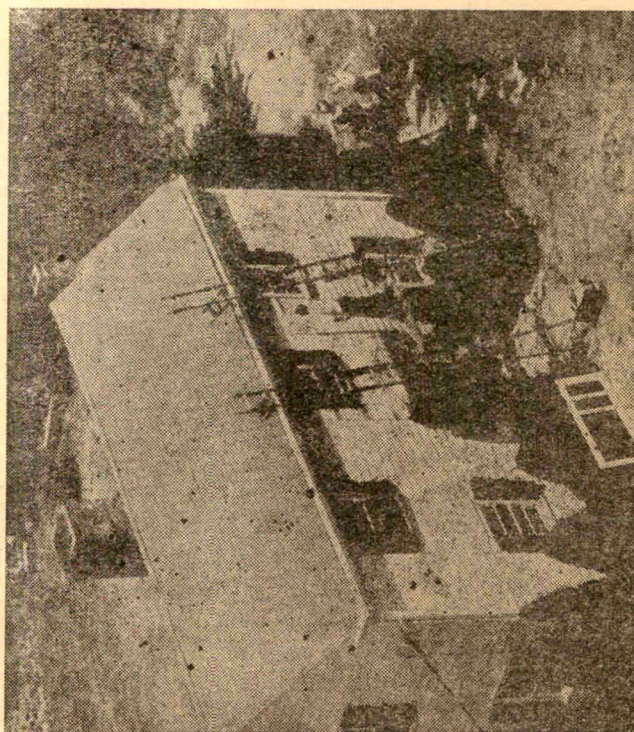




Sunbathing and relaxing under beach umbrellas is the way to spend the Fourth of July



Fast-stepping pacers in a harness race attract crowds in Bushville, Illinois



The 'pursuit of happiness' may mean putting a new coat of paint on the house

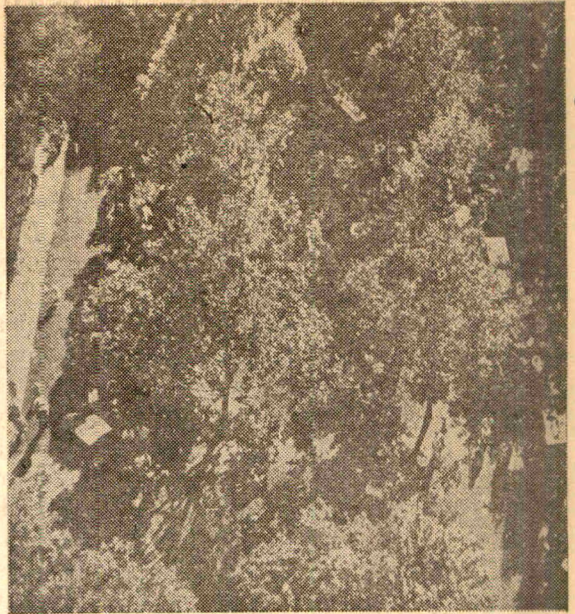


Children on bicycles ride in a parade at Davis, California

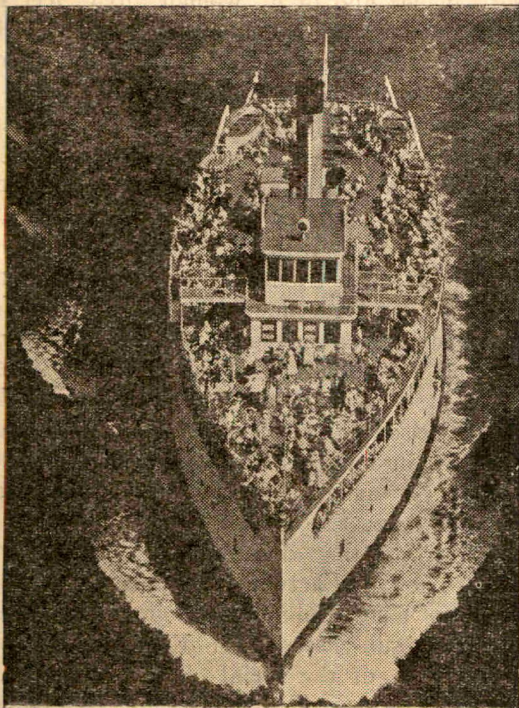




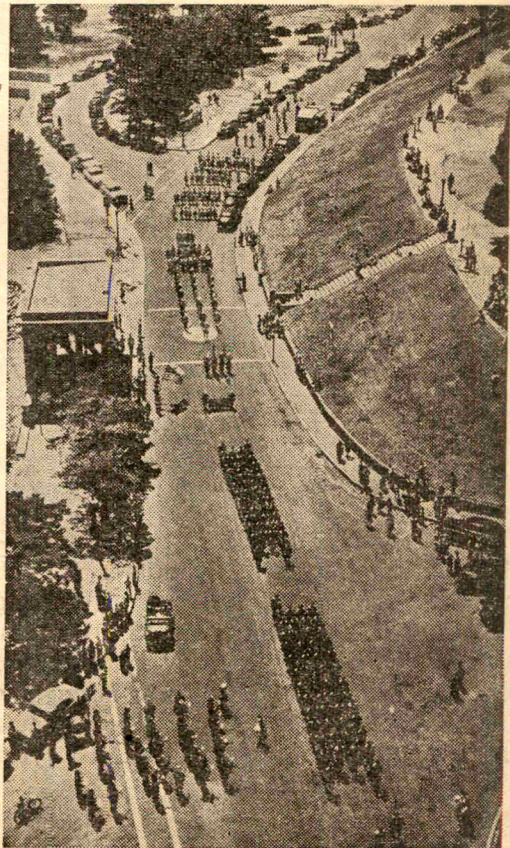
A display of fireworks at the Washington Monument



Families and friends gather in a shaded grove to picnic



To these people from Providence, Rhode Island, the Fourth of July is a day for excursion by boat



Veteran and patriotic organizations march in a Fourth of July celebration



# THE JAUNSARI PEOPLE OF U.P.

By BINOD BEHARI GOSWAMI, M.A.

JAUNSARI Bawar is a vast stretch of mountainous and rugged area in the hill district of Dehra Dun, U.P. The tehsil Jaunsari Bawar forms one of the two tehsils of the Dehra Dun district. It is a wedge of mountain and gorge thrust between Sirmur and Tehri States. The whole pargana is bounded by the Jamna (Kalindi) river on the east and by the river Tons (Tamosha) on the north-west. Mother nature has endowed her with all scenic beauty and has shown all her skill to create it as a wonderland. Roughly speaking, Jaunsari consists of Chakrata, which is the headquarters of the tehsil, and the southern portion of the tehsil, while Bawar forms the wider area between Chakrata and the Tons valley on the north. It lies between north latitude  $30^{\circ}31'$  and  $31^{\circ}3'30''$  and east longitude  $70^{\circ}45'$  and  $78^{\circ}7'20''$ .



Typical style of the Jaunsari women greeting each other

The unbroken high ridges stretch out rib-like in a curious way to cover its area of 446 square miles having 436 villages. According to the census of 1951 there are 32,704 males, 25,765 females out of the total population of 58,499. The increase of population during the last sixty years is very negligible, as would appear from the census figure after the year 1891 which stands as 50,697.

## HISTORY

Though the tehsil is situated in U.P., to most of the people of U.P. it is a land of

strange customs and practices. The pargana was annexed by the British from the Gorkhas in the year 1815, and it became a part and parcel of the British Empire. They declared Chakrata as a cantonment area, and nothing has been done even after independence in developing the area as a hill station. Before the annexation of the area by the British, the people had been totally isolated. They had no contact with the people of the plains. Under the British they came into contact with the outsiders, but still they retained their own indigenous customs and beliefs.

## THE PEOPLE

The Jaunsaris are handsome, tall, fair-complexioned, having good physique with fine nose, thin lips, slanting forehead and prominent chin. According to anthropologists, they are a branch of the Nordic people who came here via Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh and have been living here since then in complete isolation. The average height of a man is five feet eight inches and of a woman five feet six inches. The men are muscular, sturdy, well-developed with straight and agile body. Their economic condition is well-balanced. Being a hard-working people, who practise terrace cultivation and keep cattle and poultry, they are not dependent on anybody. They also know weaving and spinning.

In the year 1815-16, when the British annexed the area, a sum of Rs. 1,800 was collected as land revenue. Thenceforward the revenue collection increased steadily. The present land revenue of the tehsil is Rs. 27,98,525 which is recovered from 67 Sayanas who are authorised to collect the money from their own area, in four instalments, which fall due on 15th November, 15th February, 15th May and 15th August.

Most of the Jaunsaris call themselves Khas. They are actually Rajputs by caste. There are also Brahmins, Koltas and other castes and sub-castes. The Koltas are in the lowest rung of the social ladder, while the Brahmins occupy a top place in the social hierarchy. The social and economic condition of the Koltas has reached a very deplorable



stage. The Koltas have a fairly big population, which is one-fifth of the total population of Jaunsari Bawar. These are the most unfortunate people, as according to the customary land-law Dastur-ul-Amal and Wezib-al-Arz, they have no right to their own land. The social set-up of the Jaunsari people is such that the Koltas are regarded by the Brahmins and the Rajputs as born agricultural serfs.

#### EDUCATION

The education among the Jaunsaris is very poor. It is only after Independence that the Community Development Project and other private agencies of social work like the Ashok Ashram are trying very hard to drive out illiteracy. The result is not very encouraging. At present in the whole of the tehsil there is only one High School, five Junior High Schools and 84 Primary Schools. If the quantitative facts are the only criterion for a successful planning I have nothing to say; but if the quality of the staff and the institution and their output are the pointers, then it is an open secret that the problem of education in this part of the country has not received the slightest attention. The attendance in these schools is below general expectation due to two factors, first the lack of incentive in the primary school teachers who are ill-paid and are from the Gahrwal District which is far more advanced in comparison to Jaunsari Bawar. The teachers suffer from superiority complex and seem to be the least interested in the quick spread of education among the Jaunsaris. And secondly, the economic pursuits of the Jaunsaris are difficult to accomplish, and they cannot afford to spare their children of school-going age from giving them a helping hand in agricultural processes and from looking after the cattle.

#### DISEASES

The highest percentage of venereal diseases occurs in the Jaunsari Bawar area. The incidence of V.D. according to the census estimate of 1931 is over seventy-five per cent. From my personal observation during my field-work among them in the year 1956-57 I have a feeling that most of the Jaunsaris have been affected by this awe-inspiring disease. Moreover it is gaining ground and getting a greater impetus from their social custom of polyandry and from the double standard of social, econo-

mic and sexual morality of a woman. There is only one hospital. There are four allopathic and five Ayurvedic dispensaries which are not at all sufficient in this mountainous area.



All husbands of one woman taking their dinner

The problem of water scarcity has been boldly and efficiently tackled and solved by the Community Development Administration of the area.

#### VILLAGE ORGANIZATION

According to the Jaunsari tradition the whole area is divided into many territorial units. They are called 'Khats'. There are 34 Khats in this area. Each Khat consists of one to twenty villages. Every village has its own *sayana*, who is the headman of the village. The office is hereditary; it is inherited by the eldest son of the *sayana*. All village feuds and disputes are decided by the Sayana. If any one is not satisfied with the decision of the Sayana, he can appeal to the Sadar Sayana who is regarded as the highest authority in the Khat. The decision of the Sadar Sayana is final in their society like the decision of the supreme court. Nobody in their society can challenge the decision of the Sadar Sayana.

The custom of polyandry is prevalent among the Jaunsaris. A group of brothers marry one woman; thus all brothers share the common wife and live together under the same roof. The average age of marriage for girls is nine and for boys 12. But there are cases even now when boys and girls are married in the earliest stage of infancy, i.e., before they can speak. The bride price is high and is paid in cash.

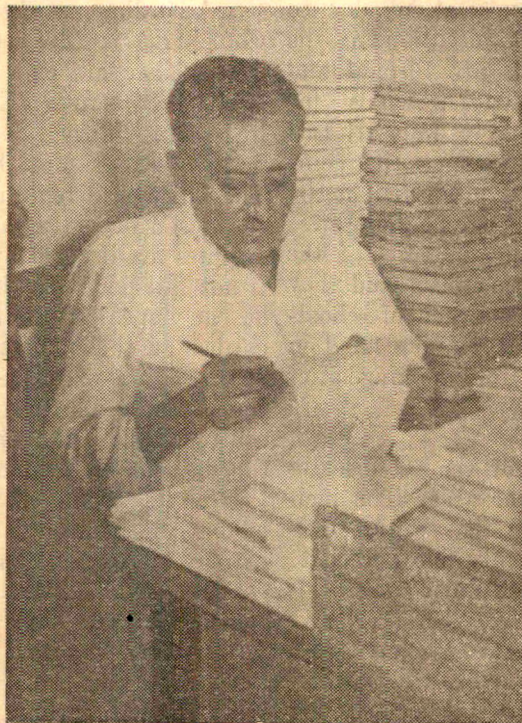


## RELIGION

The Jaunsaris trace their descent from the Pandavas, and they put the polyandrous system as an evidence for their argument. Mahasu is the God who is worshipped throughout the length and breadth of this area. The biggest temple of Mahasu Deota is at Nanol. Every year the Jaunsari people visit this sacred place, and oath taken here by litigants are finally accepted. The people are very superstitious. They are always afraid of evil spirits. Every disease and calamity befalling them is always attributed to the anger of some deota or of evil spirit.

Dancing and singing are very common among the Jaunsaris as these are the best means of recreation. In every fair and during every festival dancing and singing form an important role. The biggest and most important festival is the Magh Mela. This is followed by the Bissu Mela which is conspicuous for out-door dancing and mock fight. Other festivals are Jagra and Maun. The Maun

festival (the festival of fish) is celebrated collectively by the whole territorial unit. Lunain is the festival of shepherds and is celebrated in the first week of August. This festival is important for the Brahmin and Rajput villagers who can afford to keep sheep. Then there is the Pancho festival which synchronises with Durga Puja. There are different timings for different villages in celebrating these festivals, for example, the village Lakhamandal celebrates this festival during the Puja, but in the village Laoyi, Bhatar and Ghutar it is celebrated after a fortnight. The idea behind this is continuous social enjoyment. When a particular fair or festival is held in a village, it is expected that the neighbouring villagers will come to take active part. Deepavali is celebrated for a month after a month of the Deepavali of the plains. In the village Kuanu in Bawar, Deepavali is celebrated with great grandeur. Every young boy and girl among the Jaunsaris knows singing and dancing. The colourful folk-dances of the Jaunsaris are becoming very popular in the plains of the U.P.



Bejoyendra Krishna Seal  
(See Notes)



## DR. JADUNATH SARKAR

By DR. SAMAR BAHADUR SINGH, M.A., Ph.D.

REPLYING to my Vijaya greetings, on 10th October, last year, Dr. Jadunath Sarkar wrote, "I am suffering from weakness and certain troubles due to old age, and my wife has been bed-ridden since 8th April, 1955. Thus we are in no very happy mood, though there is no fear of any immediate breakdown." Cruel bereavements coming almost in succession had shattered his family life but the strong-willed historian was determined to live on. He had laboured long and literally spent himself out in the cause of historical research. At last the end came on 19th May, and the doyen of Indian historians himself became a part of history in the unfolding of which he had devoted a life-time.

Born on December 10, 1870, in the Rajshahi district (East Bengal), Dr. Jadunath received his education first in the Rajshahi College and later in the Presidency College, Calcutta. A brilliant student all through, there was hardly any academic honour that did not come his way. He entered the Educational Service as a Professor of English but later changed over to history which was his first love. As a teacher, he served in various institutions but major portion of his service career was spent in the Patna College. For some time he was also Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University. He was associated with Indian Historical Records Commission for many years.

The ambition of making original research in Indian History was planted in Jadunath's heart just after he had done his B.A. in April, 1891. In the same year he wrote his first historical paper—a narrative of the fall of Tipu Sultan. He chose the later Mughal period of Indian History (1650-1803) for his specialized research and the study which began with his *India of Aurangzib* published in 1901, continued unabated and after half a century's unremitting toil and relentless search, reached its natural conclusion in 1950, when he published his last volume of the *Fall of the Mughal Empire*. This historical survey based on original sources covered the events of nearly half

the reign of Shahjahan and the whole of Aurangzib as described in the five volumes of *History of Aurangzib* and a supplementary work *Shivaji and His Times*. Then follows W. Irvine's *Later Mughals* (1707-1738) in two volumes edited and continued by Dr. Jadunath and lastly, *Fall of the Mughal Empire* (1738-1803) in four volumes. The woodcraft that he adopted in driving 'a broad pathway through a very tangled jungle' did not ignore the side-tracks and his other works such as, *Mughal Administration*, *The Anecdotes of Aurangzib*, *The House of Shivaji* and *Studies in Aurangzib's Reign* are necessary supplements to give a complete picture of the times.

Dr. Jadunath Sarkar was never a specialist in the narrow sense of the term. His knowledge was broad-based and embraced within its fold varied subjects like Economics, Political Science and Literature. He was a master of Bengali prose. His vivid and colourful narratives in historical works bear eloquent testimony to his command over English. His *India Through the Ages* reveals his deep and thorough grasp of Indian history and culture. Lately, he was engaged in writing a Military History of India. He planned and edited *The History of Bengal*, Vol. 2 and also edited a new edition of the English Version of Abul Fazl's "Ain-i-Akbari." The correspondence of the British Residents with the Peshwa, Scindia and Bhonsle entitled *Poona Residency Correspondence* were also edited by him jointly with Shri G. S. Sardesai, the famous scholar of Maratha History. Among his other works *Chaitanya's Life and Teachings* deserves special mention.

Dr. Jadunath's approach to historical research was very scientific, "The research worker," once he remarked, "must try to reach the very fountain-head of information and he must hear all the witnesses, as far as possible, before he can attain to the true facts. . . . If the net is not thus extensively flung



and the fisher does not go down to such depths, the resulting research becomes a mockery." He never contented himself merely even with court-annals (called *namas*) for he rightly held that these were really digests of the original documents which must be fathomed into to get the correct and complete picture of the subject. For the history of the later Mughal period he used the veriest raw materials namely, the despatches and private letters of the nobles and generals and the new letters from camp and court (often daily) all in Persian and as yet unprinted. Besides, he utilized all available despatches and state papers in the Marathi language and the letters of the British residents at the Indian Princes' courts.

It was Dr. Jadunath's firm belief that without a good knowledge of the languages in which original materials were available, true research was impossible. He would always impress upon the young research scholars to provide themselves with this linguistic equipment before beginning to dig deeply. "For my *History of Shivaji*, he once said, "I had to study the original sources by learning Persian and Marathi and a little Portuguese, besides English, Sanskrit, French and a little of Rajasthani Hindi."

Dr. Jadunath earnestly wished that "full and varied research libraries" were built up in each regional circle of India where all possible facilities would be provided to research workers. His own library built up through years of persistent labour and through search contains a "life-long collection of rare books and Persian and French Mss. on Indo-Muslim History and is now unique in India in several of its contents, besides being complete for British Indian History, specially the Sepoy Mutiny." He spared no pains to encourage the young research workers and provided them with all the facilities including sometimes even boarding and lodging.

Dr. Jadunath's was a life of dedication in the truest sense of the term. Pursuit of knowledge was a passion to him. Nothing would deter him from his chosen path. No temptation could lure him to sacrifice his historical judgments and he always stuck to his prin-

ciples. An explorer, he worked ceaselessly throughout his long life collecting materials at any cost. Formidable difficulties, at times, would stare him in the face but the resourceful scholar would at last find a way out. An ascetic, he denied himself all the common pleasures of social life and remained busily engaged in his mission, unconcerned with what happened around him. He had no time to waste and an idle gossip had no place in his business-like room. He lived a very simple life and when I met him at Talegaon near Poona in June, 1951, I found him living in a small room attached to the office of the local hospital. A cot, an armless chair and a small table with a handful of books thereon—this was all the Indian Gibbon needed to revise his *Fall of the Mughal Empire*. His encyclopaedic mind seldom needed a reference book and he seldom revised his drafts. But before pronouncing his judgments as a historian, he would devote a decade in collecting all possible materials bearing on the subject and another in analysing and assimilating them. To give a vivid and graphic account of his narrative he toured almost all the places connected with the theme of his historical research.

Dr. Jadunath practised what he preached. Replying to the addresses presented to him at the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, on his 81st birthday on 10th December, 1950, he gave a true picture of himself when he said, "We need above everything else that pure flame of quest of truth, that fanatical devotion to our aim, regardless of fame or gain, which is the mark of the true scholar. Such a scholar will easily rise above the temptation to be satisfied with the cheap praise of his countrymen, or the recognition of one of the mushroom universities which are springing up all over India, where-ever there is a dialectical variation. The true scholar is a national of the Republic of Letters which transcends the narrow bounds of provinces, countries and languages and places its student at the bar of the world court of scholarship. Let recognition by that court be the secret ambition of every one of our research workers." In his death, India has lost one of her most illustrious sons and, perhaps, her greatest historian of modern times.

# LETTERS OF JOHN KEATS

By DEBAPRASAD SINHA

THE letters of John Keats form an invaluable document for a proper assessment of his poetic genius, and judged from the standpoint of literary worth, the letters can hardly be rated as less important than his poems. In fact, the letters serve as a commentary on his poems, and for a true understanding and appreciation of some of his poems (*Endymion* for example, and some of his earlier pieces) certain letters can be taken as almost necessary. They clearly reveal those changes in his mind and temper which appear in his poetry. Written in his last four years by a man who died at twenty-six they contain abundant evidences of his immaturity and his faults, but they disclose a nature and character which command on the whole not less respect than affection, and they show not a little of that general intellectual power which rarely fails to accompany poetic genius. His letters are as much an indication of the man as is his poetry. Keats's poetry is generally criticised as being too effeminate for ordinary readers. But in his letters, with their human sympathy, their eager interest in social problems, their humour and their keen insight into life, there is no trace of effeminacy, but rather every indication of a strong and noble manhood.

The letters have been edited by several eminent men, the most important being that of Mr. Richard Moncton Milnes. The edition is entitled as *Life, Letters and Literary Remains of John Keats* and is published in two volumes from Dover Street, London, 1848. A particular copy of this edition has attained historic significance—that in the collection of Sir Charles Dilke. Its significance has arisen out of the fact that it has been largely annotated in manuscript by his grand-father, Charles Westworth Dilke, who was a personal friend of Keats.

Another important edition is that of Sir Sidney Colvin who does not include letters written to Fanny Brawne. The letters number 164 in all and the most interesting among them are letters addressed to his sister Fanny Keats. They throw a flood of new light on his character and have also their contributions to and bearings on the mass and text of

his verse. The poetry inserted by Keats in the original is given in full, and the editor has added valuable notes. The letters which appeal most to readers for their tragic note are those written to Fanny Brawne, and they have been edited in a separate volume by Mr. H. Buxton Forman with introduction and notes.

The letters may be classified in different groups according to persons to whom they are addressed. Foremost mention should be made of those written to his sister Fanny Keats and to his fiancée Fanny Brawne who formed a very prominent figure in the poet's life during his last days. There are letters, then written to his college friend, B. Bailey with whom Keats stayed in Oxford at the Magdalen Hall. Bailey, a man whose gentle and disinterested character Keats warmly admired, was a companion of the poet at the time his famous poem *Endymion* was written. "We lead," he writes to his sister, "very industrious lives—Bailey in general studies, and I am proceeding at a pretty good pace with a poem which I hope you will see early in the next year." The poem was *Endymion*: and Keats wrote the whole of the Third Book of the poem in Bailey's rooms. In the letters written to Bailey, we hear of towers and quadrangles, cloisters and groves: of the deer in Magdalen Park and many other unmistakable associations of Oxford. In the letters written to Bailey, can be traced many of the most characteristic ideas of Keats, to which we propose to refer a little later. The other letters are written to Reynolds, Clarke, Leigh Hunt, George and Georgiana-Keats, and to his counterpart in poetic genius, P. B. Shelley.

The letters of Keats make an anthology full of intuitions of beauty, even of wisdom and are in the words of Sir Sidney Colvin 'unrivalled for zest, whim, fancy, and amiability.' Throughout his life, one of his main activities was friendship, and hence his multitude of letters: they were letters written to a circle of friends, always written for their enjoyment—which explains their frequent non-sense. The letters bristle with mis-spellings, faulty grammar and inadequate punctuation—these are Keats' own, and represent the losing race

that his pen ran against his fun and friendliness. It is said that Keats was unlucky in his friends, and true it is that he had no such friends as Tennyson had at Cambridge or as Arnold had at Rugby and Oxford, but how lucky his friends must have been in Keats. Bored with Dilke's doctrinaire radicalism, he writes to his brother George Keats on 24th September, 1819: "Dilke thinks of nothing but Godwin's *Political Justice*. Now the first political duty a Man ought to have a mind to is the happiness of his friends." Keats' friendship was almost as often the 'love of benevolence' as it was the 'love of complacency': he ministered to the indigence of Haydon as willingly as he acclaimed his genius. His letters to his brother George and to George's wife, and to his sister Fanny, are in a class by themselves: he is the perfect elder brother.

Particular mention should be made of the letters addressed to his school-girl sister Fanny Keats, who was eight years younger than he. Keats, as we see him in 1817 and 1818, in the first half of Mr. Colvin's collection, was absorbed by an enthusiasm and ambition which his sister was too young to understand. During his last two years he was, besides passionately and miserably in love and latterly, ill and threatened with death. His soul was full of bitterness. He shrank into himself, avoided society, and rarely sought even intimate friends. Yet, until he left England, he never ceased to visit his sister when he could; and, when he could not, he continued to write letters to her, full of amusing non-sense, full of brotherly care for her, and of excellent advice offered as by an equal who happened to be her senior; letters quite free from thoughts of himself, and from the forced gaiety and the resentment against fate which in parts of his later correspondence with others betray his suffering. Where almost all his letters are so regarding, perhaps none is more admirable than that in which he helps his young sister with the questions she must answer in her confirmation class. I am referring to the letter dated the 31st March, 1819. "The best way," he writes, "for you to learn to answer these questions, is to read over the little book, which I sent from a Bookseller's in town, or you should have had a letter with it. Tell me whether it will do: if not I will put down the answer for

you. Perhaps if I just give you the heads of the answers it may be better—though I think you will find them all in that little book." Keats then gives the answers under eleven heads. This shows how Keats took a keen interest in the affairs of his sister. The letters to his sister are, in one sense, the least remarkable in the collection, yet it would lose much by their omission. They tell us next to nothing of his genius, but as we come upon them the light in our picture of him, if it had grown for a moment hard or troubled, becomes once more soft and bright. Of Keats' character, as the letters manifest it, Arnold has written. While speaking plainly and decidedly of the weakness visible in those to Miss Brawne, Arnold brought together the evidence which proves that Keats 'had flint and iron in him,' and he has selected passages, too, which illustrate the 'admirable wisdom and temper,' and 'the strength and clearness of judgement,' shown by Keats, alike in matters of friendship and in his criticisms of his own productions, of the public and of the literary circles, the 'jabberers about pictures and books,' as Keats in a bitter mood once called them. We may notice, in addition, two characteristics. In spite of occasional despondency, and of feelings of awe at the magnitude of his ambition, Keats, it is tolerably plain from these letters, had a clear consciousness of his genius. He never dreamt of being a minor poet. He knew that he was a poet; sometimes he hoped to be a great one. He never felt himself the inferior of any living poet except Wordsworth. With Keats, poetry and the hope of success in it were passions more glowing than we have reasons to attribute to his contemporaries at the same time of his life. These passions were in his last two years overclouded at times; but they remained to the end. When, in the bitterness of his soul, he begged Severn to put on his tombstone no name, but only 'Here lies one whose name was writ in water,' he was thinking not merely of the reviewers who had robbed him of fame in his short life, but also of those unwritten poems, of which 'the faint conceptions' in happier days used to 'bring the blood into his forehead.' The letters remind us that compared with his poetic passions, he was at a disadvantage in intellectual training and acquisitions. Everywhere in the letters,



we feel the presence of an intellectual nature, not merely sensitive and delicate, but open, daring, rich and strong; exceedingly poetic and romantic, yet observant, acute, humorous, and sensible. Fundamentally, and in spite of abundant high spirits and a love of non-sense, the mind of Keats was very serious and thoughtful. To quote Professor Bradley, "In quality the mind of Shakespeare at three and twenty may not have been very different."

We would now show how one of the most characteristic ideas of Keats, which has almost become a household word, can be traced to his letter. I am referring to that famous line in the "Ode on a Grecian Urn," 'Beauty is truth, truth beauty. That is all ye know on earth, and ye need to know.'—The idea can be traced to the letter written to Bailey on Saturday 22nd November, 1817. I would just quote a few lines. "I am certain of nothing but of the holiness of the heart's affections and the truth of Imagination, what the Imagination seizes as beauty must be truth—whether it existed before or not—for I have the same idea of all our Passions as of Love, they are all in their sublime, creative of essential Beauty." Continuing he writes, "The imagination may be compared to Adam's dream,—he awoke and found it truth." To Keats it was Imagination and not reasoning that can lead the way to truth. He writes, "Can it be that even the greatest Philosopher ever arrived at his goal without putting aside numerous objections. However it may be, 'O for a life of Sensations rather than of thoughts.' It is 'a Vision in the form of Youth,' a shadow of reality to come." The last sentence mentioned is oft-quoted as a specimen of Keats' characteristic bent of mind. Almost no readers nowadays think that it was a sensualist who exclaimed, 'O for a life of Sensations rather than of Thoughts'; he meant what a later poet has called the 'sweet sensation of the truth', what Newman called 'real apprehension' as transcending 'notional apprehension.' As much as anything else, it is this intellectual activity, the speculative thought of Keats that make his letters so very important. Occasionally the thought is difficult from Keats' own difficulty in self-expression, but to look through his prose in a dictionary of quotations is to realise that it has a distinction that has made it almost as familiar as the verse.

I shall now quote a few lines which show the unmistakable origin of the "Ode on Indolence." I am referring to letter number XCII in Sir Sydney Colvin's collections. Keats writes, "This morning I am in a sort of temper indolent and supremely careless. I long after a stanza or two of Thomson's *Castle of Indolence*. My passions are all asleep, from my having slumbered till nearly eleven and weakened the animal fibre all over me to a delightful sensation. If I had teeth of pearl and the breath of lilies, I should call it languor, but as I am I must call it laziness. This is the only happiness, and is a rare instance of the advantage of the body over-powering the mind." 'This is the only happiness'—the sentence will surprise no one who has even dipped into Keats' letters. It expresses a settled conviction. Happiness, he feels, belongs only to childhood, and early youth. A young man thinks he can keep it, but a little experience shows him he must do without it. The mere growth of the mind, if nothing else, is fatal to it. To think is to be full of sorrow, because it is to realise the sorrow of the world and to feel the burden of the mystery. We may connect with this idea Keats' feeling of the inferiority of poets (or rather such dreaming poets as himself) to men of action. In this same letter, he copies out for his correspondents several recently written poems, and among them the ballad "La Belle Dame Sans Merci." He copies it without a word of introduction. He could not say, 'Here is the record of my love and my despair,' for on this one subject he never opened his heart to his brother. But when he has finished the copy, he adds a few lines referring to the stanza (afterwards altered):

She took me to her elfin grot,  
And there she wept and sighed full sore  
And there I shut her wild wild eyes  
With Kisses four.

"Why four kisses, you will say, why four? Because I wish to restrain the headlong impetuosity of my Muse. She would have fain said 'score' without hurting the rhyme: but we must temper the Imagination, as the critics say, with judgement. I was obliged to choose an even number that both eyes may have fair play; and, to speak truly, I think two apiece quite sufficient. Suppose I had said seven, there would have been three and a half apiece

—a very awkward affair, and well got out of on my side." This poem was not published in the volume of 1820.

There is a decided difference between the Keats of the earlier letters and the Keats of the later. The tour in Scotland in the summer of 1818 may be taken with sufficient accuracy as a dividing line. The earlier Keats is the youth who had written the sonnet *On First Looking into Chapman's Homer*, and *Sleep and Poetry*, and who was writing *Endymion*. He is thoughtful, often grave, sometimes despondent; but he is full of the enthusiasm of beauty, and of the joy and fear, the hope and the awe that accompanied the sense of poetic power. He is the poet who watched with rapture the billowing of the wind through the trees and over meadow-grasses and corn, and looking sometimes like a young eagle and sometimes like a wild fawn waiting for some cry from the forest depths. This is the Keats, who wrote 'A thing of beauty is a joy for ever', who found the 'Religion of Joy' in the monuments of the Greek spirit, in sculpture and vases, and mere translations and mere handbooks of mythology; who never ceased, he said, to wonder at all that incarnate delight, and would point out to Severn how essentially modern, how imperishable, the Greek spirit is a joy for ever.

But in the letters written after the tour of Scotland, there is manifest in Keats a decided change, doubtless hastened by outward events. *The Blackwood and Quarterly* reviews of *Endymion* appeared, followed by his brother's death. Then came the most important event in the poet's life, when a few weeks later he met Miss Brawne. Fanny Brawne was a flirt and played with the passions of the poet. She affected as if she had a soft corner in her heart for Keats, only to disappoint him, and the disappointment was fatal.

I would like to make one digression here to state something very interesting. We find Keats writing from London to his brother and his sister-in-law in America; and he tells them of a young lady from the East, whom he has just met. "She is not a Cleopatra, but she is at least a Charmian. She has a rich Eastern look. When she comes into a room she makes an impression the same as the beauty of a leopardess. She kept me awake one night as a tune of Mozart's might do. The very 'yes' and

'no' of her lips is to me a banquet. I believe, though she has faults, the same as Charmian and Cleopatra might have had. Yet, she is a fine thing, speaking in a worldly way."

On reading the above passage, a word may be ventured. This lady was not Miss Fanny Brawne; but less than a month later on meeting Miss Fanny Brawne, he immediately became her slave. When we observe the fact, and consider how very unlike the words I have quoted are to anything in Keats' previous letters, we can hardly help suspecting that he was at this time in a peculiar condition and ripe for his fate. An idea suggests itself which, if exceedingly prosaic, has yet some comfort in it. How often have readers of Keats' life cried out that, if only he had never met Miss Fanny Brawne, he might have lived longer and prospered! Does it not seem at least as probable that, even if Miss Fanny Brawne had never existed, what happened would still have happened, and that the fever of passion which helped to destroy him was itself a token of incipient disease?

Now to return to our original discussion, on his meeting with Miss Fanny Brawne, Keats' youth had vanished, his brother's death deepened his sympathies. The reviews gave him a salutary shock. They quickened his perception already growing keen of the weaknesses and mannerisms of his own verse. Through them, he saw a picture of himself as a silly boy, dandled into self-worship by foolish friends and posturing as a man of genius. He kept his faith in his genius, but he felt that he must prove it. He became impatient of dreaming. Poetry, he felt, is not mere luxury and rapture, it is a deed. In one year, he writes six or seven of the best poems in the language, but he is little satisfied. "Thus far," he says, "I have a consciousness of having been pretty dull and heavy, both in subject and phrase." Two months later, he ends a note to Haydon with the words, "I am afraid I shall pop off just when my mind is able to run alone." And so it was.

I would conclude my essay with a mention of Keats' conception of beauty as revealed in his letters. Keats worshipped beauty and the beauty he worshipped was not 'intellectual', but visible, audible, tangible. He was an artist, intent upon fashioning his material until the outward sensible form is perfectly expressive

and delightful. In all this he was at the opposite pole to Shelley, to whom Beauty was intellectual and archetypal, something like the antecedent idea or conception of beauty in the mind of the Artist prior to its manifestation in any individual object. The poet who cried, 'O . . . for a life of sensations' was consoled as his life withered away, by the remembrance that he 'had loved the principle of beauty in all things.' And this is not a chance expression; it repeats for instance, a phrase used two years before, 'the mighty abstract idea I have of Beauty in all things.' I would just refer to the letter No. XLI in Sir Sydney Colvin's collections where there occurs a passage ending with

the words, they are able to "consecrate whatever they look upon." Is not this a quotation from Shelley's Hymn to Intellectual Beauty:

*"Spirit of Beauty that dost consecrate  
With thine own hues all thou dost shine upon?"*

According to Professor Bradley this is the only quotation from Shelley's poetry in the letters of Keats.

To conclude, the letters of Keats give a complete story of Keats' friendships, his poetry and his thought. We know that the story ended in defeat, but for us his pen had "gleaned his teeming brain"; his poems and his letters "hold like rich garners the full-ripened grain."

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## PUBLIC CONTROL OF STATE ENTERPRISES

By T. K. JAYARAMAN, M.A.,

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THE recent inquiry into certain happenings of a public corporation caused a big stir in the political life of this country and resulted subsequently in a ministerial resignation. Apart from being branded as a major event in the short history of the State enterprises of this country, it was also an eye-opener to the public that all is not well with the State's policy towards these undertakings. Soon it was realised that these happenings were in a major measure due to the lack of a clear-cut line of demarcation between the controlling functions of the concerned ministry and the functions of self-management of the so-called autonomous corporations. Following the principles laid down by the Chagla Report a vigorous and sustained public opinion was created demanding a clear definition of autonomy. Parliament also rose to the occasion and pointed out to the inevitable necessity of adopting a clear policy towards these undertakings. Replying to the debate the Prime Minister said the Chagla Report will be given due consideration. Closely following this statement on its heels came certain changes in the organisation and appointments of the members of the boards of some undertakings while some changes are still in the air. Thus there appears to be evolving though slow and painful, but along right and legitimate lines, a serious and sober attitude on the part of the Government towards these undertakings.

This is a welcome sign—but it must be remembered that there are always opportunities for an abuse of the powers on the part of the autonomous corporations and chances for the Government for being unduly complacent about the autonomous corporations' affairs, thus keeping itself aloof. Visualising such a situation, will not a legitimate fear creep into the minds of all concerned that how the accountability of the corporations is ensured and to what extent?

In a private undertaking the principle of control by the shareholders is crystal-clear. It is the duty of the directors to account to their shareholders who in their turn judging their degree of success or failure by studying the report on accounts can accord or refuse confidence in their directors.

But a State undertaking offers a different picture. Here the account is due no longer to a specific body of shareholders but to the whole community which includes not merely the shareholders but consumers and employees as well, with its diverse interests, direct and indirect in the concern, represented by Parliament.

Where does the Minister come in the picture? Entrusted with a great responsibility of playing a pivotal role he comes in between the Parliament and the undertaking. His position has a three-fold aspect. To the particular undertaking he is the person to call for an account; to the Parliament he is another



person who can be called to account for and he has also an independent responsibility of guiding and controlling the undertaking from the view-point of social policy.

Degree of control, both ministerial and parliamentary, varies according to the forms of enterprise. For example, in the case of departmentally organised undertakings like Chittaranjan Locomotives and Integral Coach Factory, the budget occasion affords an opportunity to the Parliament to discuss the efficiency of the undertakings and the minister to defend the day-to-day and long-term policy of the said undertakings. But in the sphere of corporations and companies the case is different. For the statutes lay down a measure of autonomy to the corporations thus leaving only the long-term policy to be discussed and decided by the Parliament. Parliamentary control is exercised in these ways—through questions on the floor of the House and through discussions on the balance sheets and annual reports presented by the corporations and the companies to the Parliament.

In the case of corporations, often confusion and inconsistency characterise the practice of the minister to play his indefinite role thus affecting the parliamentary control. The Minister has both positive and negative powers. He appoints the members of the board or the members are appointed after consulting the concerned Ministry. He has positive powers of giving directions of a general character in relation to the matters appearing to the Minister to affect the national interest. He has negative powers in that his approval is required to the lines on which the concern is to proceed in reorganisation and development and his approval is also required to raise funds by borrowing. Thus it is assumed that a responsible corporation acting in the public interest and a responsible Minister acting in the national interest will be able to preserve a proper degree of autonomy for the corporation without any clash. This does not mean that only when the corporation is at fault the Minister is answerable to the Parliament. As Ernest Davies remarks:

"Public Corporations are indirectly public investments and Parliament is finally responsible for public money. To argue that so long as the boards are not in default the

Minister is not responsible is unconvincing, because it is the national interest to ensure the default does not arise. It would appear that if a member of Parliament thought the board was pursuing a policy that would prevent compliance with the statutory requirements that the public corporation should operate on a financially successful basis over a period of years, he should have the right to raise the matter in Parliament."

But we have seen the Minister on many occasions refusing to answer questions on the ground they are related to day-to-day functions and not to the general policy to which alone the Minister is said to be responsible. But it must be remembered there is no convenient line between general principles and directions and day-to-day particular orders.

"As any administrator knows the process of policy formulation takes place at a number of different levels . . . it becomes almost impossible to see where the 'general' ends and the 'day-to-day' begins. General principles of policy are not always specifically formulated at the highest level but may quite often arise from a host of small decisions of day-to-day orders which collectively constitute something of general public importance."<sup>1</sup>

There is also another extreme case where the Minister is alleged to exert undue pressure on boards and at the same time feels not responsible. This happens in this manner: Before any ministerial action is felt necessary there is always some kind of consultation between the Minister and the corporation, which subsequently eliminates the necessity of any such action.

"In practice consultation is the chief way in which the Ministers have exercised their influence on the boards."

Ministers then come to the Parliament and decline to reply to questions on the grounds that their responsibility is non-existent. When they come before Parliament Ministers draw a curtain over the board's activities and stand before it with sealed lips. "They may fulfil

1. A. H. Hanson: *Public Administration*, 1951, pp. 52-53.

the letter of the statutes but not their spirit."<sup>2</sup>

Thus it is seen influence behind the closed doors dilutes the whole conception of public responsibility.

After the indeterminate relationship between Minister and the corporation which has been singled out as an organisational weakness, let us come to the role of Parliament. Even at the outset it must be made clear that to dismiss its role flippantly doubting the capacity of the Parliament, as it is a curious mixture of diverse interests and non-experts is to strike at the very roots of democracy. There cannot be any doubt that from exceedingly a large bulk of reports, accounts and statistics which the State Undertakings render, the Parliament faces an inherent difficulty in trying to answer those critical questions—what success the undertakings has achieved and what confidence its management deserves. But one need not be reminded of the fact that Parliament is an infinitely more experienced debating body, despite being large and busy, than the shareholders of any industrial concern.

Following are the particular ways in which Parliamentary control is exercised. The opposition can select a public corporation for a debate on a supply day; individual members can discuss the corporation on an adjournment motion; discussion can be conducted on the Report of the corporation when presented; and finally, if a corporation introduces a private bill it can be discussed on second reading. Apart from these, Public Accounts Committee can examine accounts after expenditure has been incurred. But it is a *postmortem* in any case. The same principle applies to Estimates Committee.

It has been suggested since these two Committees of Parliament are overburdened with existing work, a select committee of Parliament permanently staffed must spend three months in a year on each corporation and submit a report to the House. But there are some serious objections. First the members are not experts. Second they may not get the assistance provided by the Comptroller and Auditor-General. Even then this superior-body will have a paralysing effect on the public corporations. "The results obtained from such investigations might on

2. Ernest Davies: *Problems of Nationalised Industries*, Ed. by W. A. Robson.

occasions be beneficial but might well be out-balanced by the Committee's frustrating influence."

Similar objections may be raised against the proposal that these corporations can be audited by a special organisation created for the purpose of efficiency in auditing. It is better and desirable that these corporations arrange themselves for efficient auditing.

Herbert Morrison, the most important influence on the form which nationalisation has taken in U.K. during the Labour Government, suggested periodical enquiries on the line of the enquiries in the case of B.B.C. at an interval of seven to ten years. Some measures suggested by Herbert Morrison like the creation of Consumers' Councils and similar machinery for market and consumer research deserve careful consideration. "This sort of arrangement though certainly a part of the same general problems of public control is distinguished from the political control."<sup>3</sup>

Creation of public relations organisation in each corporation will go a long way to remove all undue fears and doubts about the working of the corporations. "Nothing can dispel public suspicion and build up confidence as much as continuous supply of unbiased, factual and truthful information"<sup>4</sup> which must be one of the duties of such a public relations organisation within a corporation.

These remedies suggested by various experts are in no way designed to affect the sovereignty of the Parliament. Parliament's control is supreme and must remain so in spite of its apparent defects and weaknesses. As a member of the British National Coal Boards stated: "Parliament has an unlimited general power of control in that it can alter the law; but that it has no specific power of control as distinct from its right to receive an account. But, on the other hand, it has far more opportunity than a body of shareholders to express its views, its criticisms, its apprehensions, even its confidence and satisfaction."<sup>5</sup>

3. H. Morrison: *Public Administration*, 1951, page 6.

4. Leslie Hardern: *Problems of Nationalised Industry*, Ed. Robson, p. 175.

5. Geoffrey Vickers in an address to the "Administrative Staff College." Reprinted in *Public Administration*, Vol. 1952, p. 71.

# ORGANISATION OF COTTON PIECEGOODS TRADE IN CALCUTTA

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CALCUTTA, India's commercial metropolis and the largest city of the country, is situated on the left bank of the river Hooghly, about 80 miles from the Bay of Bengal. It is the terminus of Eastern and South-Eastern Railway and is linked by roads, railways and airways with all the important cities of India. The port of Calcutta which extends for about five miles along the banks of the river Hooghly, is the biggest port of India and accounts for an appreciable value of India's foreign trade. Its hinterland consists of rich, fertile and densely populated areas of Indo-Gangetic plain, industrial belt of Hooghly and mining areas of Raniganj. The concentration of industry and trade has been instrumental in bringing the offices of many banking and insurance companies in the city. Another fact that adds to the economic significance of Calcutta is the vastness of its population which was 4,578,071\* according to 1951 census.

It is, therefore, no wonder that Calcutta is one of the important textile marketing centres of India. During the British rule, when the Lancashire and Japanese piecegoods could be freely imported in large quantities, Calcutta was indisputably the premier textile marketing centre of India as the entire bulk of textiles used to be distributed from here to all parts of the country. With the dwindling of imports and expansion of the indigenous cotton textile industry, Calcutta has now become an important marketing centre of Indian cotton piecegoods. It supplies piecegoods to the neighbouring states of Bihar, Orissa, Assam, Manipur, Tripura and East Pakistan by importing from the producing centres of India. On an average, it imports about 25,000 to 30,000 bales every month. The textile industry of West Bengal contributes to the production of coarse and medium varieties of cloth and many of the mills sell yarn to the handloom industry. There are about 40 cotton mills and powerloom factories round about Calcutta in the districts of Howrah, Hooghly and 24 Parganas which are equipped with a little over 500,000 spindles and 10,000 looms. The

mills produce about 260 million yds. of cloth annually, mainly *dhotis*, *sarees* and hosiery. It may be interesting to note that roughly 68 per cent of the *dhotis* and 66 per cent of *sarees* that pass through the Calcutta wholesale market are supplied by the West Bengal mills. The mills, therefore, hold key position in respect of these varieties and it is particularly for fine and superfine yardage cloth that the trade depends on Bombay and Ahmedabad mills. The West Bengal mills are not so well-equipped with post-loom finishing processes as the mills of other centres are.

Calcutta is also an important marketing centre for handloom cloth, readymade garments and hosiery cloth. Since the people of Bengal have a liking for handloom cloth, the products of not only Bengal handloom centres but also those of Bihar, U.P. and Madras are marketed here. *Sarees* of Mau (U.P.) and Madras easily find markets here. The number of handlooms in the State of West Bengal is estimated to be 1.25 lakhs producing about 154.5 million yards of cloth annually. Some of the famous handloom centres are Santipur (Nadia), Santiniketan (Birbhum), Rajbalhat and Dhaniakhali (Hooghly). The cotton mill industry and the handloom industry provide employment to about 45,000 and 300,000 workers respectively.

## LOCATION OF TRADE

The wholesale and semi-wholesale trade in cotton piecegoods goes here in full swing on both the sides of Harrison Road, in Cotton Street, Pageyapatti, Cross Street, Noomull Lohia Lane, Mullick Street, etc. Apart from the main streets, there are about ten 'Katra' which house the business offices of mills' selling agents, commission agents, wholesalers and semi-wholesalers dealing in textile goods. Some of the prominent Katras are named as Manohardas Katra, Sadasukh Katra, Bilas Rai Katra, Keshoram Katra, Punjabi Katra, Gopi Ram Bhagat Katra, Chet Ram Katra, Shyam Deo Gopiram Katra, etc. To some extent, these 'Katra' are noted for specialization in sorts. For example, Manohardas Katra is marked for the wholesale business in fine and superfine yardage cloth while

\* The figure relates to Greater Calcutta.



Sadasukh and Bilas Rai Katras specialize in semi-wholesale and retail business of fine and superfine *dhotis*, *sarees*, prints, longcloth, etc. Keshoram Katra is noted for the trade of shirtings and longcloth and Punjabi Katra is noted for coarse varieties. Wholesale trade in full bales is carried on in Mullick Kothi and Bank Kothi. An important wholesale market for readymade garments and all varieties of handloom cloth takes place every Tuesday in Howrah, a close suburb of Calcutta. This market, which is popularly called Mangalhat market, consists about 2,000 shops. It has different sections for children's wear, hosiery, ladies wear, *dhotis* and *sarees*, furnishing cloth, lungies, blankets, handkerchiefs and socks, etc. According to a rough estimate, the weekly turnover of the market amounts to about a crore of rupees.

#### NUMBER AND TYPES OF DEALERS

All types of cloth dealers, *i.e.*, mills' selling agents, importers, commission agents, wholesalers, retailers and hawkers are required to take licence from the Directorate of Textiles under the West Bengal Cotton Cloth and Yarn Control Order, 1948. This is in addition to the licence which has to be taken from the Municipal Corporation. The licensing system which has been abolished in some States, is still executed in the State of West Bengal not only because it is a source of revenue but also, because it facilitates the enforcement of various measures like West Bengal Commercial Taxes Act, Bengal Shops and Establishment Act, etc. An idea as to the number of dealers in Calcutta can be made from the number of licences issued and renewed by the Directorate of Textiles during the year 1956-57 which is as follows:

Mills' selling agents	55
Commission agents	352
Importers	1,718
Dealers other than mills' selling agents, commission agents and importers	3,969
Hawkers and Hat dealers	3,549

These figures, however, can only be partly relied upon primarily on account of a defective classification and secondly due to the fact that unauthorised trade also goes on in some

parts of the city. The number of *bona-fide* importers in Calcutta is estimated to be about 100 according to experienced trade circles. It is, therefore, quite possible that the number of importers disclosed from the above statistics includes in majority those wholesalers who import very infrequently a few bales. On the other hand, the number of hawkers and hat dealers is estimated to be much more than what these figures tell. This is due to a general defiance of the cloth control order by the moving hawkers. The class "dealers other than mills' selling agents, commission agents and importers" is again ambiguous in that it means wholesalers, semi-wholesalers and retailers. In fact, the figure given against it seems to give the number of retailers and a few semi-wholesalers only. According to reliable sources Calcutta has about 2,000 retail cloth shops and over 20,000 hawkers. The remaining figures relating to mills' selling agents and commission agents are not suspected to be 'mixed' and as such can be depended upon.

#### TRADE PRACTICES AND CHARGES

The local cotton mills\* with daily production not exceeding 25 to 30 bales (excepting one or two big mills) get their bales cleared in Calcutta market through brokers and do not generally take the botheration of exporting or supplying to upcountry centres. Only a few of them have appointed regional agents in neighbouring States, or have a system of travelling agents in important parts of the country. The mill brokers are paid at the rate of 6 annas to 8 annas per cent while the regional agents get commission of 1½ per cent to 2½ per cent. Some of the Bombay mills have their regional agents or have established their own offices in Calcutta. The mills of Ahmedabad have their own salesmen whose functions are more or less the same as of regional agents. In the absence of any standard contract between the mills and the dealers, the terms of contract differ widely. Among the local mills, there are a few which sell on cash basis or allow hardly 2 to 4 days' credit while others grant credit for as long as 15 days. The Bombay mills insist on R/R being sent

\* The word 'local' should be taken to imply the mills situated in the suburbs of Calcutta and having their head offices in the Calcutta city.

through bank but some mills of Ahmedabad grant a few days' credit. In either case, the selling agents or salesmen stand surety to the mills and are responsible if the parties either fail to return R/R from the banks or fail to pay on due dates. The mills are averse to granting any cash or trade discount to the dealers. Only in rare cases 1½ to 1% cash discount is allowed with a view to encourage early payment. The orders are generally entertained for ready stock. It is complained that very often Bombay and Ahmedabad mills dictate their terms and violate the terms of contract on account of their virtual monopoly in regard to yardage cloth. Either the goods are not supplied within the stipulated time or they are supplied when the market is on the slacking tendency.

In a marketing centre like Calcutta, the commission agents, popularly known as 'Chalaniwalas' have a significant role to play. In fact it is the liberal financial accommodation afforded by these 'Chalaniwalas' to the upcountry dealers which has served to protect Calcutta's importance as a textile marketing centre. Their number is about 350 and their 'gaddis' (offices) are found in the multi-storeyed buildings on Cotton Street, Mullick Street, Harrison Road, etc. The 'Chalaniwalas' keep a close eye on the trends of market and render necessary advice to their clients in connection with the purchases they make through them. They allow easy credit facilities to their customers and charge between 6% to 7% interest on the sum due. For all the services rendered by them, they charge about 1½% to 1% commission apart from the actual expenses incurred by them in respect of packing, forwarding, charity, etc. A leading firm of 'Chalaniwalas' publishes a weekly pricelist of all important varieties of cloth produced in India. The 'Chalaniwalas' make their purchases from the local wholesalers either directly or through market brokers. Generally they are not allowed any discount from the side of local dealers as is the case in Bombay and Ahmedabad. It is, however, complained that some Chalaniwalas take undue advantage of their strong financial position and charge from the upcountry dealers not only the interest due but many other petty items like postage, storage, charity, wages, etc.

The wholesalers and semi-wholesalers purchase from the local as well as outside mills through mill brokers or selling agents. They are the real risk bearers in the trade and work on paltry margins of 2% to 3%. The wholesale business is largely in the hands of Marwari merchants, who like merchants in other centres, keep a few samples in their shops. There are three to four employees in firm who are known as 'Munim,' 'Gumastha,' 'Takadgiri,' etc. The 'Takadgiri' is concerned with the work of credit collection. The wholesalers give an allowance called 'Katai' at Re. 1 per bale to local dealers to provide for the damage caused to the bales during the transit. Within the market area the rates of cartage are fixed at 9 as. per bale which includes one anna per bale for Calcutta Pinjrapole Society—a charitable institution. The market brokers who intervene between two dealers or between wholesalers and 'Chalaniwalas' are paid at 4 as. to 12 as. %. It is however, a peculiarity of Calcutta market that the brokerage is paid by the purchaser and not by the seller as in other textile centres.

The retail trade in cotton textiles is scattered all over the big city but it has also a tendency to concentrate in crowded localities like Shambazar, College Street, Bhowanipur, etc. At some places, there are 'katras' of retail dealers. The increasing suburbanization has made it necessary for the retailers to have their branches in different localities. 'Harlal-kas,' for examples, have three branches at Dharamtalla Street, College Street and Bhowanipur. Among important retail cloth dealers having branches, the names of Basanailaya, East Bengal Society, Ishwarprasad Gangaprasad Paul and Traders Assembly are worth mentioning. 'Kamalalaya' Stores is one of the famous departmental stores of Calcutta, which runs a well-organized department for textiles. Moreover, there are mills' retail depots, co-operative sale depots of handloom cloth and State Government Sales Emporiums which also constitute the retail trade. It has been marked that the salesmen employed in the retail stores learn their job through experience and are not imparted any specialized training in the beginning.

In any study of the marketing of cotton textiles, one cannot ignore the valuable part

played by hawkers and this holds good all the more in our present study because there are about 20,000 hawkers in Calcutta. The number of hawkers has gone up considerably after the partition when many refugees of East Pakistan migrated to India and took up this business. The State Government has constructed suitable buildings to rehabilitate them at some places like Esplanade, College Street, Deshapriya Park, Gariahat, etc. The hawkers enjoy advantages of mobility, close contact with consumers, affording to sell on credit, display of products, exemption from State laws applicable on retail trade and comparatively smaller marketing cost. With these advantages, they are in a position to compete successfully with the retailers and sometimes the latter have to avail their services for the disposal of unsold stock.

#### PROBLEMS OF THE TRADE

The wholesalers and semi-wholesalers generally have their own godowns to store the piecegoods. If more accommodation is needed, godowns under private management like Bengal Bonded Warehouse Association Ltd., Cox & Kings Ltd., are taken on hire. Space in bank godowns is also availed of when financial accommodation is sought from them. The storage facilities as given by the clearing agents of Bombay are not available in Calcutta. In emergency, the dealers utilise each others' godowns also. One, however, finds a striking absence of godowns being established by the State Government or by Calcutta Corporation. If this is done, the trade will be greatly benefited firstly because the storage charges will be reasonable and secondly the godowns receipts will gain more negotiability.

In the matter of finance also, the dealers depend on their own resources. Only big wholesalers can seek financial accommodation from the banks. Inter-lending, i.e., loans from one dealer to another is also common at the current rate of interest which is in the neighbourhood of 6½%. In the interests of semi-wholesalers and retailers, i.e., traders of limited means, an institution of finance needs to be established by the Government. No doubt, these people have nothing to hypothecate, loans can be advanced on the guarantee of a reliable third party and the power to cancel the licence of a

dealer can be exercised to deal with the cases of default.

The wholesalers and commission agents export the goods to other states generally by rail and roads. Sometimes air and river transports are also used particularly for Assam side because Assam railway link has a limited capacity. During the Puja days when the trade is unusually brisk, great congestion is created in the two goods sheds of Howrah and Shalimar which have capacity of 1,600 and 6,000 bales respectively. It is felt that the shed capacity for storage of textile goods should be at least 10,000 bales and this quantum of capacity should be reserved for textile goods. Difficulty is also experienced in securing booking for stations on N. E. Railway but the same will be done away with when the construction of a railway bridge at Mukamahghat on the Ganges is over. Another problem relates to the carriage of bales within the local market. The local porters cause considerable damage to bales by the hooks they use for lifting bales or putting them on the carriage (Thela). No doubt individual efforts are being made to check this mal-practice but the problem as a whole can be solved only when mutual negotiations are made through the representatives of both the parties.

We cannot lose sight of the problems of retail trade in this context. Firstly the trade does not welcome the increasing intervention of manufacturers as well as the government in the retail marketing as many people are attracted to make their purchases from a mills' retail shop or a Government Sale Depot and this adversely affects the business of retailers. Secondly, hawkers who enjoy many privileges as discussed earlier, often come in the way of retailers and snatch a good deal of business from them. In our opinion, these problems can be solved by retailers themselves in that they should mend their trade practices, charge reasonable prices, follow the policy of fixed prices and make all such efforts which provide satisfaction to the consumers. It need not be emphasised that competition is the very life of trade and business does not come of itself; efforts have to be put to secure it.

#### TRADE ASSOCIATIONS

Among a number of trade associations



which are directly or indirectly interested in the well-being of the cotton piecegoods trade, names of Bharat Chamber of Commerce (Estd. 1900) and Merchants' Chamber of Commerce (Estd. 1901) are worth mentioning. The two chambers have respectively about 650 and 220 members. An appreciable number of the members of both the chambers belongs to the textile trade. The members of Bharat Chamber of Commerce which was formerly known as Marwari Chamber of Commerce, are mostly wholesale and semi-wholesale dealers in cotton piecegoods. The Merchants' Chamber, on the other hand, derives its membership chiefly from 'Chalaniwalas' (commission agents). Since the very inception, these two chambers have proved to be strong representative bodies of the textile trade and have left no stone unturned in creating feelings of unity and amity among the traders.

Two important matters which are engaging serious attention of the Bharat Chamber of Commerce are firstly—preparation of a standard contract between the dealers and cotton mills and secondly drafting of arbitration rules for the settlement of disputes arising from the cotton piecegoods trade. Moreover, the Chamber has always been extending her unstinted co-operation with the railway administration in solving various problems of transports particularly in removing congestion of bales in the goods sheds.

The Merchants' Chamber of Commerce is generally looking to the interest of *chalanis*. One of the important functions of this chamber is in relation to *hundis*. The chamber undertakes the noting and registering of dishonoured *hundis* and tries to settle the disputes connected with the dishonour of *hundis* for a small fees of annas 8 per *hundi*.

Besides these two chambers, there are a number of trade associations of wholesale and retail dealers engaged in the cotton textile trade. Most of these associations were organized during the Second World War to ensure smooth flow of cloth from the State nominees to the traders and ultimate consumers. With the removal of control on prices and distribution, these associations have ceased to be of any material assistance to their members and the membership has thereby gone down considerably. For example, Bengal Textile Dealers'

Association, Retail Textile Dealers' Association and Calcutta Cloth Shops' Association, all were established in the year 1944 to facilitate the wartime distribution of cloth. Now, they are looking after the general interests of their members and, in fact, their utility is no more appreciated by the trade.

As regards the marketing of handloom cloth, we cannot omit the mention of a recently founded organization known as "West Bengal Weavers' Co-operative Marketing Society Ltd." (Estd. October 1, 1954) which is an apex body of about 926 registered co-operative societies of handloom weavers. Out of 151 co-operative sale depots in the State of West Bengal, 20 are under the direct supervision of this apex body. It also serves as an agency to supply handloom products of the State to All-India Handloom Fabrics Marketing Co-operative Society and also arranges for their display in various exhibitions through the Director of Exhibitions, Government of India.

It is evident from the foregoing study of Calcutta's piecegoods trade that the trade is conspicuous by the absence of an all-pervading and well-representative organization which is devoted exclusively to the interests of piecegoods dealers. Before January, 1949, the Bharat Chamber of Commerce (then known as Marwari Chamber of Commerce) had served mainly as an association of piecegoods dealers but now it has members from all branches of trade and as such it is not able to concentrate on the problems of the piecegoods trade. If an association on the pattern of Delhi Hindustani Mercantile Association is established in Calcutta, the dealers will gain strength to insist on reasonable provisions in contract and mills will not be able to dictate their terms. It is, indeed, praiseworthy that Bharat Chamber of Commerce has been putting all its efforts in the direction of evolving a standard contract form and drafting rules for arbitration.

The trade in Calcutta is at once marked with superfluity in the number of dealers. This is due to a gradual shifting of trade towards Bihar side. The partition has also been responsible for this state of affairs. We have already emphasised the fact that the credit latitude that is available to the upcountry dealers from Calcutta is the main factor which is maintain-

ing Calcutta's importance as a marketing centre.

An investigator is further struck with a glaring lack of uniformity in the trade practices and charges. There are, for example, no uniform rates of brokerage, commission of *challaniwalas*, commission of selling agents, bank and insurance charges, etc. Similarly, trade practices widely differ from mill to mill and from dealer to dealer. In the absence of a standard contract, all mills do not adopt similar terms pertaining to the period of credit, delivery, arbitration, etc. The dealers and *challaniwalas* do not enforce payment after a fixed period nor the charges claimed by *challaniwalas* from the outside dealers have uniformity. This state of affairs is bound to improve by the establishment of a strong dealers' organisation.

Another feature of the piecegoods trade in Calcutta is that the retail shops store mostly handloom cloth and readymade garments and the sale of yardage cloth forms a very small proportion of their total sales. This is in response to a general liking of the people to wear handloom cloth particularly the Bengali ladies who prefer handloom *sarees* very much. Similarly, readymade garments are preferred to untailored cloth by thousands of people belonging to moderate income groups because it is economical as well as labour-saving. Centres like Domjur (Howrah Dist.), Santoshpur and Metiabruz are famous for large-scale tailoring of handloom cloth. Moreover, the people of Bengal still like to wear grey cloth despite a growing demand for bleached and Calcutta is, therefore, India's biggest market for grey *dhoties*.

There is one peculiarity regarding brokerage also. In Bombay and Ahmedabad, and possibly other centres also, the brokerage is paid by the sellers but according to an old convention the system is reverse in Calcutta and here the buyer who is generally a commission agent pays the brokerage. It is believed that the system has been in vogue since the days when the Calcutta market used to be flooded with Lancashire goods.

Calcutta market is experiencing a severe set back since the inception of the Second World War and the volume of trade has been showing a downward trend. This can be borne out by the following figures:

Year	Mill made imported (bales)	Cloth moved out of Bengal State (bales)
1954	3,02,800	97,906.5
1955	3,10,070	67,256
1956	2,56,492	62,488
1957 (Up to) May	1,17,288	12,917

(Source: *Directorate of Textiles, West Bengal Government*).

The reasons for this gradual deterioration are not far to seek. As a matter of fact, the dislocation of trade started with the imposition of controls on the prices and distribution of cloth by the State Government. Consequently, the trade relations of Calcutta dealers with those of other States broke off and the latter learnt the lesson of direct dealings with the producing centres, thanks to the marketing machinery instituted by all State Governments. The withdrawal of concessional railway freight to Calcutta and the partition of Bengal were also responsible for taking away markets from Calcutta dealers. The levy of inter-State Sales Tax imposed recently by the Central Government will again hit hard the trade of Calcutta which is essentially distributive in character. This will result in double taxation on Calcutta dealers once when the bales are imported from the producing centres and again when the same are despatched to the neighbouring States. It is, however, presumed that the merger of sales tax with the excise duties is under active consideration of the Central Government and has been approved recently by the State Finance Minister in a conference held on November 18, 1957. This decision, when implemented, will greatly relieve both industry and trade and at the same time it will increase the revenue of the Government because in that case the chances of evasion will be minimised.





# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

## ENGLISH

**EARLY HISTORY OF KASHMIR:** By *Suril Chandra Ray*. Published by the author. Calcutta, 1957. Pp. 241 and 8 plates and a map. Price Rs. 20.

The land of Kashmir is especially fortunate in having a chronicle (the well-known *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana) tracing the course of its history from the legendary epoch down to the author's own life-time (middle of 12th century A.D.), a chronicle which was continued down to the 15th century by his successor Jonaraja. The original sources of the early history of Kashmir otherwise are the same as those for the rest of India comprising literary and archaeological as well as indigenous and foreign material. All these original authorities along with the most important recent works (including articles in periodicals) from the pen of Indian and foreign scholars have been utilised by the author of this excellent monograph which ranks among the best of the regional histories appearing in increasing numbers in our country for some time. Its comprehensive scope dealing with every aspect of history and culture of the land is sufficiently indicated by the list of its chapters dealing successively with geography and chronology, political history, social life, economic conditions, public administration, religion, literature, archaeology and the life of the people. The author's descriptions gain in value because of his critical approach towards sundry topics. Witness his ingenious explanation of the rise of the *Damaras* or feudal landlords, of the importance of the class of *Kayasthas* or officials and of the evil reputation earned by the officials as well the merchants (pp. 91, 94, 96) as also of the withdrawal of the gold currency by the kings onwards from the 9th century (p. 120). Witness also his acute criticism of the authoritative views alleging systematic

persecution of Buddhism by the Kashmir kings between the 9th and 11th centuries (p. 147) and pointing to the prevalence of the pre-historic Chalcolithic culture as also of the later northern black-polished ware in the land (pp. 190-91). The author's statements are expressed in a clear style, and the book is remarkably free from printing mistakes.

Without detracting from the high merits of this work, we may offer a few criticisms. The author's statement (p. 86) that intermediate castes between the Brahmanas and the lower orders did never exist in the Valley does not fit in with his subsequent description of the role played by the classes of nobles as well as merchants who must almost certainly have claimed *Kshatriya* and *Vaisya* status respectively. In the chapter on religion one misses, except for a short notice in a footnote, any reference to the *Tantric Saiva gurus* whose hypocrisy and immorality were censured by Kalhana in his accounts of the reigns of Kings Yasaskara and Kalasa and satirised by Kshemendra in his *Desopadesa* and *Narmamala*. The chapter on Sanskrit literature is silent about Medhatithi (the great commentator on the *Manu-smṛiti*) belonging almost certainly (as Buhler showed long ago in his learned Introduction to the translation of this work) to Kashmir. The author's statement (p. 143) that Menander eventually abdicated his throne to join the *Samgha* and at last became an Arhat rests on the sole evidence of the author of the *Milinda-panha* which cannot be taken at its face value, as has been proved by Tarn in his work *The Greeks in Bactria and India*.

The work is appropriately enough prefaced by a map of ancient Kashmir (evidently based upon the one prepared by Sir Aurel Stein) and is brought to a close by a valuable bibliography, a good Index and a list of eight plates. Sardar K. M. Panikkar contributes an appreciative Foreword. U. N. GHOSHAL.



**JAMSETJI NUSSERVANJI TATA:** *By F. R. Harris with a Foreword by J. R. D. Tata. Blackie and Sons (India) Ltd., Calcutta. Second Edition. Illustrated. Pp. xxviii + 339. Price not mentioned.*

We have read the first edition of this biography with much pleasure and profit. This edition has been enriched with the masterly Foreword by J. R. D. Tata and a few new illustrations concerning mostly the life and work of J. N. Tata. We have in this book a connected account of the life and activities of Jamshetji; from small beginnings Jamshetji rose to be an industrial and commercial magnate by sheer honesty and enterprise. He jumped into the new with the confident belief that he would succeed. He was pioneer in many subjects of industries. It was Jamshetji who first utilised electricity in cotton industry. He thought of establishing iron plant in Central India. But it was not found practicable after due investigation because of want of coal mines in that region. But a short time before his death he learnt from a letter from Pramatha Nath Bose, the great geologist, that Gorumahisani, now Jamshedpur, in the Mayurbhanj State, abounds with natural iron ore, and coal was also available within a little distance, and the Calcutta port was not also far-off. Alas, he did not live to see the starting of investigations on the strength of the above letter and the subsequent events. The Tata Iron Works of Jamshedpur is now the largest iron plant in the whole of Asia. Jamshetji was equally conscious of the correlations of scientific researches and industrial progress. It was for this reason that he founded the Science Institute at Bangalore. This Institute has rendered immense service for the industrial development of the country. We fully share the view that Jamshetji contributed largely to the industrial and scientific renaissance of the country. He was a true patriot. We commend this well-written and properly illustrated book to every lover of India.

JOGESH C. BAGAL.

**LIFE OF BUDDHA:** *By Kashinath. Published by K. B. Dhawale, Phoenix Publications, Karnataka House, Chira Bazar, Bombay-2. Pp. 140. Price Rs. 1/8/0 only.*

In the severe winter of 1954 the author of the book under review happened to meet a French Buddhist monk in a temple of the Jaku Hill at Simla and enjoyed a hearty talk with him on the Buddha and Buddhism. The said monk quoted some memorable verses from Edwin Arnold's "Light of Asia" and feelingly

observed, "Your country is great. Tathagata was born in this land 2500 years ago. Gandhi was also born in the same country. . . You are doubly blessed." These words uttered with emotion touched the tender heart of the author and transformed it. After this meeting he began reading books on the life and message of the Buddha, visiting Vihars and meeting savants interested in the matter. As a result this book was written on the eve of the Buddha Jayanti especially for students, printed in bold type on glazy paper and got up with beautiful pictures almost on every page. The frontispiece contains an excellent likeness of the Buddha. The book comprises thirty small chapters on the godly life of this Light of Asia. It is written in such simple style that even the girls and boys of High Schools can easily understand it. It is indeed a book of pictures and parables and can be suitably used as a book for prize or presentation. "In a country like Bharata" observes rightly the optimistic author at the end of the book, "Buddhism was assimilated in Hindu Religion itself and thereby Hindu Religion was richer. . . In political fields today Buddha's moral principles are coming from the individual plane to the international plane in the form of Panchasila in opposition to Hydrogen Bomb."

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

**TOWARDS NON-VIOLENT SOCIALISM:** *By M. K. Gandhi. Edited by Bharatan Kumarappa. Published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Pp. xii + 173. Price Re. 1.*

First published in 1951, the present volume is the first reprint (1957). Gandhi's socialism is explicit in his definition of independence. "Independence," he says, "must begin at the bottom. Thus every village will be a republic having full powers." It comes to this that power and authority now centred in metropolitan cities should get distributed to the villages. There is no way of reaching such independence, i.e., socialism, except by the way Gandhi so clearly pointed out during the last 30 years of his life beginning in India in Champaran in 1917. Here is an account of how he would tackle the various problems confronting a socialist order of society. The book falls into eleven sections. The reader shall badly miss in his collection Gandhi's view on land and land-distribution which is so basic a gear of Indian national economy. The editor should have added another section under this head or he might conveniently make this a sub-section of

Section Three: Equal distribution. A glaring weakness.

BIRENDRANATH GUHA

**BAPU: CONVERSATIONS AND CORRESPONDENCE WITH MAHATMA GANDHI:** By F. Mary Barr. *International Book House (Private) Ltd., Bombay. Price Rs. 4-50 N.P.*

A great life is a source of inspiration to all. People of different countries, castes and creeds find a common meeting-ground herein. The writer of this book is an English lady who spent several years in India in charge of a mission school. She felt inquisitive to know something about Gandhiji and on a voyage back to India she happened to be a co-passenger with him. At the first acquaintance she was struck by his lovable personality. "Indeed the general impression which I very soon got was of an intense human individual, and not of the saintly but fanatical person of whom I had read." Her interest in his ideas and activities grew more and more and she gradually became one of his ardent admirers. Here she gives us a true, unexaggerated, respectful account of this great man. In his Foreword, Sri K. G. Mashruwala says: "The book is full of small details carefully observed and records of talks not perhaps reported elsewhere. It throws interesting light on the character and routine life of Gandhiji and brings out those virtues which endeared him to every one who entered his family circle and enables those who never saw him from near to understand why he was the most respected man of this age."

D. N. MOOKERJEE

**SANSKRIT**

**KALIDASA:** By Walter Ruben. *Akademie-Verlag, Berlin. Sole Distributors in India: The Popular Book Depot (Regd.), Bombay-7. Price Rs. 6.*

We have here an English translation of Ruben's work, originally written in German, which gives a critical analysis of the works of Kalidasa—"The Human Meaning of His Works" as the sub-title has it. The translation is from the pen of Joan Becker. The book is divided into ten sections, six of which are devoted to the review of the six well-known works of Kalidasa and four deal with topics like the story of the migration of the works of Kalidasa to Germany, the life and times of the poet and his influence up to Rabindranath Tagore. Incidentally the learned author seeks

to show, though not convincingly, how Rabindranath's 'Ship-wreck' was considerably influenced by the 'Birth of the War God' of Kalidasa. As a matter of fact, however, scarcely any influence worth mentioning appears to be perceptible. The book, on the whole, is interesting and pleasant-reading, if we leave aside the occasional references to Indian society and customs thereof, which are neither accurate nor sympathetic. A number of printing mistakes, rather unusual in books of this type, were noticed. The get-up of the book is fine.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI  
**BENGALI**

**JIBANER JHARA PATA:** By Sarala Devi. *Sahitya Samsad, 32A, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta-9. Price Rs. 4.*

Daughter of Swarnakumari Devi, the greatest woman-litterateur of Bengal, and niece of Rabindranath Tagore, Sarala Devi Chaudhurani was one of the pioneers who helped to usher in the great nationalist movement which surged throughout the country in the first decade of the twentieth century. Born in 1872, she was a child of renaissance Bengal. A poet, patriot, writer, editor, composer and singer; and an organiser of great ability she was a versatile genius. The Tagores of Jorasanko Calcutta were the fore-runners of many great changes that brought about the transformation of Bengal. As a grand-daughter of Maharsi Devendranath Tagore, Sarala Devi was brought up and spent the early part of her life in the Jorasanko house of the Tagores. And as such she came into contact with all the great people, not only of Bengal but also of other provinces, who were moulding the history of the time. Thus she was destined to live an eventful life in a critical period of history. It was a romantic life. But from another point of view it was a life of unfulfilment. Had she responded to the call of Vivekananda she would have been the earliest woman-ambassador to carry the message of India to Europe. Had she responded to the call of Aurobindo she might have become the first and foremost revolutionary leader of India. But that was not to be. Destiny and the force of circumstances gave a new direction to her life. Her life may be divided into two parts. Her youthful days, when she was connected with the various national movements—social, political and cultural, were spent in Bengal. She was married to Pandit Rambhaja Datta Chaudhuri, a Punjab Arya leader. She lived her married life in the Punjab. The period of her stay in the Punjab was from 1905

to 1923. And after her husband's death when she returned to her own province, it was not the Bengal she had known before her marriage, it was a new Bengal. The reminiscences come to a close with her marriage. Sri Jogesh Chandra Bagal takes up the cue at this point. He has given a short but informative sketch of her life and activities in the Punjab. He has also added notes in the Appendix on the various events and persons to be met with in the book. As a research-worker he has spared no pains to make them accurate and worth-knowing. Sarala Devi's "Ahitagnika" and her "Atita Gauraba-bahini mama bani" are pieces of very fine patriotic lyrics. As a prose-writer she has got a style of her own. *Jibaner Jhara Pata* reads like romance. It will enrich Bengali literature as one of the great books of reminiscences.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA LAW  
HINDI

CHAMPARAN MEN MAHATMA  
GANDHI: By *Rajendra Prasad*. *Atmaram and Sons, Delhi-6*. Pp. 202. Price Rs. 5/-.

Champaran, in Bihar, was the first laboratory, in India, so to speak, in which Gandhiji tested and re-tested his technique to have public grievances redressed in strict keeping with the fundamental philosophy of non-violence.

For, the highly strained relations between the indigo-planters from abroad and the indigenous labourers represented a type of relationship, based on denial of the most elementary justice and amenities to a large majority of the people. The book under review, thus, is an "epoch-explaining" book.

G. M.

#### GUJARATI

SOHINI: By *Ratilal Kashilal Chhaya, Porbandar*. Published by the *Bharati Sahitya Sangha, Ltd., Ahmedabad*. Printed at the *Kumar Printing, Ahmedabad*. 1952. Thick card-board. Illustrated jacket. Pp. 131. Price Rs. 3.

Seventy-eight poems, some of them, above the common level, and comprising both characters, some, such as can be read, and some, such as can be sung, are published in this collection. Porbandar is a sea-port on the Indian Ocean, and seamen belonging to it have roved the seas, right up to Africa. Mr. Chhaya is impressed by this phase of Porbandar life and his imagination has run riot in describing various aspects of the sea, smooth and turbulent. Waves become sea-horses and their gallops dances. Umashankar Joshi's comprehensive Introduction brings this out. K. M. J.

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# Indian Periodicals

## The Irish Writing on the Wall

In the course of an article in *The Aryan Path* R. M. Fox observes :

Everywhere in the world there are signs today that people are growing more and more restive under the threat of annihilation by means of the atom bomb. Pressure is being put on statesmen to try a new way of peaceful negotiation to bring harmony in place of conflict into world relations.

The attitude of the Republic of Ireland towards the present world crisis is a pointer of some importance as showing the drift of public opinion. Ireland has been admitted only recently to the United Nations. From the war period onward the country held a position of detachment in world affairs. But it was assumed by many that Irish statesmen would support the American line, not only because of close ties and sympathies with the United States but also because Ireland is determinedly hostile to the *regimes* in Russia and in China.

Yet Mr. Frank Aiken, Minister for External Affairs, who represented Ireland at a recent United Nations meeting in Geneva, advanced the view that military forces of the East and West blocs should be withdrawn from Europe so as to create a peace belt in place of the existing centres of irritation where hostile forces, bristling with arms, glare suspiciously at each other. He condemned the armaments race as one of futility, danger and stalemate, urging that a new start would have to be made with a new international policy.

Not only did Ireland take this firmly independent line but Mr. Aiken also supported and voted for the Indian proposal that the question of the representation of the Chinese Republic in the Assembly should be placed on the agenda for discussion. Both in Ireland and in Irish-American circles this stand came under criticism, but the Minister and the Government held firm.

Everyone knows that the Irish Republic is flint-like in its opposition to Russia and China. Yet the fact that it is detached from present world conflicts, has no Imperialist aims and has only just entered the United Nations makes it possible for Ireland to take a more objective view of the world situation than those who are more closely involved in the long-standing controversies of the post-war years and so find it harder to accept a new approach,

This Irish peace policy put forward at Geneva had been carefully deliberated by the Government, which was not responsive to any left trend or bias. It is clear that from an objective survey of the present situation the Irish Government was convinced that world peace could only be advanced by reversing the existing bellicose policy and creating a neutral zone which would foster a peaceful atmosphere and no longer stress competition in armaments. That, in fact, was Mr. Aiken's submission when he replied to criticisms at home, and in this he was supported by Mr. de Valera, as head of the Government. From their largely conservative position they defended their decision as wise and logical.

It is true that Mr. Aiken argued that to vote for putting the question of the Chinese Republic's representation in the Assembly on the agenda did not necessarily mean that Ireland would support its admission. From a purely formal standpoint this is quite accurate. But unless Ireland believes that there is a strong case for the Peking Government's admission it was hardly worth while to urge a discussion. It is common knowledge that Chiang Kai-shek, with his American-supported and subsidized Formosa base, does not and cannot represent the 600 million Chinese people of the mainland,

Britain conceded this in principle when she recognized Peking. In Shanghai, over a year ago, I saw notices on buildings in the old Concession quarter, signed by the British Consul, stating that these were the property

of British citizens (the Cathay Land Co.) and asking that care should be taken of them. Such a relation between London and Peking underlines the ridiculousness of the claim that Formosa can continue to usurp the representation of China in the United Nations and to call for war—which can only mean total world war—to try to regain control over China. In Canton my interpreter showed me, with a smile, the place where Chiang Kai-shek had abandoned most of his baggage before he fled precipitately from that mainland which he now claims to represent.

Yet, important as that issue is, it is really secondary as compared with the New Deal recommended by Ireland to bring world peace nearer and to place international relations on a higher plane than the present wretched condition of menace and threat. In Ireland it was noticeable that hostile critics of the Government's attitude—during the Dail debate—took the line that Ireland should have supported their friends in America and in the West. This appeal meant that they were unwilling to discuss the realities of the case. They merely attempted to cash in on the prejudice against Russia and China. The Government was able to brush all this aside, for there was no case to meet.

The real question is whether the policy urged by Ireland is calculated to bring world peace nearer and to put world relations on a more secure and friendly basis. Long-standing friendship and matters of ideology are quite irrelevant. Government spokesmen made this clear. With the present stalemate between East and West, they urged, a new line was obviously needed in international affairs if progress was to be made. Ireland, they said, had both the right and the duty to take an independent line and to voice the world's need for peace in the Assembly. That Ireland, without the slightest sympathy with Russia or China, should adopt this realistic attitude is surely the writing on the wall.

### Concept of Lila in Abanindranath Tagore's Aesthetics Examined

Dr. S. K. Nandi writes in *The Philosophical Quarterly*:

Having a different intellectual and cultural context from that of Kant and Schiller, Abanindranath Tagore, the master of the

present generation of Indian artists, formulated the principle of Lila as contradistinguished from the concept of Khela on the one hand and work on the other. In attempting a proper appraisal of the genesis of art, aestheticians have delved deeper into human psyche, and some are of opinion that art has its origin in the region of the 'silent mind' as opposed to the 'verbal mind'. There are others who think that the urge for artistic creation is conscious, and as such art is brought forth as a result of the artist's conscious effort. If we consider art as a conscious creation or as some form of active creation, then certainly the question remains to be answered: What urged this creation? The motive of the artist remains to be explained. If the artist has any motive extraneous to the nature of art, then art suffers in its virtue as art. Masters like Tolstoy who believed in the missionary activities of 'People's art' are no more heard with interest now-a-days. So a principle of explanation had to be found out quite consistent with the autonomous nature of art. The Play theory was formulated. It may be noted that there were objections raised against the identification of art and play or against the consideration of art as play. But play looked upon as the mysterious activity which occupies the working and waking hours of children has great resemblance to art, considered not as magic art nor as amusement art. Children play and this play is mysterious. So the artists also play with their different art-forms with a purpose, undefined and indefinable. Kant's paradoxical characterisation of this purpose is 'purposiveness without a purpose'. Freedom from practical ends binds together art and play. Their common tendency to simulation, or in the very largest sense, the ideal treatment of reality, links them together. The play impulse, writes Bosanquet, is in short only aesthetic where its primarily negative freedom is charged with a content which demands imaginative expression, and any impulse which takes such a form is aesthetic.

Abanindranath considered art to be play (Lila), and he distinguished this Lila from Sport (Khela). According to Tagore, Khela or sport is not the true characterisation of art, as men take to different types of sport at different age-levels. Sport has a reference to age-group, and a fondness for a particular sport at an earlier age is overcome at a later age. Thus Self-transcendence is the character of sport, whereas Lila or play in Tagore's view has a stability through changes and a universal appeal. Art as sport (Khela) has been decried by pedants. Even there were religious sanctions

against painting, as it was considered to be some form of sport prompted by a love for frolic. This crusade against fine arts has been a recurring feature in human history. How then art survives the onslaught of all these opposing forces? In Tagore's opinion, this crusade against art is a crusade against art as sport (Khela), and not against art as play (Lila). When art is looked upon as a favourite pursuit to fill up one's leisure, it is not the Lila or play in Tagore's sense; it is mere Khela or sport, as it implies no inner necessity, the necessity that makes the artist restless and without peace. The classic example of this restlessness may be found in Valmiki, the epic poet, when he was blessed with the maiden rhyme. Pursuit of art as sport might be a temporary phase in the individual life, but art as play-impulse is laid deep in our nature and its roots have struck into the very being of our existence. That phenomenon explains the survival of art through the ages. Appeal of art is universal and this universality in art also distinguishes this play-form from other forms of sport. The spirit that prompts human hobbies is absent in Lila, whereas it is the guiding force in all forms of Khela. Lila is characterised by internal necessity, whereas Khela may be prompted by a necessity external to it.

Tagore's 'Lila' is not the spontaneous outburst or overflow of excessive energy, as has been sought to be proved by Schiller and Herbert Spencer in their play theories. This Lila of Abanindranath is all-consuming. It bears within itself the eternal dissatisfaction of the artist with the existing limited forms. He seeks to express the eternal all-abiding forms of Beauty. Any recognition of his failure leads him from old forms to newer forms of expression. He is always experimenting with newer techniques of externalisation of his subjective feelings. This failure is accompanied by a feeling of pain, the pain that paradoxically sustains the artist through all his failures, past and present. This pain characterises all great works of art. Man's intense thirst for beauty aches and it inspires his creation. The primitive men, Tagore points out, in the Aurignacian age drew human faces in order to satisfy this urge for creation. They were specimens of crude drawing. This primitive art-tradition came down to us through the Solutrian and Magdalenian ages and underwent radical changes in course of human history. This evolution in art was mainly due to conscious human enterprise.

Tagore admits an element of conscious effort as a logical corollary to his theory of art

as play. Art is active: he calls it *Sadhana*. It ceaselessly aims at creating beautiful forms wherein he wants to instal his response to the call of the Real. So Tagore's Lila is characterised by some inner necessity which makes the production of artistic forms inevitable.

This inner necessity in Lila is not contrary to the artist's freedom. If self-determination is considered compatible with freedom then certainly Tagore is not inconsistent in his play theory by the postulation of this internal necessity. His theory of Lila makes artistic creation an intensely conscious activity. We must bear in mind that Tagore's play theory stood for proper aesthetic detachment without which no artistic creation was possible. Tagore distinguished between interested and disinterested outlooks on life, and in his opinion, the artist's outlook was disinterested or detached. This disinterestedness is a handmaid of Tagore's Lila theory. Lila is unmotivated. The instinct of possession and other self-regarding instincts are totally dormant when the artist creates. Self-interestedness is contrary to the nature of art as a free activity. Art, according to Tagore, is a conscious activity characterised by supreme detachment. This detachment and absence of self-interest in art on the part of the artist do not save him from a gripping pain of frustration and failure when his artistic forms look inadequate to the prototype in his imagination. Curiously enough, this sense of intense pain due to his failure sustains him and inspires him to take to fresh experiments. Thus art evolves new forms and all these transitions from one form to another are fraught with painful tales of the agonised mind of a Picasso or an Abanindranath. Rabindranath, the illustrious uncle of the master artist, gave mighty support to Abanindranath's theory of 'artistic pain' when he wrote:

"This is no mere play,  
This is the intense pain  
When my heart burns."

The artist's eternal thirst for beauty makes him unhappy.

The Ideal treatment of reality by the artist helps this identification of art and play. Tagore considered the content of art to be the result of much selection and rejection from the storehouse of nature by the artist. Art does not present nature in all her ruggedness and grandeur but represents nature in the Aristotelian sense.



Artists present an 'ennobled nature,' a 'real idealised.' Freedom that is the essence of play cannot live stifled and oppressed. If art were mere copy of nature, servility to crass matter would have taken away the last vestige of freedom from the domain of art. That is why Tagore was emphatic in his denial of copy theory in art. The artist is like an adept gardener whose skill rests on selecting the right type of flowers for the bouquet and for the garland. The artist is selective and interpretative. He creates 'artistic reality' and this creation entails much of intense work in proper selection. Beauty is the realm of play and appearance. It is the unification of the spiritual and the sensuous. The 'sensuous' comes from nature whereas the 'Spiritual' is the significant form given by the artist to the selected and embellished nature. Tagore's unqualified acceptance of the '*Niyati krita. niyamarahita*' dictum finds in him the unification of Kantian necessity and freedom. Tagore's Lila theory is a guarantee of this freedom so essential for

art. Schiller, another great exponent of play theory, writes in his 'Letters upon the Aesthetic Education of Man' guaranteeing this freedom of art and of the artist: The idea of an instructive fine art or improving art is no less contradictory, for nothing agrees less with the idea of the beautiful than to give a determinate tendency to the mind. This determinate tendency of mind is alien to the autonomy of art. That is why Tagore spoke against mimicry in art repeatedly. Even set rules for the artist did not find favour with Tagore. He said that set rules were not for the artist but for the art-students in the class-rooms. Tagore believed in art for art's sake theory, and it was his considered opinion that art should not entertain such questions as to whether art should subserve national, religious or social interests, whether it should hold up a mirror to nature or should take to some other similar mission. For they were redundant for art as an autonomous free activity or Lila.

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# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## Asian and African Literature in China

Pa Jen, a contemporary Chinese writer, writes in *The People's Republic of China Bulletin*.

The Asian and African countries have a long history and over the centuries their people have created a great number of magnificent literary works. Besides the many outstanding classics which form an invaluable legacy in the treasure-house of world culture, there are many works of the last century and particularly of the last twenty years bearing the theme of opposition to colonial rule, which are equally brilliant. All these works are deeply appreciated by the Chinese people; the works of many Chinese writers show their influence.

The introduction of Asian and African literature into China dates back to the early years of the Eastern Han dynasty (first century A.D.) when the first of the Buddhist scriptures were translated into Chinese. In the Tang dynasty, the famous monk and translator Hsuan Tsang (596-664) conducted the translation of 1,335 volumes of Sanskrit scriptures and commentaries. The classical literature of India, Persia and Arabia appeared in Tibetan translations hundreds of years ago. From the Tang dynasty onwards, Chinese literary style developed greatly; there appeared the *pien wen* (ballads), romances, *hua pen* (short stories written in the vernacular) and stories that more or less resemble the modern novel. The flourishing of handicraft industries and commerce in China and the growth of the urban class were the chief causes; but the introduction of the Indian Buddhist literature and mythological legends also played a part. In *Pilgrimage to the West*, the great Chinese novel, for instance, we come across scenes somewhat reminiscent of those in the Indian epic *Ramayana*.

After the "May the Fourth" Movement of 1919, more Asian and African literature found its way into China. Many Chinese writers were at the same time translators. Lu Hsun, for instance, translated many Japanese literary works; Kuo Mo-jo translated Omar

Khayyam's *Rubaiyat*; Cheng Chen-to and Hsieh Ping-hsin translated some of the works of Tagore. All these works brought their influence to bear on modern Chinese literature.

Since the founding of New China, the traditional friendship between China and the Asian and African countries has further developed and more cultural exchanges are taking place. As one of the best ways to get to know more about these countries, their struggles and construction, is to read their literature. Translation of the literary works of the Asian and African countries is being conducted on an unprecedented scale. In the past nine years, anything up to two hundred Asian and African literary works have been translated into Chinese. Those published in the field of classics include the *Arabian Nights*, *Book of the Dead* and *Burda* of ancient Egypt; *Shakuntala*, *The Cloud Messenger*, *The Clay Cart* and *Nagananda* from India; *Kyogen* (farces) from Japan; and *The Story of Chun Hiang* from Korea. Of modern and contemporary works, we have published the works of Rabindranath Tagore, Iqbal, Prem Chand, Sarat Chandra Chatterjee, Mulk Raj Anand, Krishan Chandar, Manik Bannerjee, H. Chattopadhyaya, K. A. Abbas, Kobayashi Takiji, Shiga Naoya, Tokunaga Sunao, Miyamoto Yuriko, Noma Hiroshi, Han Sul Ya, Li Ki Yung, Cho Ki Chun, To Huu, D. Natsagdorzh, T. Damdinsuren, Nazim Hikmet, S. Ustungel, Sabahattin Ali, Abdul Moeis, Khalil Jebran, Mahmud Teimur, Jorzh Hanna, Zun-Nun Aiyub, Delavan and many others. Other classical and contemporary works that will soon be published include *The Rose Garden* by the Iranian poet M. Saadi, *Kalila and Dimna* by the Arabian writer Ibn Muqaffa, the Japanese writer Natsume Soseki's *I Am a Cat*, *The Land* by the Egyptian writer Abdarrahman ash-Sharkawi, *Sitti Nurbaja* by the Indonesian writer Marah Rusli and the Algerian writer Mohammed Dib's *The Fire*.

Before liberation, Chinese translations of Asian and African literary works were mostly based on those in the English, French, Japanese or other languages; but now, since the

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M.C.S. America; formerly Professor  
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Chinese government and the people attach importance to Asian and African literature, many translators are working from the original, as, for instance, the new Chinese version of *Shakuntala*, formerly translated from the French, now from the Sanskrit original. Many other works from Indonesia, Mongolia, Vietnam and Korea are also translated from the original.

We have, however, hardly touched upon the greater part of Asian and African literature. A long-term plan has now been drawn up by the state publishing houses to acquaint the Chinese readers with the literature of Asia and Africa on a more systematic basis. They will issue selections of famous writers, including such works as the two great epics and *Panchatantra* of India, the Japanese *Manyoshu*, *Genji Monogatari*, the Iranian *Shah-nama* and others.

The peoples of the Asian and African countries are now united as one in their common struggle against colonialism and to defend world peace. With the steady growth of cultural exchange among these countries, yet more literary works will be introduced into China in the future, and these undoubtedly will help the Chinese people to know the life of the Asian and African peoples and to enrich the socialist culture in this country.

### Nuclear Weapons and the Human Community

Norman Cousins in an article in *The New Leader*, April, 1958, emphasizes the inestimable destructive character of the Nuclear Weapons:

The principal shortage in the United States today is not a shortage of uranium or petroleum or plutonium or manganese or iron or cobalt. The principal shortage in the United States today is a shortage of survival knowledge about the rest of the world. Unless we develop that kind of knowledge, we will not earn and keep the overwhelming support of the majority of the world's peoples. We can fill the skies with intercontinental ballistic missiles and saturate the air with the products of nuclear tests. But we will be left all dressed up with our nuclear weapons, with no place to go, if the Soviet Union ever speaks for or represents the majority.

Can you imagine the situation that might exist three years from now or five years from now, if the United States should find itself cut off from Asia and Africa—not so much because

of what the Soviet Union has done in Asia and Africa but because of what we have failed to do? Yes, we would still have our allies in Europe. How long would they be able to resist the gravitational pull of the rest of the world?

That is why I say that our first front today is not ICBMs but people. The world is looking to us not so much to put up bigger and better satellites but bigger and better ideas that are directed toward a workable peace. Also, there is one problem of even greater importance than figuring out a way to make the ICBM and that is the need to figure out a way to get rid of it—wherever it may exist. For in the age of the ICBM the United States and the Soviet Union will be 12 to 18 minutes apart. There is no defense. Talk of retaliation, or limited retaliation, in the context of an ICBM with a hydrogen bomb in its nose is not the talk of sanity.

Sometimes we tend to overlook the cruder simplicities because of our fascination with the grand complexities. And the crudest simplicity of all is that we are rapidly moving into a situation beyond control. The absolute weapons are becoming the absolute masters. Not rational decision but accident could lead to their use.

A 20-megaton hydrogen bomb has been tested by both Communist Russia and the United States that is 1,000 times more powerful than the bomb that destroyed Hiroshima, Japan and killed 230,000 people—not 75,000 people, as we had supposed, but 230,000 people.

It is important to understand exactly what a hydrogen bomb is. Just think of all the cities that knew bombing in the last war:

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What, then, do we say to the world's peoples?

We can say that we pledge everything we have to the cause of a meaningful peace on earth—that there is nothing we will not give, nothing that we will not sacrifice in helping to create a planet safe and fit for human habitation.

As concerns nuclear explosions, whether with respect to their use in war or their use in tests, we can say:

That we would rather die ourselves than use these explosives on human beings.

That no nation has the moral right to contaminate the air that belongs to all peoples.

That there is a serious question about the effects of nuclear testing on human tissue, and that we are, therefore, suspending our own tests at once and are calling upon the United Nations to institute immediate compliance by all nations.

That an abolition of testing does not by itself dispose of the critical problem of existing stockpiles of nuclear weapons, nor does it assure the world that fissionable materials for military purposes will not be made. But abolition of testing is a good place to begin.

### Marriage and the Family in Korea

Miss Un Sun Song, a Graduate Assistant in the Department of Sociology at the University of Maryland, has given in *Korean Survey*, April, 1958, an interesting account of the marriage and family system in Korea:

From the time that a child was born in Korea the parents were concerned about finding a mate for him or her. Although sometimes a child was "engaged" at a very young age

this custom has passed away. Today, by the time the daughter is about eighteen and the son is twenty-two, the parents probably have already picked out some mate for them. It is interesting to note that the future spouse's family background and name is much more important than whether or not he is wealthy. Naturally, every family is anxious to get the best possible match for their children, but if it is a question of whether to marry a person with excellent family background and little money or poor family background and much money, they will choose the good family background.

Aside from family background, there are traditionally several other things which will determine whether or not a couple should be married. To begin with, there is a taboo which prohibits two families with the same sur-name and genealogy from marrying among themselves. In addition, the signs of the zodiac were consulted and the year, month, day, and hour of the couple's birth dates were compared and if they were found to be harmonious it was a good omen that the marriage should take place.

After the parents have chosen some likely candidates they show their son or daughter

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several pictures of them. The children are usually given an opportunity to pass judgment on whether or not they like the looks of the spouse-to-be, and choose the one they would like to marry. Then the parents make arrangements for their children to meet. Usually it is the girl's parents who send an "invitation" to the boy's family. Although in some cases this is the first time that the boy and girl have ever met, it often happens that they have gone to school together or were neighbors. At this formal meeting the two young people have a chance for a brief conversation and can learn something about each other. If the boy and girl want to know each other better, they may, with the approval of both families, see each other more often. In general, however, the couple will become engaged after the first meeting and will marry as soon as possible, usually as soon as the girl's trousseau is ready. The interval between the first meeting and the wedding ceremony may be anywhere from several weeks to six months or more.

It often happens that if the parents are unsuccessful in finding a suitable mate for their child, they consult a *Chung-mai*, or professional match-maker. This marriage broker is usually a widow who is well acquainted with a number of families; or it may be an old and respected member of the community, one's employer, or a person of influence or position. They all fulfil the same function, however, in that they seek to find the most eligible mate for their client or friend. If the *chung-mai* is professional, then it is customary to give her some kind of reward for her services. She receives commissions of money or gifts from both the families, which are given according to their financial situation. It is said that if a *chung-mai* succeeded in finding a good wife for a rich man's son, she would have no worries for the rest of her life.

Going back somewhat to the engagement period, one might ask just what the young couple may do while they are waiting for their marriage day. Well, here again there is much variation from place to place and from time to time. Generally speaking, the husband-to-be may visit his *fiancee* at her home, where they may talk to each other, have dinner together, or play cards with each other under the strict eye of some third party. This is a custom which is not unfamiliar in Spain where the *chenna* acts as chaperone for the young people.

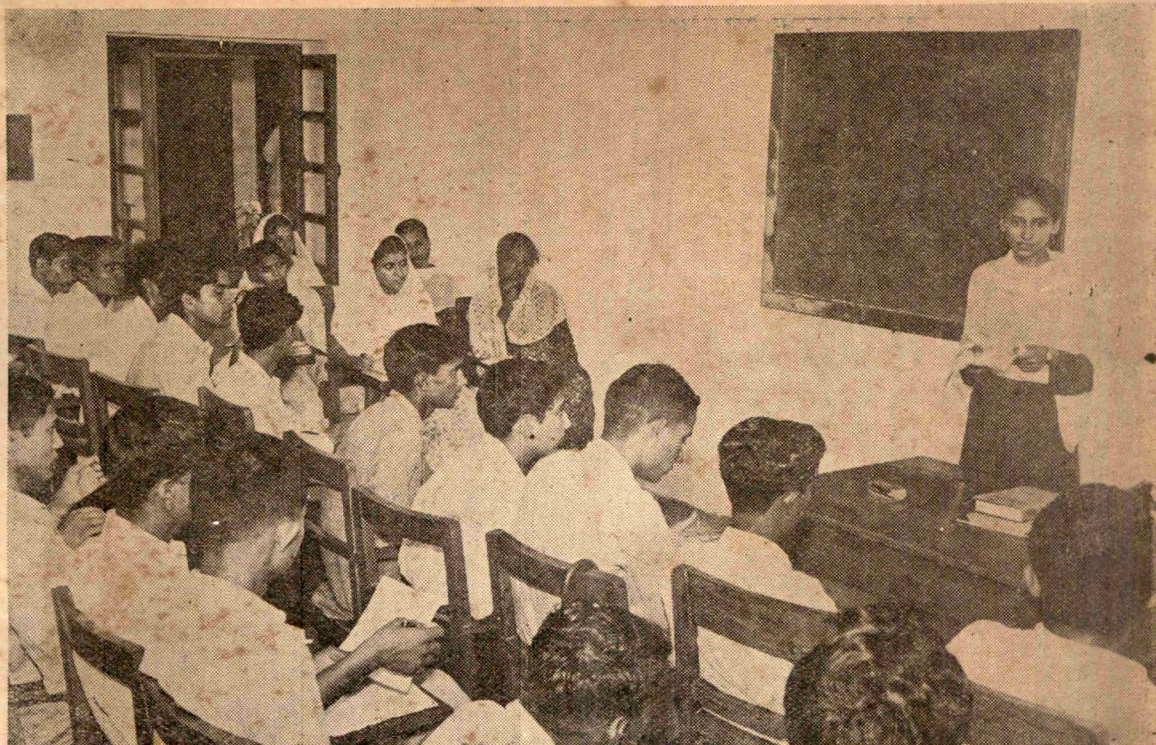
During this brief engagement period the girl's family is busily preparing her trousseau, and she is brushing up on her house-keeping. She is taught to take over such duties as cooking, sewing, and home management. Usually this is not too difficult for her, since she has been helping her mother keep house since she was very young. The mother, female relatives and friends, meanwhile, are preparing the things that she will need in order to set up housekeeping—kitchen utensils, furniture, and clothes or fabrics. This is a very expensive undertaking for the bride's family, especially if there is more than one daughter. In fact, Koreans have a proverb: "No thief attempts to rob the house of a man who has three daughters."

But when the time for the wedding finally arrives it is a time of great rejoicing. In fact, the marriage is probably the most important celebration in Korea. The traditional wedding ceremony is filled with color and symbolism and ritual, but the Western influence has been introducing many Christian aspects to the marriage until today many people have a Christian religious marriage. In any case, whether the ceremony itself is traditional or modern, it is always followed by a sumptuous feast to which many guests are invited. Everyone enjoys going to a wedding feast because there is such a variety of tasty delicacies—several meat dishes including beef, pork, and chickens; fish, both smoked and dried; fruits, pastries and candies; vegetables and rice; and, of course, plenty of wine. The number and variety of dishes varies with the financial status of each family; but it is said that some rich families often have between sixty and seventy-five dishes at one feast.

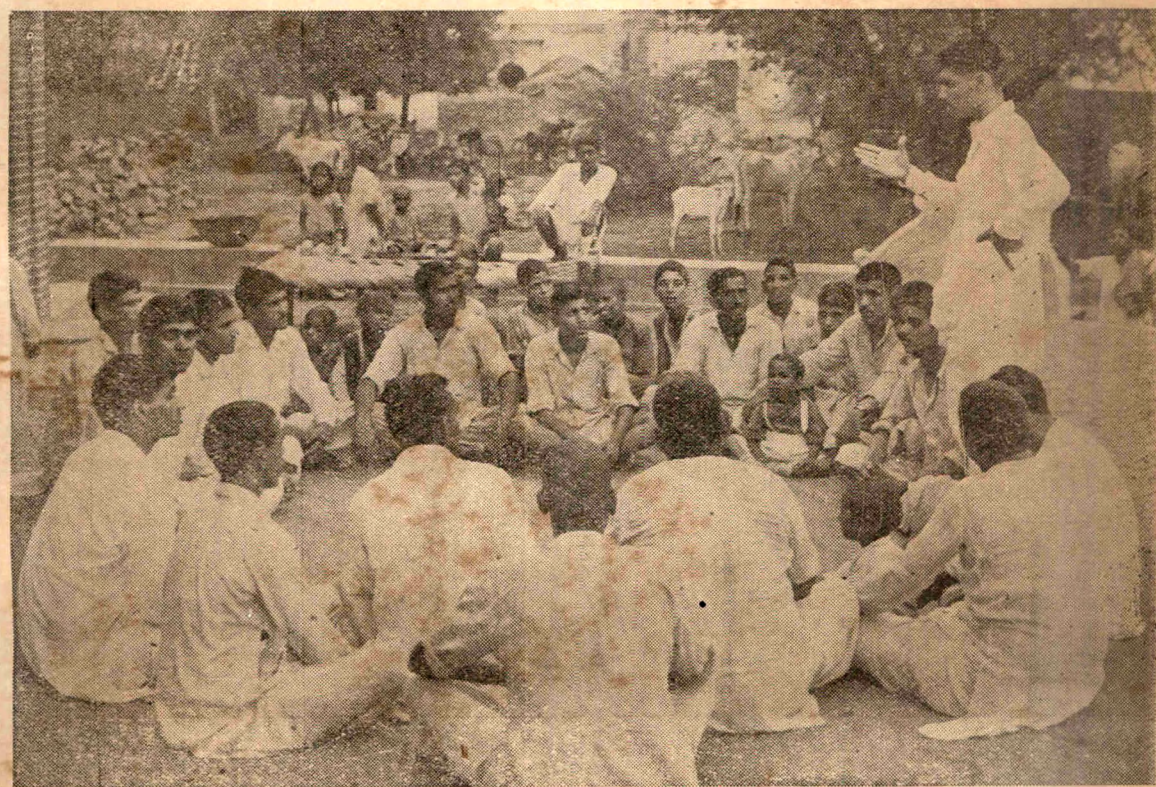
If their families are well-to-do, the bride and groom may decide to go on a honeymoon to the famous hot springs at Onyang or Paik-chon. If they decide not to go on a honeymoon then the couple will settle down to live with the parents of the husband, for according to tradition it is the responsibility of the son to live with his parents and take care of them in their old age. Although this custom is not practised extensively among modern families, it is still prevalent among the majority of people and will probably reflect the ancient concept of filial piety for years to come, in spite of the passing of many folkways in the face of growing modernization and secularization.

(To be continued)





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# THE MODERN REVIEW

SEPTEMBER



1958



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## NOTES

### DEMOCRACY AND BLACKMARKETS

We have to apologise to our readers, and ask them to bear with us, in consideration of the critical conditions we are passing through, for the continued late publication of this review. The critical conditions we refer to are the conditions in the paper and printing supplies markets. Paper has almost completely gone into the black market and as a result we can only secure it in dribblets from reputed dealers, who are very few indeed in Calcutta, and secure the rest from the black markets. The same is the condition with regard to other printing supplies, with the exception of ink.

This is a condition we never experienced during two World Wars and the riots and killings of 1946-47. Difficulties there were even then, but as black marketeers were neither the pets of the higher administration, nor had they nominees in the Central or Provincial Ministries, there were measures to keep their inroads within limits. Today they have all those advantages and to top all there is an Utopian form of written Constitution which has provided the wrong-doer a hundred lanes of escape and completely rendered the common citizen helpless.

We do not know what benefits the nation will reap from the Second Five-Year Plan. Judging from the First Five-Year Plan, nothing very tangible in the form of a higher standard of living or in the lowering of the stresses and strains of life in this afflicted land. We use

the term "afflicted" after due and deliberate consideration in view of the almost total negation of moral values, throughout the length and breadth of the Union of India.

Our omniscient and over-loquacious High Command in its wisdom is proceeding to build in the terms of ferro-concrete and steel a nation that is an infant in democracy. On paper and on the platform we have had roseate pictures of a future filled with milk and honey. But the crisis of the formative years, which we are now trying to endure and survive, is something that was neither foreseen nor provided against. This is criminal negligence on the part of those who have taken the reins of the union in their hands, and there cannot be any other term for it.

There were the lessons of history to take into account when planning for democracy. The birth of Fascism in Germany and Italy and of Stalinism in the Soviets, was a direct consequence of the evils that afflicted lands and peoples that were passing through a similar—though far more intensified—crisis in democracy, as a result of War and liberation.

We are no prophets, but we make bold to prophesy that democracy in India will not survive in India unless sanity dawns in Pandit Nehru and in that very limited handful of honest men amongst his associates. Democracy cannot be planned for a great nation by men rendered drunk and recklessly over-confident through unlimited power and total lack of experience or historical perspective.



*Discipline and Railway efficiency*

An official review of railway accidents in India during the past twenty years offers an analysis of 277 "serious accidents" on the Indian Railways since 1941-42 and says that 41.8 per cent of the accidents were due to the failure of the railway staff. Other major causes were the failure of rolling stock and permanent way 19.8 per cent, train wrecking 11.2 per cent and fires 10.5 per cent. Steps taken to minimize the accidents relate, among other things, to better supervision and control, watch over the nature of accidents, steps to minimize failure of equipment, measures to guard against defective maintenance of tracks and bridges and precautions against floods and washaways.

The decision to tighten up control and supervision to minimize accidents on railways would be widely welcomed. However, from the summary of the deliberations of the General Managers of Indian Railways held in New Delhi it would seem that this "control and supervision" is to be exercised more upon the employees of the lower ranks than upon those in higher positions. Yet, as the *Economic Weekly* of Bombay says in a thoughtful editorial note: "In the economic milieu of poorly-paid workers in the lower rungs of service, manifestations of laxity, indifference, indiscipline and even mental aberration, however deplorable, would nevertheless take on a more understandable significance than in the case of better-paid higher officials." In a properly-administered enterprise all the workers, or even a majority, cannot normally be at fault. Any general lowering of the standard would suggest the need for an examination of the conditions of service and a mode of administration. The situation would thus call as much for a sympathetic consideration of the difficulties as for punitive measures. On the other hand if the better-paid people are found to be lacking in the fulfilment of their duties it would suggest something seriously wrong with the entire administrative set-up of the Indian Railways.

Moreover, as the *Economic Weekly* rightly raises the point, "It may well be asked whether it was so much the lack of disciplinary authority in the past as the arbitrary exercise of that

authority over the more helpless that gave rise to the conditions in which the evils, duly castigated in public now, thrive. Indifference, indiscipline and particularly mental aberration may as often be the offspring of excessive disciplinary power, arbitrarily exercised, as of inadequate authority weakly wielded. In the circumstances, the powers now vested in the General Managers, unless desperately required by the situation and unless assumed of fair and wise use, may be a cause of aggravation rather than of improvement."

This warning is timely.

*Firing in Ahmedabad*

Serious disturbances broke out in Ahmedabad following police firing on August 12 when a mob resisted the police efforts to remove the martyrs' memorial, an unauthorised structure put up on August 8 by the Mahagujarat Parishad opposite Congress House. The Chief Minister of Bombay, Mr. Y. B. Chavan, declared that the Government would not permit the memorial. On August 19, the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation unanimously decided to permit the Mahagujarat Janata Parishad to set up a martyrs' memorial in the traffic circle opposite Congress House. The Government responded by imposing a 22-hour curfew around Congress House. The Mayor of the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation, Mr. Chinubhai Chimanlal, also resigned his post. In another resolution the Municipal Corporation condemned the Government's action in removing the memorial set up on August 8 as "interference by the Government in the rights and duties of the Corporation."

The Ahmedabad agitation was strengthened when the Sanjukta Maharashtra Samiti indicated its support to the movement. The Mahagujarat Janata Parishad on its part in a resolution asked Bombay city to be given over to Maharashtra on the event of the division of the present bilingual state of Bombay.

Referring to the disturbances in Ahmedabad the *Hitavada* writes: "The local authorities at Ahmedabad might have done well in ignoring altogether the provocation and leaving the matter of the removal of the 'martyrs' memorial' to friendly negotiations between the ruling party

and the opposition, if the memorial concerned had interfered with traffic regulations."

Decrying the acts of arson, looting and lawlessness with all the emphasis the newspaper writes that the leaders of the Mahagujarat Janata Parishad cannot disown their responsibility in the matter. The *Hitavada* correctly traces the roots of the disturbances to the present constitution of the State of Bombay and writes: "Law and order over such explosive issues like the future of Bombay State cannot be maintained only by police bayonets. Peace and harmony can be maintained only on the basis of common consent since the extremist elements both in Maharashtra and in Gujarat are in a mood to force the question of unilingual States to a decisive conclusion. It may be useful for the Congress organisation to assist such a settlement in which event, we trust, the Government of India and the Congress organisation will give its special attention to Vidarbha's forlorn views on the subject. If a settlement is to be sought, it must be an early settlement, because in conditions of uncertainty, with one part seeking partisan advantage over unfortunate and stray events, there are bound to be regrettable scenes. Bombay, since States Reorganisation, has done remarkably well as the principal State which has maintained efficient standards of administration and orderly economic progress. It would be a sad day if this great achievement is submerged by festering sores of grievance and anguish arising out of the actions by the police to put down these disturbances."

### *The Food Situation*

The food situation is causing great anxiety to the nation. The Government's handling of the problem has been anything but satisfactory and the nation's mood was revealed when on August 20 both Congress and Opposition speakers showed a remarkable unanimity in denouncing the official performance. According to press reports, it was not easy to distinguish between Congress and Opposition speakers and not one had a word of praise for the manner the problem had been handled by the Government. Shri Asoka Mehta, who headed the Food-grains Inquiry Committee last year, charged the Government with utter incompetency. He said

that the recent White Paper gave a completely unreal picture of the situation. Even Pandit Nehru's personal intervention in the debate could not stem the flood of criticism. Pandit Nehru in his efforts to shield the Food Minister, Shri Ajit Prasad Jain, referred to obstacles of overpopulation, underdevelopment, over-dependence on the Government and the "extremely ill luck" in the last few years.

The Food Minister tried to defend himself by pointing out that many of the complaints should really be directed against other Ministries,—the Ministry of Irrigation and Power was responsible for utilizing water potential, Community Projects for increasing production, Finance for limiting fertilizer imports, Commerce and Industry for putting up more fertilizer plants, Health for controlling increase of population, Railways for transporting stocks, and finally, the State Governments for execution of most policies on food. He did not mention the Planning Commission. Mr. Jain's defence of his department did not accord with the Prime Minister's statement that the entire Government was giving first priority to food.

Strong dissatisfaction at Government food policy in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal was voiced also in the meeting of the Congress parliamentary party at New Delhi on August 28.

### *Appraisal of the Monetary Developments*

The Report of the Central Board of Directors of the Reserve Bank of India for the year ended June 30, 1958, makes a brief survey of major economic developments in the country during the year. It contains a detailed account of the measures taken in the fields of credit policy, banking developments and legislation, and supervision of banks. The Report states that the economic situation in India during the year under review was characterised, on the one hand, by an accentuation of the serious stresses in the economy which have been in evidence since the launching of the Second Plan, and on the other, by signs of a slackening of economic activity in certain sectors. Prices, which took a welcome downturn early in the year (from August), once again moved up, particularly in respect of foodgrains, as a

result mainly of a reduction in output. Likewise, the drain on foreign exchange reserves, which had eased in the second and third quarters, again worsened from April, partly owing to the fall in export earnings. In the context of the above economic trends, the keynote of credit policy was vigilance in operation directed to maintaining the general restraint which was dictated by the basic inflationary trend of the economy and, simultaneously, selective encouragement to sectors where development was constricted by lack of credit.

The Report points out that while agricultural production in 1956-57 recorded an increase of 6 per cent, it shows a decline in 1957-58 in cereals and jute according to the provisional estimates. Industrial production was characterised by a slowing down in the rate of increase, the general index (base: 1951=100) advancing only by 3.6 per cent to 137.2 during 1957 as compared to over 8 per cent in each of the previous two years. In the opinion of the Board of Directors, this may be ascribed to two reasons: the fact that spare capacity having been largely utilised, there is less of it now available for use, and smaller additions to plant and machinery and shortages of raw materials and components on account of import cuts.

As regards commodity prices, in contrast to the rising trend throughout the year 1956-57, the year 1957-58 witnessed three phases—a rise in price till August 1957, a continued fall till February 1958 and a rise again thereafter, the net rise during the year being 2.3 per cent. The recent rise is largely accounted for by the rise in food articles and to a lesser extent in industrial raw materials. The element of vulnerability in the present price situation arises from the rise in prices of cereals, particularly rice, mainly on account of the estimated decline in output in the year under review, rather than a rise in demand.

The diminished tempo of economic activity during the year, states the Report, also reflected itself in the sphere of money and credit. The expansion in money supply with the public was considerably smaller at Rs. 34 crores as compared to Rs. 155 crores in the previous year. This sharp decline in the rate of increase, occurred despite the much larger budgetary

deficit, due mainly to a contraction in bank credit, as against its considerable increase in 1956-57, and a remarkable rise in time deposits of banks. The balance of payments deficit continued to be the main contractionist factor. There was a substantial increase (Rs. 241 crores) in the deposit liabilities of banks, the bulk of it in time deposits. The growth in time deposits was due partly to the accrual of rupee balances of the U.S. Government with banks arising from the payments for imports of food-grains under P.L. 480 and partly to a shift from demand deposits as a result of higher interest rates. There was a decline of Rs. 16 crores in scheduled bank credit as against an expansion of Rs. 147 crores in 1956-57. The easing of the strain on the banking system enables banks to have a higher level of investment in Government securities and to liquidate borrowing from the Reserve Bank.

Coming to the Second Plan, the Report observes that the increase in the Plan outlay from Rs. 635 crores in 1956-57 to Rs. 861 crores in 1957-58 is reflected in an increase in the combined budgetary deficit of the Centre and the States from about Rs. 250 crores in 1956-57 to about Rs. 500 crores. For 1958-59, Plan outlay is placed at Rs. 960 crores, while the budgetary deficit is placed much lower at Rs. 220 crores because of anticipated improvement in loan receipts (including small savings) and foreign aid. The report also refers to the recent scaling down of the target of Plan expenditure from Rs. 4,800 crores to Rs. 4,500 crores and remarks that the reappraisal is in keeping with the flexible character of the Plan.

According to the Report, the net borrowing of the Centre and States during 1957-58 amounted to Rs. 71 crores as compared to Rs. 141 crores in 1956-57. However, if account is taken of the substantial sales of Government securities from the Reserve Bank's portfolios (as against net purchases made by the Bank in 1956-57), absorption of Government securities by the public during the year was larger than in 1956-57. The market borrowing in 1958-59 would be much larger than in the previous two years. The collection of small savings during 1957-58 at Rs. 69 crores was below expectations, as compared with the budget estimate of



Rs. 80 crores, though it was higher than the receipts of Rs. 62 crores in 1956-57.

The high and continuing deficit in balance of payments noticed in 1956-57 persisted during the year under review also, the foreign assets of the Reserve Bank declining by Rs. 242 crores as compared to Rs. 230 crores in 1956-57; and the foreign exchange reserves, including gold, stood at Rs. 372 crores at the end of June 1958. The average weekly rate of loss of foreign exchange assets progressively declined from Rs. 7.93 crores in the quarter July-September 1957 to Rs. 2.01 crores in January-March 1958, but rose to Rs. 5.8 crores (excluding an extraordinary receipt under the U.K.'s Pension Annuity Scheme) in April-June 1958. The deficit in balance of payments was due partly to lower receipts from exports and invisibles and partly to the higher level of investment in the public sector. A number of steps have been taken during the year to stimulate exports.

During the year, the Bank's monetary and credit policy continued to be one of general restraint but there was a continuous adaptation to the changing economic context, and the needs of development have continued to temper the policy of restraint. It is, however, emphasised that the monetary policy is not in general very restrictive. The report observes that the working of the selective credit controls which have been mostly operative in the field of advances against food-grains has been flexible enough not to hinder genuine requirements of marketing of crops, industrial requirements and branch expansion, nor have interest rates risen to disincentive levels as in many other countries. The Report states that the character of slackness in the economy has been such that there was not much that monetary policy could mitigate. However, consistently with the maintenance of general restraint in credit policy, liberal extension of credit facilities to particular sectors which have been relatively hard hit by recession has been encouraged by the Bank.

In regard to measures of credit restraint, the Bank used both general and selective controls. Towards the close of June 1957, the Governor advised the Banks to pursue a cautious lending policy. In July and August, the Governor asked the banks to bring down their outstanding credits. As for the central issue of

resources for planned development, the Report states that while the immediate stepping up of the rate of foreign assistance is imperative, the problem of resources must be considered in its fundamental aspect of increasing the rate of savings in the community to match the higher rate of investment. The claims of further expansion or investment in new directions have to be carefully balanced with those of the maintenance of current economic activity.

In this connection mention must be made of the monograph entitled "The Reserve Bank of India: Functions and Working," recently published by the Reserve Bank. A similar publication was first issued in 1941. The present monograph will be helpful in giving an indication of the role played by the Reserve Bank in the monetary structure of the country. The publication has been entirely re-written and is now presented to the general public in the hope that it will enable them to understand the broad working of an institution which is so closely concerned with their general welfare.

The Bank's present functions are wide and varied, representing the super-imposition of new lines of activity on orthodox central banking functions. The Bank's responsibilities comprise in addition to the traditional functions of the regulation of currency and credit, the development of an adequate and sound banking system for catering to the needs not only of trade and commerce but also of industry and agriculture. The Bank's responsibility in the field of rural finance has been occasioned by the predominantly agricultural basis of the Indian economy and the urgent need to expand and co-ordinate the credit facilities available to the agricultural sector. The Bank has also played an active part in the setting up of specialised agencies to purvey term credit to industry. Also, by virtue of its position as the regulator of currency and credit and banker to the Government, its role as adviser to the Government on economic matters in general and on financial matters in particular has been of growing importance.

The monograph states that although the period of about a quarter century during which the Bank has been functioning is by no means a long period for a central bank, these years have been eventful for the Reserve Bank. More

than half of this period was taken up with problems of organisation in the early years, then the global war and finally with the aftermath of the Partition. It is only during the last ten years or so that the Bank has been able to attend vigorously to the work of building up of a sound and adequate banking structure. An outstanding task for the Bank in the coming years remains to promote the building up of a banking structure, adequate in scope and range, at the same time as it is improved and strengthened in quality, with diversified enough forms of financing institutions to meet the various kinds of credit needs, and much more widely extended than it is today in geographical coverage to the rural hinterland of the country.

### *Pangs of A Growing Economy*

India today is feeling the pangs of a growing economy. The launching of the planned economy has almost thrown the entire economy of the country out of gear and the country lacks that machinery of regimentation which is essential for keeping the economy in order. Prices are progressively soaring, cost of living is increasing, the availability of consumer goods is decreasing, inflationary spiral is mounting ever and ever and black-marketing and racketeering have become rampant. People today are at a loss to find whither they and the country are moving and whither is moving their economic future. Frustration among the educated class is widespread on account of growing unemployment. While the man in the street remains mostly uninformed about the economic plans, the better informed remains puzzled as to the ideas and the objects of a Plan that brings hardships to the people.

It is a poor consolation to say that these are just inevitable consequences of a developing economy. The country faces a very dismal picture in the prospects of economic prosperity and no amount of high thinking or presentation of brighter picture will be able to mitigate the suffering that today pervades all aspects of our national life. Certainly we do not blame the Plan, but the way it is being pursued reveals that it must be defective somewhere and in some way. The prosperity of the few on account of the Plans should not be regarded as enrichment of the country as a whole.

The sufferings of the common people are increasing day by day without any prospect of amelioration in the immediate future.

The authorities are bent upon spending crores and crores of rupees in varied fields of economic developments and the money is got either by taxing the people or by borrowing from abroad. Mere huge spending is not a criterion of achievement nor can it be construed as a sign of economic prosperity.

That the Plan has not been able to bring about the desired result calls for a searching outlook into its very foundation. Planning in an underdeveloped economy should be directed towards adding to the net capital formation of the country in the shape of new productive projects. The increase in output is essential to keep the rising price-level in check, otherwise in a developing economy the rising money-income of the people will cause a sharp spurt in the price level which will ultimately cause the failure of the planned projects by raising the cost of production at a much faster rate than the monetary resources can be marshalled to keep pace with the rising costs. The maintenance of a ceiling in expenditure in the face of rising costs will inevitably result in cutting down the physical targets and in other words it will mean lowering the tangible output. Had the Plan been directed towards raising the output in specific industries which are vital both from the national view-point as well as from the view-point of export possibilities, then the crisis that faces the Plan today could have been averted.

The main defect in the Plan is not the Plan itself nor in the amount of outlay fixed for it. The defect lies elsewhere and it is that the Plan has launched projects in too many fronts all at a time thereby resulting in the dissipation of efforts, frustration of projects and wastage of money. It has further resulted in reducing physical achievements by diverting resources to unproductive projects which involve expenditure without increasing the output of the country. The outlays on River Valley Projects, on Community Development Projects, on many small-scale and cottage industries, on unnecessary projects in the transport system, particularly in the railways, are examples of national resources being diverted from produc-

tive projects to unproductive ones. These are necessary, no doubt, but they could have been deferred for later periods of planned economy. In the initial stages production must rise at a faster rate than the monetary outlays and that is the only way to keep the Plan as a going concern.

The projects that do not contribute to raise the physical output of the country are unnecessarily increasing the costs of the Plan and thereby causing an inflationary spiral which calls for early check otherwise it will plunge the country and its economy into the vortex of monetary crisis. The authorities and the Planning Commission have erred in that they have failed to realise the real implications of an economic planning in an underdeveloped economy. In such economy, only projects which are able to contribute to the output of the country should have been started in the initial stages. As for example, instead of so many Plans, India should have pinned her resources to the development of basic and large-scale industries, like the iron and steel industry, the ship-building industry, the locomotive manufacturing industry, and the like. The development of these industries not only would have added much to the national resources of the country, but they would have also made the country self-sufficient in many respects and would have also increased the export potentialities of the country. In another way they would have also reduced the country's external indebtedness and her liabilities in so far as with the development of basic industries, India would not have required to borrow from foreign countries and institutions and the need for foreign exchanges would have perhaps been minimised. The frittering away of valuable foreign exchanges on unproductive projects and wasting assets like the purchase of locomotives has been a folly on the part of the authorities. The result is that projects like iron and steel industry and other machinery building industries are handicapped today for want of necessary foreign exchanges.

Unless India develops her productive industries, her want of foreign exchanges will continue to rise in the face of increasing imports and falling exports. It is time that India calls a halt to all her projects which will not contri-

bute to augment the output of the country in the immediate future. India has borrowed a large amount of foreign exchange for financing her River Valley Projects whose contribution hitherto to the economy of the country is insignificant. India should have taken a lesson from West Germany in the matter of economic development. In the post-war years, the war-devastated West Germany reconstructed her large and basic industries in the initial stages and the result was that she became an exporter of capital goods to world markets and her foreign exchange problems are solved within a very short period.

India should have developed her industrial potentialities first, that is, the basic and key industries should have been developed and had that step been taken earlier India could have today solved her foreign exchange problems and she need not have to depend today on foreign countries for her economic developments. Neither in the agricultural sector nor in the industrial sector, India has been a self-supporting country and a period of ten years, although a short one, still that provided sufficient enough time to regiment potential resources. The First and Second Plans have opened too many fronts all at a time and the result is that resources are now found to be inadequate to feed all the projects simultaneously.

For shortage of foreign exchanges, India has become desperate today, particularly in view of the fact that our exports are not increasing in the proportion our imports are mounting. The inevitable result has been chronic deficits in the balance of payments position and this has reduced the real income of the country. The trade deficits have become a real burden on the country and the authorities now frantically resort to import cuts so much so that they may now be viewed as friends of black-marketeers. The import cut is called for no doubt, but the Government has ignored the basic needs of some of the goods whose imports have been totally prohibited, as for example, those of foreign drugs and medicines. The authorities have been penny wise and pound foolish in that while unnecessary expenditures mostly remain undiminished, expenditures on essentials have been drastically cut on ground



of saving foreign exchanges. The result has been that the people are subjected today to untold sufferings and patients are at the mercy of racketeers who are criminally anti-social elements. By their imprudent policy of import restrictions, the authorities have been helping the black-marketeers at the cost of the people in general.

Recently in the Lok Sabha, Mr. Nanda declared that the Plan stood at Rs. 4,500 crores, "unless more resources are raised." According to the Planning Commission, an additional outlay of Rs. 150 crores would be required to implement the "core" and other inescapable schemes of the Plan. In other words, the Second Plan will stand curtailed by about Rs. 300 crores in the Public Sector and that is on account of shortage of foreign exchange. India should give up the hope of securing sufficient foreign exchange either by way of loan or assistance. India must try to increase her exports by all possible means. To encourage exports, export duty should forthwith be withdrawn from major commodities like tea, jute manufactures, etc. The earning of foreign exchange is much more vital at the present time than the earning of export duty. For the short-period gain, the authorities are sacrificing the long-period gain which will accrue in increased earning of foreign exchange.

Some members in the Lok Sabha during the recent debate on the Plan suggested the shifting of the emphasis from industrialization towards rural development. This is a most retrograde suggestion and any step away from large-scale industrialization will further aggravate the situation. India is still a country mainly of rural economy and industry and our poverty lies in our too much bias in rural industry. All prosperous countries of the West have achieved prosperity with the development of large-scale industries. India had so long been a country of rural economy and India had enough of rural industries. But they did not make India prosperous in modern times. They had their days before the machine age. Now the role of rural economy and industries in this country will be complementary and subsidiary to the large-scale industries. The present fault is not that India has embarked upon developing her large-scale industries, the fault is that

India has not developed her large-scale industries sufficiently in time so as to absorb the rapidly-increasing number of population in the country. From the view-point of export possibilities as well as from the view-point of employment potentialities, the large-scale industries needs must be developed for national prosperity.

### *The Problem of Population*

Sir Julian Huxley, the well-known English scientist, writes in the latest issue of the bi-annual *Population Review* of Madras that time has come when the countries of the world should take heed of the enormous growth of population and agree upon an integrated population policy. He exposed the fallacy in the belief that science could be used to step up production to meet the needs of an increasing number of people. The race between population and production is a very unequal one. "Production is severely handicapped," he writes, "because it starts far behind scratch: . . . nearly two-thirds of the world's people are undernourished. Production has to make good this huge deficiency as well as keeping up with the mere quantitative increase in human numbers."

According to Dr. Huxley, the only way to future human happiness lies through population planning. People should stop thinking in terms of a race and begin thinking in terms of a balance between population and resources. It is also necessary to give up the fallacious belief that an increase in the number of human beings is necessarily desirable. The production of population also should be controlled like other natural production. This calls for basic research and practical application and a change in the existing value-structure of mankind.

Dr. Huxley refers to the great disparities between the standards of living of the Western and other nations. Such inequalities, when brought into the world's consciousness, affect the world's conscience. "The under-privileged are feeling an increasingly strong sense of injustice, while the over-privileged are beginning to experience a sense of shame." While the Western nations have made a gesture to bridge this disparity, Dr. Huxley does not consider the steps taken to be enough. "We need a World

Development Plan on a scale at least ten-fold greater than all the existing schemes put together, a joint enterprise in which all nations would feel they were participating and working towards a common goal. To achieve even the roughest of justice for all peoples, the favoured nations of the world will have not merely to cough up a fraction of their surpluses but voluntarily to sacrifice some of their high standard of living, and to qualify for aid and need for membership of the international development club, under-developed countries would have not only to pledge themselves to hard and intelligent work, but also to be willing to restrict populations by initiating effective policies of birth control and family planning," Dr. Huxley writes.

The observations of a scientist of Sir Julian's eminence certainly deserves the closest attention. He would perhaps excuse us if we ventured to suggest a modification of the concluding sentence in the above quotation so that restriction of population growth does not become the obligation of the under-developed countries alone, but of *all the countries including the developed ones*. This modification suggests itself by the very logic of Sir Julian's article and more so by the fact that the *rate of growth of population* (as distinct from absolute numbers) on which he gives so much emphasis is decidedly higher in the high-income countries.

#### *Political Dissensions in Rajasthan*

The *Hitavada* writes:

"A political crisis is brewing in Rajasthan. The dissident Congressmen led by Mr. Jai Narayan Vyas are reported to be making efforts to oust Chief Minister Sukhadia from power. The dissident Congressmen claim that they have the support of the majority of Congress legislators. On the other hand, Mr. Sukhadia is confident that he will be able to defeat any efforts to remove him from the Chief Ministership. It is also reported that Mr. Sukhadia may seek a vote of confidence from the Congress Assembly Party in the near future. It is unfortunate that Congressmen in Rajasthan are divided into two groups, one working against the other. The Congress High Command has strongly disapproved the existence of groups within the Congress and

Mr. Dhebar had visited Rajasthan sometime back to resolve the differences between the two groups. But the recent move of the dissident Congressmen in Rajasthan shows that Mr. Dhebar's efforts have not been fruitful."

#### *Kerala State Language*

The *Hindu*, Madras, reports:

Trivandrum, August 16.—The official Language Committee appointed by the Government of Kerala has recommended the adoption of Malayalam as the official language at all levels of administration by 1965, it was learnt today.

To begin with, the Committee which submitted its report to the Government today is understood to have suggested that Malayalam be introduced as the official language in departments like *panchayat* which were in close contact with the masses in their day-to-day work.

The Committee has also prepared a 10,000-word glossary of administrative term in Malayalam to serve as a uniform guide for official purpose. The glossary is now being finalised and is expected to be ready in two months.

A spokesman of the Committee said that they had included universally-accepted terms from English and other languages too in the glossary.

Besides Malayalam equivalents for English words, the glossary will also contain the Hindi transliteration of the Malayalam words. This is being done, it is learnt, in response to a suggestion by the Government of India to the State Government.

This is a piece of welcome news. If the national languages of India are to be developed they must be allowed to play their part in wider spheres of the national life than has hitherto been the case. Among the measures that call for immediate attention is the substitution of the regional language for English both in the administrative and educational fields in the states such a step cannot be taken before a decision has been taken upon the use of administrative and scientific terms many of which are not available in many of the regional languages. In this context the report of the completion of the preparation of a 10,000-word glossary of administrative terms

in Malayalam must be regarded as a remarkable achievement. Contrasted against this the steps taken in West Bengal for according Bengali its due status in the life of the State must appear very halting and unimpressive. The reluctance of the State Government to move quickly in the matter is all the more regrettable as the State Assembly had unanimously asked the government to expedite the replacement of English by Bengali.

#### *Official Pomp and Grandeur*

The *Delhi Hindusthan Standard* writes:

"The Prime Minister is understood to have advised State Governors to work harder and behave better for earning their keep. If this is only one of Shri Nehru's periodic bouts of brain-washing there is nothing much to say. State Governors might be wondering what more they could do to make themselves popular as also directly useful within the constitutional limits of their office.

"The Indian Administration has always been top-heavy; also very expensively gilded at the top. No one, perhaps, can claim to know this better than Shri Nehru himself, as being at one time a stern critic of the colossal show of the British imperial administration. Much of this costly folly of grandeur persists. And it is not very amusing that near at the end of the eleventh year of freedom, the Prime Minister and principal architect of Republican India addresses a sermon to poor State Governors on the wisdom of shedding some of the pomp and show associated with their office. Why shed some and not all of it, why State Governors alone, people may pertinently ask.

"This is not the first time that such questions have been raised and discussed. On occasion the Prime Minister has shown himself to be extremely touchy about friendly suggestions for reducing pomp and show to a reasonable limit. He has been in the past found to be stoutly defending many of the extravagant yet meaningless official rituals inherited from the British imperial days. Such relics, he is now reported to have said, have no place in the present set-up. It is not easy to make any head or tail of this belated admission. Shri Nehru in his heart of hearts knows well enough that the present set-up is essentially the same as the

old set-up. Why then pass the blame on State Governors who have merely settled down in the well-kept grooves of the old set-up?"

We have very little to add to the above. The only criticism of Pandit Nehru that we would put forward is about the lack of that internal humility in Pandit Nehru, which made Mahatma Gandhi what he was. This led Mahatmaji to take counsel from others and correct mistakes in his own ideas. It is about time Pandit Nehru realised that omniscience is not a human trait.

#### *The Extent of Municipal Jurisdiction*

Referring to the judgment of Mr. K. T. Desai restraining the Bombay Municipal Corporation from discussing a resolution concerning the execution of the Hungarian leaders, Mr. Imre Nagy, Paul Maleter and others, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes in a leading article: "From the point of view of the citizen and the civic services he is to receive from the Corporation it is of no moment if the Corporation condemns the execution of Nagy and his comrades or fails to do so. But it is the view taken of the Corporation's powers and functions in the course of the judgment that creates fresh problems or gives a new turn to what was assumed by a layman. Stated in the simplest possible terms, the court's judgment means that, as a statutory body, the Corporation's powers and functions are strictly limited by the purpose for which it was constituted. As it is not sovereign, but only autonomous in respect of those powers and functions which are assigned to it by the statute, it cannot go beyond the main purpose for which it was constituted even though there may be no specific prohibition against its doing so. This view hits at long established practice. The Corporation has for a long time been discussing almost everything under the sun, a practice which has often been criticised.

"The Corporation of Bombay has often been the forum for the expression of opinions and sentiments which transcend civic issues. Such expression of opinion may not have called for the direct investment or expenditure of Municipal Funds; but under the view now taken even the expenditure involved in calling the meeting and conducting a debate would be regarded as an expenditure made out of Muni-



icipal Funds, not authorised by the statute. There are also certain other functions, of a ceremonial character, on which the Corporation does expend money—such as the civic welcomes and addresses presented to various visiting dignitaries, Indian and foreign. There is also a convention under which delegates to important conferences held in the city have received civic honours and hospitality. It is a motley crowd that has come in for such honour, and when it has been extended too far to cover sundry sportsmen, film personalities and the like there has been a measure of public annoyance. Apart, however, from the merits of each event, all such proposals have to be subjected to the rigorous test whether such expenditure on them is authorised under any of the provisions of the Municipal Act. There is no doubt that these issues will now have to be re-examined and the Corporation's powers redefined. This will probably call for a clarifying amendment of the Municipal Act."

The implications of the order of the Bombay High Court in respect of the competence of the Municipal Corporation would seem to call for an examination of the position in Calcutta where the Municipal statute does not differ in any substantial respect from Bombay and where also the Corporation has many occasions commented upon matters not strictly falling within Municipal competence as defined in the statute.

#### *Mismanagement of Calcutta Schools*

Education in West Bengal seems to be in a state of chronic sickness. It is not always a question of money, but a question of motives and intentions. The school authorities—including the teachers also, it seems—in many cases exhibit such indifference to the students' needs and problems as must appeal to any decent citizen. In a leading girls' school of North Calcutta there is no provision for drinking water for the girls. The water supplied is most impure and the girls have to take water from their homes month after month. This particular school has ample funds to improve its internal water-supply problem even by sinking a tube-well, if necessary, but would not do so. The callousness of the authorities in attending to the primary needs of the little ones has exposed many children to a prolonged

danger of infection by various fatal diseases. Cannot the Education Department enforce even such a minimum provision for students' welfare as the supply of pure drinking water in school?

#### *The Tram Strike*

The citizens of Calcutta have had untold hardship on account of the stoppage of the tram services in the city which began on August 12. The plight of the citizens can well be imagined when it is recalled that even with the tram-cars, which carry over a million passengers daily, on the streets, people have for the greater part of the day travel on footboards for want of room inside the cars. To fill the gap created by the absence of the trams nearly 600 double-decker buses are required. The Government tried to ease the situation by allowing more than 350 private buses running on suburban services to ply in Calcutta. The Labour Minister, Shri Abdus Sattar, personally tried to induce the workers and the management to reach a settlement but failed. It is about time there was a searching enquiry into the genesis of such strikes in public utility concerns.

#### *Mahajati Sadan Opened*

After a period of nineteen years to the day of the laying of its foundation stone by Gurudev Rabindranath, Mahajati Sadan (House of the Nations), which had been conceived by Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, was opened by Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, Chief Minister of West Bengal on August 19, 1958. The building situated on Chittaranjan Avenue is an architectural beauty and has a large auditorium where public meetings and performances could be held. The Government of West Bengal has a proposal to start a good library to be housed there. Netaji's memory would be honoured only if the Mahajati Sadan could be turned into a centre for the study and development of national culture in its broadest aspect.

#### *Indian National Bibliography*

The first issue of the "Indian National Bibliography" was recently published by the Central Reference Library of the Government of India, now situated at the National Library at Calcutta. The Bibliography is intended to

provide a systematic and exhaustive list of all books published in India, in English as well as in the fourteen languages listed in the Constitution for the promotion of scholarship and literary developments in the country. The present issue lists the books received in the National Library, Calcutta, between October 1954 and December 1957 (under the provisions of the Deliveries of Books Act every publisher in India is obliged to send a copy of each of his publication to the National Library, Calcutta, and two other National Libraries).

### *Indians in India and Abroad*

Indians often give vent to an wounded feeling when there is any incident involving refusal to admit an Indian into any foreign hotel or aircraft. There is nothing wrong in such protest inasmuch as every one has the right to an equal treatment as a human being. On such occasions the Government seemed to share the people's indignation at such discrimination. It was, therefore, intriguing to find a senior Indian Cabinet Minister defending discrimination against Indians in an Indian hotel run by the Indian Government at the cost of Indian tax-payers in the capital city of India. It was disclosed during the question hours in the Lok Sabha that an Indian gentleman wearing *dhoti* was treated discourteously by the staff of the Asoka Hotel of Delhi. Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, the Home Minister, in a written reply to a member's question tried to clarify the position and stated that there was no objection to wearing *dhoti* at the time of having dinner but for admittance into the dancing hall "more formal" dress would be required. The Minister's explanation hardly improves the matter. There can be little justification for admittance to be refused because of the Indian dress. The argument about dancing would be seen in its true colours as one would recall that Indians have made outstanding dancing performances here and abroad in *dhobbies* without having to change their dresses. The people cannot allow such an insult to national tradition and culture at their own expense.

### *Crisis in the Far East*

A renewed crisis raised its head in the Far East during the closing days of August over

the Chinese offshore islands which were now under Kuomintang occupation under American military protection. As Chinese guns pumped an estimated 50,000 shells at the Kuomintang strong-posts on the Quemoy group of island, the United States Government came out on August 23 with a warning against any move to seize the Quemoy or Matsu islands. The U. S. attitude over the China question has openly been deprecated not only by non-committed nations, such as, India and Egypt, but also by her Western allies even, notably Great Britain. If any State has any rights over the islands in question, it certainly is the People's Republic of China and there is little justification for continued American intervention in the Chinese civil war.

In this context, the American naval build up in the Far East and on the fringes of the Indian Ocean has naturally caused great uneasiness in Asian minds. President Eisenhower's statement that the one thousand U.S. marines in Singapore were there for "recreational purposes" became less convincing when read with reports of great influx of American war personnel and materials in South Vietnam in flagrant violation of the Geneva Agreement.

### *Nuclear Disarmament?*

One of the welcome results of the Geneva Conference of atomic scientists, held between July 1 and August 21, was the announcement by the American and British Governments of their decision to suspend nuclear tests for one year from the date negotiations would begin with the USSR for international ban on atomic tests. The conference was attended by atomic scientists from eight countries—United States, United Kingdom, France, Canada, Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Rumania—who discussed the feasibility of establishing a system of detecting nuclear tests secretly held in violation of any international agreement banning such tests. The experts' report released on September 3 simultaneously in the capitals of the eight participating countries recommended a nuclear test ban policing system of between 160 and 170 land stations and ten ships, scattered through all the continents and high seas, under the supervision of an international control organ. These stations, the experts believed, would detect nuclear explosions

of more than 5 kilo tons under even difficult circumstances, and might detect explosions of as little as one kilo ton under the most favourable conditions.

The report was signed by seven Western experts, headed by Dr. James B. Fisk of the United States, and 16 members of the Communist bloc delegations, headed by E. K. Federov of the Soviet Union.

One hundred ten of the land-based control stations recommended by the experts would be located on continental areas as follows:

North America, 24; Europe 6; Asia 37; Australia 7; South America 16; Africa 16; Antarctica 4. Sixty more control stations would be established on Oceanic islands. Most of the ten recommended detection ships would be scattered through the Pacific with one or two in the South Atlantic, American officials said in amplifying the conference report.

The experts recommended that an international control organ be created to operate the detection system which would be based on the collection of samples of radioactive debris, recording of seismic, acoustic and hydro-acoustic waves, monitoring of radio signals, and on-site inspection of unidentified events which would be suspected of being nuclear explosions.

The locations of control stations, U.S. officials explained, is related closely to the existence of seismic regions (areas of strong earthquake activity) around the Pacific Ocean, with the addition of the Caucasus in Southern Russia and small areas in Africa. This need for greater concentration of control stations in seismic regions arises from the necessity of distinguishing between nuclear explosions and the more than 1,500 seismic and other natural disturbances which occur each year with an intensity equal to a 5-kilo ton or more nuclear explosion.

Control stations in continental earthquake areas would be spaced about 1,000 kilometers apart, the report explained, and in aseismic (non-earthquake) areas about 1,700 kilometers apart. Ocean control posts would be spaced from 2,000 miles (3,200 kilometers) to more than 3,500 miles (5,600 kilometers) apart. Island control posts in seismic regions would be about 1,000 kilometers apart.

Officials who explained the report at a news briefing were unable to give specific figures for the number of stations which would be established in the United States and Soviet Russia. They pointed out that the determination of stations needed for satisfactory detection of violations of a test ban was made on strictly scientific considerations related to the natural seismic regions of the world, and without regard to political considerations.

Thus the six stations regarded as necessary in Europe simply reflects the fact that Europe is not a seismic region. Stations in the Soviet Union are counted in the total for both Europe and Asia, the officials explained.

The report made clear that each of the control posts should regularly be equipped with apparatus for the detection of explosions by the acoustic and seismic methods, as well as by recording of radio signals and collecting of radioactive debris.

Land stations on islands or near shores of oceans should have, in addition, apparatus for hydroacoustic detection of explosions. Ships, the report recommended, should have equipment to collect radioactive debris and to record underwater sounds of explosions.

The experts estimated that each post would need about 30 persons possessing the necessary specialties and qualifications. U.S. officials said in addition that probably 20 more might be needed for auxiliary servicing of the post. Thus, they estimated, personnel needed to operate the detection network might total 9,000.

The implication throughout the Geneva discussions was that the control posts would have to be manned in a way satisfactory to the International Control Organ, and there was no discussion of how many of each nationality would be assigned to each station.

The question of specific sites for the land and island stations did not arise at the Geneva talks, and the experts did not feel it necessary to decide on this point.

#### *Labour and Opposition*

Labour troubles are on the increase all over India. The main reason of course is the failure of the Government to control the rise in prices. But the role the groups that form the Opposition in the legislatures are playing



is that of adding fuel to the fires. This is a time of crises which concerns the very existence of the nation. This is being ignored by even the saner section of them. The following report is illustrative.

NEW DELHI, Aug. 27—Despite a concerted attack by the Opposition, led by Mr. Asoka Mehta (PSP), in the Lok Sabha today, Mr. S. K. Patil, Minister for Transport and Communications, refused to admit that the Government had rejected the Chaudhri Committee's recommendations on the dock and port workers' demands.

On the contrary, the Minister emphatically maintained that of the three major recommendations—rationalization of pay-scale, decasualization and retirement benefits—the first two had been accepted to a large extent. In the case of the third, unilateral decision would not be proper since the second pay commission was considering the issue.

The House was discussing a motion by Mr. Asoka Mehta and Mr. N. G. Goray on the Chaudhri Committee's report on port and dock workers' demands and the Government's resolution on it.

Mr Mehta accused the Government of wholly rejecting the report through a policy of procrastination and non-fulfilment of promises given from time to time. He was particularly critical of the Government's stand that it could not extend to port and dock workers' retirement benefits which were not available to other Government employees. Was it the policy of the Government, he asked, to treat all its employees on the same level whether they were employed in a steel factory or the railways or the docks.

Similar sentiments were expressed by Mr. Anthony Pillai (PSP), and two Communist members, Mrs. Parvathi Krishnan and Mr. Tangamani.

#### "Breach of Faith"

Characterizing the Government's attitude as a "breach of faith" Mr. Pillai maintained that the Government had only accepted those recommendations, which related to leave benefits and hours of work. He, therefore, suggested, in a substitute motion, that a mediator with powers of arbitration should be appointed to end the unrest among dock

workers. Mrs. Krishnan, on the other hand warned the Government that the workers could not be restrained much longer.

Mr. Patil's main argument was that the Federation did not want uniformity so much as maximization of pay-scales. It was not prepared to accept an average of all the different scales, but the highest prevalent anywhere. The Government at best could guarantee the continuance of higher scales wherever prevalent. He denied Mrs Krishnan's charge of victimization in Calcutta port and wished that the workers were not exploited for political ends.

The Opposition did not accept the Minister's argument that it would take a long time to end all discrepancies in wage-scales, nor was it convinced of his interpretation of the principle of equal pay for equal work.

Mr Mehta, therefore, once again appealed to him to accept the recommendations of their own specifically chosen officer and not to "confuse the issue when clarity can be achieved easily."

The House rejected Mr Pillai's substitute motion.

Initiating the debate, Mr Asoka Mehta said he had sought this discussion because he had an impression that all was not well with the ports and docks.

"It is quite possible that unless prompt measures are taken we may once again be confronted with a situation we faced a few days ago."

#### Country's Loss

Mr Anthony Pillai said that the problems of port and dock workers had not been successfully tackled for the past eleven years with the result that an increase in the productivity and output of these workers had been lost to the country. He thought the Government's decisions on the committee's recommendations was not likely to bring industrial peace.

Intervening in the debate. Mr Raj Bahadur, Minister for Shipping, said the Government had found that it could not take a final decision on certain matters raised by the Chaudhri Committee's recommendations. For instance the committee had not fixed scales of wages for all cate-

gories of workers and had left certain matters to be settled at the port administration level. Similarly about retirement benefits the recommendations were provisional.

He regretted that the port and dock workers' strike should have become an instrument of political agitation, and said it was time that an agreement was reached among all concerned that labour unrest in the country should not be used for political ends.

Mr. Patil appealed to Mr. Asoka Mehta and other labour leaders to use their influence and see that the demands of the dock workers were dealt with in a helpful and constructive manner.

Referring to the contention that the efficiency of the dock workers had increased and therefore, their demands should be met. Mr. Patil said the efficiency of the dock workers had increased because they were put on a piece-rate system. He also said that profits in an industry in which the Government had a monopoly were not entirely due to the results of labour.

#### *Race Relations in the U.S.A.*

The dominance of arrogant racialism in parts of the United States of America was provided by the State Governments' refusal to put into effect the U.S. Supreme Court's verdict outlawing segregation in schools. The most flagrant case has been in Little Rock, Arkansas, where the Governor, Mr. Faubus forcibly undid the integration voluntarily decided upon by the Little Rock School Board. The School Board whose keenness for integration was not very great then obtained the approval of the Federal District Judge Harry J. Lemley for a two-and-a-half-year suspension of the integration program. On August 18 this order of the Federal District Judge was overruled by the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals at St. Louis by a vote of six to one. Delivering the majority judgment Judge Maron C. Matthes, said: "We say the time has not yet come in these United States when an order of a Federal Court must be whittled away, watered down or shamefully withdrawn in the face of violent and unlawful acts of individual citizens." The white community in Little Rock was very much dismayed by this

order of the court insisting upon integration and applications were immediately filed for a stay of the execution of the court's order pending appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court. On August 21, the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals granted the prayer for a stay of the execution of its order for thirty days. The Supreme Court in its ruling on September 12 refused to grant the Little Rock School Board any delay in integration at the Central High School. Meanwhile on August 27 both Houses of the Arkansas State Legislature had approved with overwhelming majority a bill proposed by the Governor, Mr. Faubus, giving him authority to close schools rather than submit to enforced integration of white and negro children. The situation after the latest Supreme Court order was tense as would appear from the following report by *Reuter*:

Little Rock, Sept. 13.—"Deputy Federal Marshals streamed into Little Rock today from States throughout the South and Southwest, to be ready in case they are needed to help enforce order on 'school day' on Monday morning.

"Only a few hours after the Supreme Court in Washington yesterday ordered integration to be resumed at the Central High School, Governor Faubus put into operation his carefully-prepared legal machinery to forestall it.

"He signed the law passed recently in special session by the State's legislature, to close all schools if integration was ordered, and then proclaimed them closed. Later he ordered a meeting of State police in his office.

"He said he did not think the Federal Government had the power to prevent him from closing Little Rock schools. He was convinced the Government had no law under which he could be arrested because, as the head of a sovereign State, he had power to adopt measures he thought necessary.

"Plans have already been worked out by the city authorities with the co-operation of the U.S. Attorney-General's Office to prevent a recurrence of last year's violence in the city —when Federal troops finally had to be called in to escort nine negro children into the school.

"As Deputy Marshals arrived here they went straight to briefings informing them of these plans for the marshals to maintain order

in the grounds of the school, while city police attempted to keep mobs from forming in the streets around.

"Opposition to the Governor's move appeared immediately from a surprising source. A woman who said she believed in racial segregation but did not want the schools closed, instructed her lawyer to challenge the new law in a State court, asking for a judgment to void Mr. Faubus's order as unconstitutional."

### *Race Riots in Britain*

Race riots broke out in parts of England during the latter part of August. Whites and the coloured people from the West Indies were involved in the clashes in which the coloured suffered more. Thoughtful sections of British public opinion have shown remarkable sobriety in denouncing the hoodlums in the strongest terms and the Government, which was, perhaps, not prepared for such violence at the start, eventually reacted with a stern refusal to the suggestion for the restriction of immigration of Commonwealth citizens into the United Kingdom.

Referring to these unfortunate occurrences Mr. James Cowley writes in the *Statesman*, August 31:

"Last week-end's sickening example of what can happen in a normally well-behaved English city when suppressed racial tension violently erupts has been a chastening experience for many of us. No longer can we afford to point a smugly superior finger at Little Rock. To what extent must the British themselves share blame for the disgrace that has fallen on Nottingham? Ought not more determined steps have been taken by both sides to snuff out the smouldering embers of mutual suspicion, intolerance and fear before the powder keg exploded? These are questions to which answers are now being urgently sought not only in Nottingham—which, ironically, is the last place in England where such trouble was expected—but also in larger cities like London, Birmingham, Glasgow, Liverpool and Manchester, where the successful integration of strong immigrant communities with the native populations pose problems of some delicacy as well as complexity.

"In London, certain areas have been heavily

populated in the post-war years by particular groups of immigrants. The Nigerians and Ghanaians tend to congregate in Clapham and Westbourne Grove. Greek and Turkish Cypriots favour St. Pancras, Islington and Camden Town. Malaysians and people from adjacent parts of the Commonwealth are to be found mostly in Bayswater. The ubiquitous West Indians can be seen in all these places but more particularly in Brixton, Camberwell, Paddington and Notting Hill Gate. The Notting Hill Gate-Shepherds Bush area has been unsettled for the last three weeks, with fights and attempts to run down pedestrians with cars on Saturday nights. Between 3,000 and 5,000 West Indians live there, mostly in poor-housing conditions, among a population largely composed of people who are themselves not Londoners and have little community life. In the Hammer-smith area there has been a recent outburst by gangs of Teddy boys said to be cruising the streets on week-end evenings looking for Africans or West Indians. They are said to choose streets where only the occasional coloured person is to be seen, and then to attack in the ratio of half a dozen to one."

Evidently the cases of lawlessness in Britain, as elsewhere, are due as much to sheer hooliganism as to racial tensions.

### *Politics in Pakistan: Role of Civil Servants*

Politics in the young State of Pakistan has tended to be spectacular. The dismissal of the various provincial governments and of Prime Minister Nazimuddin was certainly a startling development. Who were the forces behind these developments? Undoubtedly the civil servants of Pakistan have played a significant role in these kaleidoscopic political changes. "The Government of Pakistan," writes Dr. Khalid B. Sayeed in an article in the *Pacific Affairs*, "may be described as a pyramid carved out of a single rock, and . . . the civil servants have captured the apex of the pyramid." Summing up the role of the civil servants Dr. Sayeed writes: "The British often used to describe the Indian Civil Service as the steel frame of the whole structure which constituted the Government of India. Today in the Government of Pakistan the civil servants often play an even more powerful role than that of their imperial



predecessors. Their ascent to power has been both steady and dramatic. Under the dominating personality of the Quaid-i-Azam (Mr. Jinnah) and his successor, Liaquat Ali Khan, the civil servants effectively controlled the entire administration in the provinces and the politicians there were kept in power subject to their willingness to obey Central Government directives." Since the death of Liaquat Ali, the power and authority of the civil servants have increased all the more. As the West Pakistanis outnumber East Pakistanis by five to one in the Central services and as practically all the key administrative posts in the provinces are manned by the officers belonging to the Central services, the Ministries in East Pakistan have always had particular difficulty in the execution of their policies which were not to the liking of the Secretaries. "Since politicians often championed the cause of provincial autonomy and stressed the uniqueness of Bengali culture," Dr. Sayeed notes, "the West Pakistani civil servants could claim that they had to act as the steel framework which maintained the national unity and solidarity of Pakistan. During the PRODA (Public and Representative Officers Disqualification Act) proceedings instituted against the provincial Minister of Finance and Commerce, Mr. Hameedul Huq Chowdhury, the Chief Secretary (a civil servant) revealed in September, 1950, that under instructions from the Central Government he had effectively stopped the export of steel drums to India which had been ordered by Mr. Chowdhury. Since then it has been constantly asserted by politicians both in the East Bengal Legislative Assembly and in the Constituent Assembly that the Chief Secretary used to send fortnightly reports on the activities of provincial Ministers to the Central Government."

Pakistan's political history amply bears out the fact that the meddling into politics by the civil servants does not conduce either to political stability or to the democratic development of a nation. With the sphere of governmental action expanding at a tremendous pace in many countries there has arisen a very real danger of bureaucratic domination of national politics. Many observers have pointed to the inhibiting role of the civil servants in Free India and it can only be utter shortsightedness to be obli-

vious of the potential threat presented from this wing. Pakistan's example is too living a pointer to be overlooked.

#### *The Limit of Territorial Waters*

In recent weeks an international controversy has been raised over the limit of territorial waters. The Government of Iceland promulgated an order, effective from September 1, extending the limits of her territorial waters to twelve miles from shore. The British Government which has all along opposed the suggestion of extending the limit of territorial waters beyond three miles declared it would not recognise the new 12-mile limit and sent British trawlers to fish within the Icelandic territorial waters. The British action naturally caused much caustic reaction on the part of the Government of Iceland which has no military force. Neutral opinion everywhere has been shocked at this British aggressiveness in directly violating the declared decision of a foreign government. The British decision was all the more unfortunate as the recent Geneva Conference on the Law of the Sea, which was attended by the delegation from 86 States, adopted a Convention which clearly rejected the idea of a three-mile limit. The speeches made during the season of the Geneva Conference conclusively demonstrated that the three-mile limit was not a generally recognized rule of the Law of the Sea. As a matter of fact, it was given by the information gathered by the Secretariat of the Conference, 19 countries only had a three-mile limit, while 26 had limits varying between 3 and 12 miles. The British action in violating Icelandic territorial waters within the 12-mile limit becomes even less supportable.

#### *Increasing International Liquidity*

It is now being felt in international monetary circles that in recent years there has been a shortage in international liquidity to cope with the growing volume of world trade. It is contended that since 1937, the flow of world trade has increased fourfold in terms of money value, but the world monetary gold stocks have risen by not much more than one-half. President Eisenhower has requested the Secretary of the U.S. Treasury to propose at the forthcoming annual meeting of the IMF at New Delhi in October, that prompt consideration be given

to the advisability of a general increase in the quotas assigned to the member Governments. The idea is that by raising the quotas of member countries, the international liquidity can also be raised and this will enable the IMF to increase its lending operations for the purpose of facilitating world trade. Many member countries are short of gold or dollar to finance their imports. The problem of international liquidity is to be viewed in terms of increased holdings of gold or dollar.

While it is desirable that the volume of international liquidity is to be increased to keep pace with the growing volume of world trade, it is to be noted that increasing the liquidity is closely connected with increasing the gold holdings of the member countries. And therein lies the crux of the problem. Most of the member countries of the IMF are now short of gold holdings and they are not in a position to increase their quotas by contributing more gold or dollar to their higher quotas which may be assigned to them if this proposal is accepted. As for example, India will find it difficult to augment her gold quotas. But it is also imperative that the international liquidity should be raised. The best way to do that is to introduce the free and multilateral convertibility which was accepted in the Havana Trade Charter as the goal of the post-war world trade. But that proposal has been shelved to the cold storage ever since its inception and instead the General Agreement on Tariff and Trade was accepted thereby enabling the countries of the world to prevent the free convertibility with the help of exchange restrictions. The liquidity can be increased by introducing free convertibility of currencies, instead of raising the quotas of the member-countries of the IMF in terms of gold or dollar, both of which are in short supply at the moment.

#### *Asian Success in the English Channel*

Shri Brojen Das, 27-year-old swimmer from East Pakistan, earned the distinction of being the first Asian to cross the English Channel when on August 23, he landed just east of Dover Harbour after a gruelling 14 hours and 57 minutes' swim across the channel from Cape Gris Nez in France. While the English Channel has been crossed by many, among whom were a few girls before Shri Das, no

Asian could achieve this feat so far, mainly due to the extremely different climatic conditions over the channel. Shri Das' performance in crossing the channel has thus been very creditable and we offer him our compliments.

The *Statesman's* Dacca correspondent adds:-

"Das owes a debt to one-time Indian ace swimmer, Prafulla Ghosh. It was Ghosh who in 1948 was largely responsible for re-kindling in Das an interest in competitive swimming after he had deserted the sport after a short career during his schooldays for a spell at athletics and football. He trained under Ghosh and Shyamapada Goswami in Calcutta and in the three years 1948-50 came second and third in the West Bengal Championships competing as a Pakistani. In 1951-52 and again in 1954 he won the 100 metres free style event in the West Bengal Championships which he entered this time with the permission of the East Pakistan Sports Federation.

"He placed second in the same event in the Pakistan Olympic Games in Lahore in 1953 with the then record timing of 1 min. 7 sec. and two years later in the National Olympics in Dacca won the 100 and 400 metres free style events, establishing a new record of 1 min. 6 sec. in the former. He also won the 1,500 metres event but was disqualified as he was down as a reserve and should not have raced.

"In 1956 he represented Dacca University in Karachi's Dilwar Swimming Pool, winning the 100 yards, 400 yards and 1,500 yards free style events in record timings. The following year he set up a record of 2 min. 30 sec. in the 200 metres free style in the Provincial Swimming Championships in Dacca."

#### *The Preamble to the Visit*

The following piece of news emanating from Karachi gives the preamble to the recent Nehru-Noon talks. It is reproduced in full below as later events will undoubtedly pin point it.

Karachi, Sept. 1.—The Pakistani Prime Minister, Mr Feroz Khan Noon, announced in the National Assembly today that the Secretary-level conference, now being held in Karachi to resolve the Indo-Pakistani border disputes, has "almost completely failed."

As such, Mr. Noon said, he had now an "uphill task" in new Delhi when he went there for talks with India's Prime Minister on the same issue on September 9.

Explaining his statements in an interview later, Mr. Noon said the two secretaries—India's Commonwealth Relations Secretary Mr. M. J. Desai, and Pakistan's Foreign Secretary, Mr. M. S. A. Baig—had not been able to reach an agreement on any major border question.

"The talks, as I see them, have almost completely failed to produce any solution," he said.

Indian delegation sources refused to comment on Mr. Noon's statement. They said the talks would be resumed tomorrow.

Mr. Noon also told the Assembly that he intended to call an all party conference to evolve a national policy on Kashmir at the end of this month.

Leaders of the Pakistan-held parts of Kashmir would also be invited to the conference to deliberate "calmly and coolly" on Pakistan's next step in what Mr. Noon described as 'achieving freedom for Kashmir.'

Mr. Noon was replying to a two-hour debate on an adjournment motion tabled by an Opposition member, Main Mumtaz Dulatana, to condemn the Government's action in arresting Chaudhri Ghulam Abbas who had sought to cross the cease-fire line with some volunteers on June 29.

The motion was talked out.

Three former Prime Ministers of Pakistan—Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Mr. I. I. Chundrigar and Choudhury Mohammed Ali—spoke on the motion, the latter two criticizing the Government action.

Mr. Noon said he agreed with the objective of Chaudhri Ghulam Abbas but did not approve of his action. He counselled patience and said he would not like the members to talk in bellicose terms in view of his forthcoming visit to new Delhi. He suggested a friendly approach to Indo-Pakistani problem.

"For 10 years Pakistan indulged in threats of war," Mr. Noon said, "The threats brought no result. If India is assured of Pakistan's friendly feelings, and if that can help solve the problems between the two countries, I want to give the friendly approach a chance. If a peaceful approach

and friendly attitude do not help us in reaching a solution to our problems. let us devise other methods. Let us for a little while see if the friendly approach succeeds in solving the problems.

"I am personally of the view that war will destroy both countries in the final analysis."

He told members that Pakistan's next step on the question of Kashmir should be discussed in a different atmosphere. He did not want the talk of war to be made in public. "Then, if something happens, we shall be accused of having talked of war and no friendly power will come to our help," he said.

A reception in honour of the Indian delegation to the Secretaries' talks will be given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations tomorrow.

India's acting High Commissioner in Karachi, Mr. S. N. Mitra, gave a reception in honour of the delegation tonight.

#### *The Background of Quemoy*

*The New York Times* has given a picture of the entire situation at Quemoy, up to the blockading by coastal gunfire. The background picture given by it, though given from the U.S. point of view, is fairly accurate in all aspects. We think this is worthy of record and as such we give it in extenso.

The Communist seizure and consolidation of power on the mainland of China a decade ago initiated an era of grave and almost continuous crisis in the Far East. Fundamentally, the crisis were caused by the expansionist pressure of the Peiping regime in co-operation with the Russia and the world Communist movement. The pressure was felt in Korea, in Indo-China and throughout South-east Asia, and even in the far western reaches of the China land mass on the borders of India and Tibet.

Within that context, the conflict between the Chinese Communist regime and the nationalist Government on Taiwan was at first largely symbolic. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek had fled to Taiwan and several of the smaller offshore islands with an army of about 600,000 after his Government collapsed on the mainland in 1949. But his cause was clearly hopeless; his threats to reconquer



China, hollow. Up to the summer of 1950, official United States policy was to deal gingerly with Chiang, discourage his notions of reconquest, and to accept the fact that Peiping would ultimately establish control over Taiwan and the smaller offshore islands.

Communist aggression in Korea in 1950 changed that policy. Washington re-evaluated the strategic importance of Taiwan—a link in the great island chain formed by Japan to the north and the Philippines to the south—in the light of the clear evidence that the Communists were ready to pursue their Far East aims by force. President Truman ordered the U. S. Seventh Fleet to patrol the waters in the 100-mile wide stretch between Taiwan and the mainland and in 1953 President Eisenhower announced a policy generally described as “unleashing Chiang Kai-shek.” In purely military terms, the “unleashing” was meaningless. Leashed or unleashed, Chiang was in no position to launch a serious attack against the mainland unless backed to the hilt by U. S. military force. But the new policy created a certain amount of psychological pressure against the Peiping regime and it implicitly committed the United States to the fortunes of the Chiang Government and the territory it held, including a number of islands right on Communist China's doorstep. Chief among them were the Quemoy, which lie just off Amoy harbour three to five miles from the coast, and the Matsus, 100 miles to the north and about ten miles from the mainland.

The Quemoy and Matsu islands have since become the danger points in the conflict between Communist China and the U. S. in the Far East. The first major crisis over them occurred in 1955 when Peiping launched a series of raids and artillery attacks as an apparent prelude to invasion. The U. S. response was the Formosa Resolution of 1955, overwhelmingly passed by both Houses of Congress, which stated:

That the President of the United States be and hereby is authorised to employ the armed forces of the United States as he deems necessary for the specific purpose of securing Formosa (Taiwan) and the Pescadores (a group of islets off the coasts of Taiwan).

In terms of Quemoy and Matsu, the meaning of the resolution—deliberately ambiguous—was to leave to the President's discretion whether an attack on the islands might be a threat to the security of Taiwan. The Chiang Government, however, interpreted the resolution as encouragement to reinforce its garrisons on Quemoy and Matsu. A steady military build-up began.

The United States' allies were deeply disturbed by the Formosa Resolution and the potential commitment to Quemoy and Matsu. But Communist pressure against the island eased after the Formosa Resolution and the issue receded.

Then last month, signs began to accumulate that new trouble was brewing. On July 31, Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev journeyed to Peiping for a four-day conference with Chinese Communist leader Mao-Tse-tung. In the weeks immediately following the Peiping conference, the evidence pointed to a Mao-Khrushchev decision on new military moves in Taiwan Strait. Stepped up Communist artillery bombardment of Quemoy culminated on Aug. 23 in the heaviest shelling in the island's history.

The attacks produced warnings from Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and President Eisenhower, but the warnings had no marked effect on Communist military activity in the Strait. Once again the question came up as to whether the United States, under the terms of the Formosa Resolution, intended to defend the offshore islands. Thus the stage was set for the events of last week.

The week began with concentrated efforts by the Communists to blockade the 100,000 man Quemoy garrison with fleets of torpedo boats. The Nationalist claim to have sunk a number of torpedo boats, but the claims as well as the actual Communist naval strength in the area were matters of dispute. One thing seemed certain: the blockade was creating a serious problem for the Nationalists. A Nationalist spokesman said: “Our supply line to the offshore islands is threatened and there is a limit beyond which we alone will not be able to solve the problem.”

# INDIA'S ACHIEVEMENT OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

By RAJANI KANTA DAS AND SONYA RUTH DAS

## I.

THE outstanding social movement in modern India is that of nationalism for the achievement of *Swaraj* (independence). The origin of this movement may be traced back to the early thirties of the last century, when Rammohun Roy took great interest in politics and even advised, when in England, the East India Company to include educated Indians in their Civil Service. About the same time, a small political organization called "Young India" and a British Indian Society were founded in England. In 1843 there were also founded, in Calcutta, the Bengal Asiatic Society and the Bengal Land-owners' Society, which were amalgamated in 1851 into the British India Association, the first Indian political organization. In 1852 the Association presented a petition to the British Parliament, setting forth India's grievances regarding revenue, industry, and education, and demanding the admission of Indians into higher administrative services and legislative councils.

By this time, a small group of educated Indians made their appearance as a result of English education introduced about a generation earlier. The reluctance of the British Government to admit Indians into the administration of their own country and the increasing distress of the rural population caused great discontent among the rising educated classes. The vernacular press was started in 1816, and the *Hindu Patriot* (founded in English in 1853) and the *Soma Prakash* (founded soon after in Bengali) strongly criticized the British policy regarding the annexation of the territories by Lord Dalhousie and the Afghan War in the seventies. The first organization of the educated classes was also founded in 1875. With a view to suppressing the discontent and criticism, Lord Lytton passed the Vernacular Press Act in 1878, but this was repealed by Lord Ripon in 1882.

A still more important factor in the growth of Indian nationalism was the Illbert Bill, introduced in the Governor-General's Council in 1883, to grant the right to Indian-born judges and magistrates to hear accusations brought against European residents. The Bill provoked strong opposition among indigo-planters in Bihar, tea-planters in Assam, and jute-mill owners in Calcutta. A compromise was effected but the educated Indians strongly resented the attack of the British on the probity of Indian judges and magistrates, thus creating a favorable background for the rise of nationalism.

### 1. THE POLITICAL MOVEMENT

Closely connected with the Renaissance and, as an integral part of it, was the political movement, which began by the middle of the nineteenth century and took its definite shape after a generation.

### THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

The most important political movement in India was the All-India National Congress founded in 1885 by A. O. Hume, a retired Civil Servant. The underlying motive of this initiative was the desire on the part of Lord Dufferin, the Viceroy, and of Mr. Hume to create an opportunity for the educated classes to discuss India's political and economic questions under safe guidance and to secure their loyal support for British rule. The avowed objectives of the Congress were, however, laid down at the time of its foundation in the following terms: (1) The fusion into one national whole of all the different and discordant elements of the people; (2) regeneration of the mental, moral and political life of the nation;

and (3) consolidation of Indo-British union by removing all obstacles.

From the very beginning, the Congress movement had been dominated by the moderates, who looked upon India as a part of the British Empire and demanded India's representation in the legislature and the Civil Service.

But the famine and the plague, as well as the riot of 1896-97, brought about a rapid growth of the radical party, under the leadership of B. G. Tilak, a great scholar and conservative leader, who took rather a sectarian attitude towards Indian nationalism. Tilak's followers were called nationalists or extremists, in contrast with the moderates who were in control of the Congress.

In 1905, the Congress movement entered a new phase. In order to suppress the rising spirit of nationalism, of which Calcutta with its advanced culture was the center, Lord Curzon devised the plan of the partition of Bengal; thus Eastern Bengal, with its Moslem majority, became a new province. The Bengalees, especially the Hindus, strongly protested against the partition and proclaimed the boycott of British goods on August 7, 1905. The Calcutta session of the Congress in 1906 adopted new programs of the Swaraj (self-government), the Swadeshi (promotion of domestic industry), and national education as its goals and supported the boycott movement of Bengal. The control of the Congress by several orthodox Hindus, who extolled the glory of Hindu culture from the national platform, alienated some of the Moslem leaders from the Congress movement. The Surat session of the Congress in 1907 saw the open split between the moderates and radicals over the question of the Congress policy, the moderate wing winning the control of the Congress.

In the meantime the partition of Bengal had aroused strong indignation throughout the country, especially in Bengal, where the movements for Swaraj, Swadeshi, national education, and especially boycott were vigorously carried on; but the boycott movement met with strong repression from the Government. A Seditious Meeting Act was passed in 1907, giving extraordinary powers to the Police and the Courts. As a result, underground and terrorist move-

ments appeared but these were severely suppressed. The Act of 1818 providing for the arrest and deportation of a person without trial was revived and Lala Lajpat Rai, the political leader of the Punjab, was deported to Burma. A Press Act was passed in 1910 for suppressing the revolutionary ideas of the press. B. G. Tilak, the radical leader of Poona, was sentenced to imprisonment for six years in 1911. In the same year, the partition of Bengal was revoked and the Congress adopted a conciliatory policy.

The World War of 1914-1918 brought a new outlook in India. The country wholeheartedly supported the British against Germany and the other Central Powers, mobilized over one and a quarter million men and contributed a hundred million pounds to the Imperial War Fund. A great event of the time was, however, the Hindu-Moslem reconciliation. In 1916, a Home-rule movement was started by Tilak and Annie Besant, the Theosophical leader, and was accepted by both Congress and the Moslem League. A Congress-League Pact was signed, providing separate electorates and weightage to the minority and demanding a partnership with self-governing dominions in the British Empire. Increasing tension between the Indians and the British led Norman Montague, Secretary of State for India, to issue the following Declaration of Policy on August 20, 1917:

"The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of increasing the association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire."

The greatest event of the national movement was, however, the entrance into the Congress of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi in 1919. The great disappointment of the Government of India Act of 1919, which was supposed to implement the declaration of 1917, and the enactment of the Rowlatt Acts of 1919, providing for the trial of political cases without jury, and the imprisonment of political suspects



without trial, made the political situation more intense. Moreover, the Jallianwalla Bag tragedy of April 13, 1919, when General Dyer ordered the firing at an unarmed crowd gathered in defiance of the government order, which killed 379 and wounded 1,200 persons, created strong resentment and indignation throughout the country. It was at this juncture that Gandhi took over India's political leadership and organized the Satyagraha Sabha (League of Organized Pacifism) to carry on political activities by mass movement. But the Government of India adopted very strong repressive measures and Gandhi was obliged to suspend the movement.

In 1920, the Congress adopted a policy of "non-violent non-co-operation" for the attainment of Swaraj and started the mass movement, organizing the National Volunteer Corps and pledging non-violence. This was, however, ruthlessly suppressed by the government and the leaders, except Gandhi, were imprisoned. In 1921 Gandhi also started the Civil Disobedience Movement, but the news that twenty-two policemen were killed by the peasants of Chauri Chaura, a small village in the United Provinces, under the leadership of the Congress workers, led him to suspend the movement at a meeting of the Congress Working Committee at Bardoli. By the beginning of 1922, 30,000 men and women including C. R. Das, Lajpat Rai, Motilal Nehru, and Jawaharlal Nehru had been arrested; Gandhi himself was also arrested in February, 1922, and imprisoned for six years. To call off the movement at the height of its development was regarded by most of the Congressmen as one of the "Himalayan Blunders" of Gandhi.

In 1923 a new Swaraj Party was founded under the leadership of C. R. Das and Motilal Nehru to fight the Constitution of 1919 in both the Central and Provincial legislatures. The Swaraj Party formed the strongest single bloc in the Central Legislative Assembly. The reversal during the post-war period of the British economic policy adopted during the War raised strong criticism among the industrialists. The exclusion of the Indians from the Statutory Commission appointed by the British Government in 1927 for investigating the

constitutional advancement to be conferred upon India as provided by the Government of India Act of 1919, gave rise to vehement protest against the British and all political parties boycotted the Commission. On October 31, 1929, the Viceroy issued a statement that "it is implicit in the Declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress as there contemplated is the attainment of the Dominion status."

After six years of inactivity the Congress movement began to revive itself in 1929. In the meantime the Congress movement was strengthened by several other forces, such as the student movement, the peasants' and workers' movement, the trade union movement, socialist and communistic movements. Moreover, a younger generation under the leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru appeared on the scene to take a leading part in Congress activities. In its Lahore session in December, 1929, the Congress adopted independence as its goal and at midnight, December 31, 1929, unfurled a tri-color national flag of Indian independence. On January 26, 1930, the first day set aside to celebrate national independence, Pandit Nehru, the President of the Congress, read the declaration of Indian independence: "It is the inalienable right of the Indian people, . . . as of any other people, to have freedom . . . and that India must sever the British connection and attain *purna swaraj* (complete independence)."

A spectacular event of this period was the famous "Salt March" which Gandhi commenced on April 6, 1930, gathering around him an increasingly large number of followers as he proceeded to the sea in protest against the law which placed an excise duty on the manufacture of salt. Gandhi had often protested against salt duties, as the Indian people were too poor to pay even the trifling sum involved. By the end of April the Hindu troops refused to fire on the Moslem crowd at Peshawar. The Civil Disobedience movement alarmed the Government and Gandhi was arrested on May 5, 1930, as a precautionary measure. The Congress and its allied organizations were declared illegal, meetings were broken up by force, and the crowds were fired upon. The total number

of arrests amounted to 90,000; but on January 26, 1931, Gandhi and other members of the Working Committee were released and a Gandhi-Irwin agreement was signed on March 4, 1931, which was ratified by the Karachi Congress convened for the purpose, and the Civil Disobedience movement was suppressed.

In 1931, the Congress also passed a Fundamental Rights and Duties Resolution modeled after the American Bill of Rights providing for: (1) The right of free expression of opinion, the right of free association and combination, and the right to assemble peacefully and without arms; (2) the protection of the culture, language, and script of the minorities and the different linguistic areas; (3) the franchise on the basis of universal adult suffrage; (4) no disability for public employment to any citizen by reason of religion, caste, creed, or sex; (5) free and compulsory education; (6) the security for the workers of a living wage, healthy conditions of work, limited hours of labor, and protection against the economic consequence of old age, sickness, and unemployment; (7) the reform of the system of land tenure, revenue and rent; and (8) the state ownership and control of key industries and services, mineral resources, railways, waterways, shipping, and other means of public transport.

In spite of its success in forcing the Government to sign an agreement, and Gandhi's attendance at the London Round Table Conference, the Congress failed to achieve any of its aims. Moreover, on his return to India emptyhanded, Gandhi found that the Government of India was bent on severe repressive measures on the Congress. On January 4, 1932, the Congress and its allied organizations were declared illegal, and Gandhi and the other Congress leaders and workers were arrested, their publications were banned, and members' funds and property were confiscated. By March, 1933, about 120,000 persons had been imprisoned. In 1934, the Congress, however, gave up Civil Disobedience and adopted constitutional methods for the achievement of self-government. Gandhi and other prisoners were released and in June, 1934, the Government lifted the ban on the Congress. In the same year Gandhi

resigned from Congress membership, although he remained up to the end of his life the greatest force for Indian nationalism.

In 1936 the Congress decided to contest the seats in the elections of members in the provincial legislature created by the Government of India Act of 1935 and came out victorious in seven out of eleven provinces, and actually formed Congress ministries in eight provinces. The Congress held these for only a little over two years, but even in this short period it started nation-building work of great significance. Although for a long time it was only a body of agitators and propagandists, the Congress showed wonderful administrative capacity when it was in power in various provinces. The Congress ministries managed state affairs skilfully, devoted themselves to the welfare of the people, and started constructive work and received appreciation even from those who opposed them. "As government, the Congress ministries in various provinces have shown initiative, sagacity, tact, and fairness, and have created a well-deserved encomium from friends and foes alike."\*

Since the acceptance of provincial ministries in 1937 the Congress has become a political party and when, by the declaration of war on her behalf by the British Government, India became a belligerent nation in 1939, the Congress Party negotiated with the British Government on the War Cabinet Offer in March 1942, and formed the Indian Interim Government on September 2, 1946, and the Dominion Government on August 15, 1947. With the attainment of virtual independence, the Congress Party gained both in strength and prestige and began to realize some of the ideals for which it fought for over a generation.

From its very start, the Indian Congress aimed at the establishment of an independent, united, democratic India, with complete equality of citizenship for all classes of people, irrespective of race, caste, creed, or sex, and with the adequate protection of the culture, language, and rights of the minorities, as declared by its Bill of Rights of 1931. It stood for free compulsory elementary education, universal suffrage, and improvement of social wel-

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\**India Year Book*, Bombay, 1941-42.

fare; it developed an elaborate program for education, health, agriculture, industry, and planned economy. The Congress party was organized on political principles and, although the majority of the members were Hindus in a Hindu-majority country, it had among its leaders and members of all classes of people—Hindus, Moslems, Sikhs, Christians, Parsis and others. The strength of the Congress was not so much in its membership as in the active and passive sympathy of the majority of the Indian population, both articulate and inarticulate.

#### THE ALL-INDIA MOSLEM LEAGUE

The All-India Moslem League was founded in 1906 in order to have an effective organization for the protection and promotion of communal interests through various methods, such as separate representation, attainment of political and other rights, presentation of the needs and aspirations of the Moslems before the Government, and promotion of inter-communal unity without prejudice to the interests of the League. Soon after its foundation the League made a representation, when the Morley-Minto reforms became the subject of discussion, for the inclusion of the following terms in the new Constitution: (1) The right of the Moslems to elect their own representatives by means of special electorates; and (2) the allotment of seats to the Moslems in excess of their population. The Government of India accepted these propositions and incorporated them in the reform of 1909.

In 1913 Mohammed Ali Jinnah, a brilliant lawyer from the Bombay High Court and a moderate Congress leader, joined the Moslem League. In the same year the League enlarged its creed and incorporated the achievement of self-government in the British Empire as one of its aims. In 1916 Jinnah was elected President of the League. Both the Hindus and the Moslems realized that dissension among them retarded the political progress of the country and they came to an understanding regarding the system of election and the distribution of administrative posts in the future government under what is called the Lucknow Pact. Jinnah played an important part in bringing about

Hindu-Moslem unity and harmony. He was hailed as the ambassador of Indian unity and he even told the Moslem League members, "This fear of Hindu domination is a bogey." The Lucknow Pact was incorporated in the Constitution by the Government of India Act of 1919.

During the war of 1914-18, Jinnah advocated constitutional reforms in exchange for India's support of the British war effort and in 1919 resigned from the Legislative Council of the Government of India in protest against the Rowlatt Acts. He also disagreed with Mahatma Gandhi on the non-co-operation movement as he thought it might heighten the religious sentiments and harm Indians, especially Moslems. In 1920 Jinnah was re-appointed President of the League and in 1921 he broke away completely from the Indian National Congress.

In 1927 the League held its meeting at Delhi under Jinnah's leadership. He agreed to the plan for common electorates with the Hindus on condition that Sind be created a separate province; reforms were introduced in the N.W.F. Province and Baluchistan, but the proposal was rejected by other Moslem leaders and abandoned. The League was also divided on the question of the exclusion of Indians from representation on the Statutory Commission, and Jinnah refused to co-operate with the Commission.

In 1930 he rejected the recommendations of the Simon Commission on Indian Constitutional Reform. At the Round Table Conference of the same year the League was strongly represented under the leadership of the Aga Khan, and Jinnah demanded separate electorates for both religious communities and assurance of proportional representation and an equal share of places in the central and provincial governments; but these proposals were strongly opposed by the Congress leaders. The League secured substantial concessions for the Moslems under the Communal Award of 1932.

In 1934 Jinnah was again re-elected President of the League, which position he maintained, through regular re-election, until 1948 when he resigned. In the provincial election of 1937 the League lost heavily. Out of 482



seats assigned to the Moslems in the Provinces, the League won only 108, or less than one-fourth of all the seats, in contrast to overwhelming victory by the Congress Party in the legislatures of both Central and Provincial Governments. Each of the eight ministries formed by the Congress Party had, however, a Moslem minister. The League bitterly attacked the Congress ministries for discrimination against minority Moslems in the Hindu majority provinces, which was, however, denied by the Congress Party. In the same year the League at its Lucknow session passed a resolution championing the cause of all minority communities of the country as indicated by the resolution: "Establishment in India of full independence in the form of a federation of full democratic states in which the rights and interests of the Moslems and other minorities are adequately and effectively safeguarded in the Constitution." But the League also organized its branches in all the provinces and in a number of districts and continued its agitation for sectarian advantage.

Soon after the declaration of war in September, 1939, the Working Committee of the League made a bid to the British Government for its full support on condition that a sense of security be created and that satisfaction be obtained among the Moslems by the recognition of the Moslem League as the only organization to speak for all the Moslems of India. About the same time the League renewed its attack on the domination of the Moslems by the Hindus. On the day the Congress ministries resigned from the Provincial Governments, Jinnah celebrated it as "Deliverance Day" and made sweeping allegations against the Congress ministers.

On March 22, 1940, in the annual conference Jinnah demanded an autonomous new state comprising all the Moslem majority provinces of India. On August 8, 1940, the Government of India made a declaration for protecting the minority rights in the future Constitution of India. In the Madras Session of April, 1941, the League passed a resolution demanding a completely independent state in the Moslem-majority provinces but safeguarding the rights and interests of the minori-

ties living in them on the same basis as the Moslem minority was treated in the Hindu-majority provinces. Moreover, it also demanded that all the contiguous Moslem-majority provinces be joined together both in the north-west and in the north-east, and all these Moslem-majority territories be combined together into Pakistan for the Moslems as against Hindustan for the Hindus.

Jinnah urged the British Government to give up their policy of appeasement toward those who were bent upon the frustration of their war efforts, and to co-operate only with those desiring that relation. Toward the end of the same year, he warned the British public and the Government that any departure from the pledged policy and declaration of August 8, 1940, would constitute a gross breach of faith with Moslem India and would be resented by the Moslems with all the force at their command. After the war started the League became one of the two leading Indian political parties to negotiate with the British Government on the future of Indian independence and the Constitution of India as will be discussed later.

From the above it is seen that the League was essentially a communal organization and as such it had the same right in the national life as the Hindu Mahasabha. But, as admitted by some of its leaders, it owed its origins to the British policy of "divide and rule" which reached its climax in the demand for Pakistan. Moreover, there is a general belief among the non-Moslems and even among the Moslem population that the British Government adopted a policy of appeasement toward the Moslems, as indicated by the recognition of Jinnah as the only spokesman for the Moslem community.

With the partition of India and the establishment of Pakistan as an independent state, the League realized its main objective and most of its activities came to an end. Jinnah, the Quaid-i-Azam (the Great Leader), and the other prominent leaders left India. After the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi on January 30, 1948, the Government of India prohibited political organization on a communal basis. The Moslem League Party in the

Indian Legislature dissolved itself and the All-India Moslem League took itself out of politics. The Moslem League of the United Provinces also dissolved itself and formed a new people's party which was made open to all classes of people irrespective of religion.

#### THE ALL-INDIA HINDU MAHASABHA

The third important political organization in India is the Hindu Mahasabha, which, although communal in origin, has recently been taking an increasingly important part in the political movements of the country. The beginning of the Mahasabha may be traced back to the year 1906, when a provincial conference of the Hindus in Bengal expressed great apprehension regarding the gradual decrease in the normal growth of the Hindu population, and when a similar organization was also formed in the Punjab for safeguarding the interests of the whole Hindu community. The foundation of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha was laid at Allahabad in 1910, when the formation of such an organization was decided upon and in a few years it appeared in the national life of the country as an important political organization and was recognized as such by the Government of India in 1940.

The forces which had given rise to the Mahasabha were many, such as (1) the rise of the Moslem League and its increasingly aggressive policy against the Hindus; (2) the decreasing birth-rate among the Hindus as compared with that among the Moslems; (3) the conversion of the Hindu and aboriginal population into Mohammedanism and Christianity; (4) favoritism shown by the British Government toward the Moslems at the expense of the Hindus; (5) the lenient policy of the Congress toward the Moslems; and (6) revival of Hinduism as a great culture.

The Mahasabha's interest in national politics began in 1918, when it demanded responsible self-government for India as a unit of the British Empire and expressed its strong opposition to the introduction of creed and color considerations in the national legislature. Since then the Mahasabha has opposed communal representation in national institutions and

services and demanded the universal franchise for all communities in each province and the immediate grant of dominion status and the recruitment of officers for the King's Commission in the Indian Army from all classes of the people irrespective of color and creed. In 1932, the Mahasabha condemned the Communal award by the British Government as a measure against "all canons of democratic, responsible, and representative government,"<sup>†</sup> and also against "unanimous opinions" of the vast Hindu community, of the Sikhs, of the important sections of Moslems, Christians, and depressed classes." The Mahasabha also took strong exception to the Congress in its neither-accept-nor-reject attitude. Some of the Mahasabha members under the leadership of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the founder of the Hindu University, started a New Congress National Party.

In 1937 V. D. Savarkar became President of the Mahasabha and introduced a virile program for the regeneration of the Hindu community and declared as its goal the attainment of complete independence by all legislative and peaceful means. In 1940 the Mahasabha claimed that it alone had the right to speak in the name of the Hindu community, and stoutly resisted the demand of the Moslem League for the division of India into Hindustan and Pakistan. In 1942 the Mahasabha was the first to reject the Cripps offer inasmuch as it might divide India into two or more separate states. After the imprisonment of the Congress leaders, the Mahasabha made several attempts to secure recognition by the British Government of India's independence, of the formation of a national government, and of India's active participation in the war on behalf of Britain and her allies.

<sup>†</sup>The injustice of the Communal Award is best indicated by the absurd allotment of communal representation in Bengal, where the Moslems and Hindus constituted, respectively, 55 and 43 per cent of the population and were entitled to 99 and 78 seats, respectively, according to the population; but the British granted 117 and 78 seats, respectively, the latter including 30 seats reserved for the depressed classes.

A surprising event about this time was the resolution passed by the Madras Legislative Assembly under the guidance of Rajagopalachari approving the Moslem League's request for the partition of India in April, 1942. The resolution was defeated in the All-India Congress Committee shortly after that, but it created great prejudice against Rajagopalachari, one of the prominent leaders of the Congress movement. Savarkar stigmatized it as passing from *Quit India* to *Split India* and appealed to the members of the Mahasabha to fight for the preservation of the national and territorial integrity.

In 1944, the year of the Silver Jubilee, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee succeeded Mr. Savarkar as the President of the Mahasabha and condemned the British policy of "divide and rule," the recognition of the Moslem League as the sole spokesman of the Moslems, and the Pakistan scheme. The Mahasabha adopted several resolutions, including (1) the right of the Mahasabha alone to speak on behalf of the Hindus; (2) determined opposition to the Pakistan scheme; and (3) immediate declaration of Indian independence by the British. In the following years the Mahasabha suffered a number of reverses and protested in vain against the Moslem parity with the caste Hindus and the partition of India.

After its recognition by the British Government as a political party, the Mahasabha gained both in membership and prestige, and industrialists, money-lenders, and landowners became members. In fact, next to the Congress, the Mahasabha was the largest political organization in the country. This increasing strength of the Mahasabha was due partly to the growing reaction against the demand of the League for special favors, which the British Government granted and the Congress Party conceded, partly to the rising consciousness of the gradual decline in number of the Hindu population as compared with that of other religious groups, such as the Moslems and the Christians, and partly to increasing desire to preserve the territorial integrity of their own country.

The Mahasabha was avowedly a militant organization of the orthodox Hindus to safe-

guard their cultural interests and claimed that India was a land of Hindus, *i.e.*, the peoples belonging to the Hindu race, irrespective of their religious denominations. The Mahasabha stood for United India at any cost, and was violently opposed to the Pakistan scheme. It supported the provisions of the Government of India Act of 1935 for the federation of British India with Indian States, which were ruled mostly by Hindu princes.

On February 15, 1948, the Working Committee of the Mahasabha adopted a resolution condemning the shooting of Mahatma Gandhi as "a matter of shame and humiliation" and as "suspending all political activities throughout India and concentrating on the social, religious, and cultural problems of Hindu society and the relief and rehabilitation of the refugees."

#### THE NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION

The National Liberal Federation took its rise from the split between the moderates and the radicals in the special session of the Congress in Bombay in 1918. The Federation held its first meeting under the chairmanship of Surendranath Banerjea in the same year, adopted for its creed the same objective as that of the old Congress, *i.e.*, self-government within the British Empire, and became the medium for the expression of moderate views on Indian political problems.

The Federation had accepted the political reforms as envisaged by the Government of India Act of 1919, and took over the ministry of several provinces inaugurated under that Act in 1920. But at the election of 1923 when the Swarajists entered the legislature, the Federation began to lose its influence in the country. In 1927, the Federation took the lead in boycotting the Statutory Commission for non-inclusion of the Indians and, in 1928, even urged that Dominion Status be granted. Under the leadership of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru it took an important part in the First Round Table Conference and demanded that the Federal executive should be made responsible to the popular chamber of the federal legislature, that

the residual powers should be vested with the Central Government, that the defense should be Indianized at a definite rate and proportion within a fixed time, and that in all elections there should be a common electorate with reservation of seats for communities.

The Federation took an important part also in the Second Round Table Conference and protested against the scheme of the new Constitution which granted no responsible government to the people and preserved special powers with the Governor-General and Governors and kept the defense, finance, and foreign affairs beyond the power of the legislature. The criticism of the new Constitution under the Government of India Act of 1935 by the Federation became all the more important in view of the fact that the Congress was under ban as an illegal body and could not raise any voice against constitutional changes.

In the general election of 1937 under the Government of India Act of 1935, the Federation made scarcely any progress, but its leaders were engaged in various political activities and organized several non-party conferences demanding, in March 1941, the Indianization of the Viceroy's Council with non-official Indians with the exception of the defense ministry and, in 1943, the immediate release from prison of Gandhi (who was then fasting) and other Congress leaders, or their trial in open court. In the annual conference of 1943-44, the Federation adopted resolutions reiterating the demand for the release of Congress leaders from prison in order to give them an opportunity to reconsider their resolution of August 8, 1942, and also for the formation of a national government consisting of Indian leaders enjoying the people's confidence. During World War II, the Federation, especially Sir Tej Bahadur, took a leading part in reorganizing non-party conferences and on December 29, 1944, set up a conciliation committee for outlining the future Constitution of India. The report of the committee is a valuable document and will be discussed later.

Like the Indian National Congress, the Federation was based on political principles and was open to everyone having liberal views.

It consisted of a large body of highly educated public men whose expert knowledge in their respective fields was much appreciated all over the country. They did not, however, develop any practical policy of achieving the desired goal beyond criticism of the Government policy and petitioning for political concession; they therefore had very few followers. The essential difference between the Congress and the Federation was that while the former aimed at complete independence and employed direct methods, *e.g.*, non-co-operation and civil disobedience, the latter had long stood for Dominion Status and had only recently demanded independence and favored a constitutional method for achieving the national goal. India's independence has been achieved, and some of the leaders of the National Liberal Federation have remained; India's elder statesmen, and their learned and mature advice on all questions of national importance are still available to their countrymen.

#### THE FUTURE OF THE MOVEMENT

An important question regarding the political movement in India today is that of its future. With the achievement of national independence some of the parties have disappeared while others have reorganized themselves into political parties both in the national parliament and in the State legislative assemblies, as noted above. An immediate effect of Mahatma Gandhi's assassination was the dissolution of political parties based on communalism, such as the Hindu Mahasabha, the Moslem League, and the Akali Dal (Sikh organization), which were dissolved at least for the time being and their members were set free to join either the Congress or any other political organization. Some of them were reorganized before the elections but the Congress still remains the dominant party.\*

(To be Continued)

\* See the writer's *India and A New Civilization*, Calcutta, 1922. *Indian Year Book*, Bombay, for several years.



## A CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE MINISTERIAL TANGLE IN ORISSA

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### INTRODUCTION

We propose to discuss in this paper some aspects of the ministerial crisis that occurred in Orissa last summer. Although it was a local event it started a heated political controversy throughout the country as it involved some constitutional issues of general interest to the country as a whole bearing on the successful working of parliamentary system in India. It, therefore, deservedly attracted the attention of students of constitutional law and practice in the country as also of practical politicians. Parliamentary system which is native to the soil of Britain is an exotic growth in India which has got to take its roots here in a new soil and cannot, therefore, be expected to develop exactly on the same pattern as in the country of its origin. It is also natural that it would confront novel situations and problems which will call for evolving new practices and conventions to meet them. There is also bound to be controversy as to the correct practice and convention that should be established governing a particular situation that may arise. Through such discussions and in the light of experience healthy conventions would come to be established.

### BACKGROUND OF THE CRISIS

The last general elections did not give any of the political parties that contested the elections an absolute majority. The party position in the Orissa State immediately after the General elections was as follows\* :

Congress—56, Ganatantra Parishad—51, P. S. P.—11, C. P. I.—9, Independents—13.\* In the circumstances in accordance with the time-worn convention of parliamentary system the leader of the Congress party being the

one with the biggest majority was called upon to form the Government and the leader of the Party Dr. H. K. Mahatab accordingly formed his Government with the promise of support from the Jharkhand party members. Due to ideological differences between the Ganatantra Parishad the main constituent of the official opposition and the C. P. I. the latter also promised support to the Congress party in general.

The Congress formed a minority Government in the state and as is usual with minority Governments was a weak Government. For some months Mahatab ministry carried on without any hitch and would have done so longer, but for defection within the party organisation which manifested itself in the voting against the nominees of the party in the elections to the Upper House and some Congress Party members crossing the floor to join the Ganatantra Parishad which was taken serious notice of by the local leadership of the party as well as the Congress High Command which took steps for tightening the organisational discipline in the ranks of the Party. This internal weakness of the Congress party gave an opportunity to the opposition groups in the state to make an onslaught on the ministry. P. S. P. and Ganatantra Parishad combined to oust the Congress. The Communist Party members also joined with the other two on a cut motion pressed to a division on the 24th of April, 1958. The ministry could get only one vote majority, the voting being 62 for the motion and 63 against. Two days later 3 more Congress members including a Deputy Minister Anup Singh Deo resigned to join the opposition. Soon after, however, two of them withdrew their resignations. The position of the Congress ministry became extremely precarious and unstable and there was great commotion in political circles. Brisk canvassing started for winning over

\* Vide A. B. Patrika., Calcutta, dated April 4, 1957

members from one side to the other. The situation was complicated at this stage by Government calling out the military at the capital City Bhubaneswar on the 27th April in apprehension of the breach of the peace. Military were even posted to guard the Assembly buildings. Some Parishad members of the Assembly were placed under arrest. This caused a furore and raised a storm in the opposition circles and the situation became explosive. Political motives were imputed to the arrest of the G. P. members and the posting of military guards in the Assembly buildings was denounced as being designed for intimidation of members and therefore calculated to smother parliamentary democracy in the State. The Government explained that it was not the military that had been called but the state constabulary in view of the apprehended breach of the peace and that the arrest of the G. P. members had no political motive behind, but was in due course of justice, complaint having been lodged against them for breach of the law. However, with the withdrawal of resignation of two members who had crossed the floor the position of the ministry improved and the crisis looked like blowing over. At this juncture, however, the Congress High Command issued a direction to Dr. Mahatab to resign with which he complied and tendered resignation of his ministry. The resignation of Mahatab ministry, enjoying as it did at the time majority support in the Assembly, created a peculiar and novel situation in Orissa politics which raised a controversy as to the correct constitutional procedure to be followed in the circumstances.

#### THE MINISTERIAL TANGLE IN THE WAKE OF RESIGNATION OF THE CONGRESS MINISTRY

The first question that arose was whether it is proper for a ministry with majority support in the legislature and with no prospect of an alternative Government being formed, to give up responsibility of office.

To us it appears such action cannot be justified from the standpoint of constitutional propriety except for effecting a reshuffle of the ministry consequent on internal dis-

sensions. A ministry with majority support in the legislature holds a commission from the electorate which it should not renounce till it has been defeated in the legislature or on an appeal to the electorate it has failed to get a majority indicating that it has lost the confidence of the electorate. Of course the ministry in this particular case was put in a difficult position by the directive of the Party Executive to resign. It was torn between its allegiance to the Party and loyalty to the Constitution. It is difficult to understand the reason of the action of the Party at this juncture when two of the seceding members had come back to the Party fold and thereby the party position in the legislature improved over what it had been some days before when the ministry had somehow scraped through only with one vote majority and further seeing that a little later without much change in the situation it issued a directive for withdrawing the resignation. But having got the directive of the Party, however, the ministry had no other alternative, but to bow to it even at the cost of sacrificing constitutional propriety.

#### GOVERNOR'S DILEMMA

It placed the Governor in a difficult situation—a situation which the Constitution does not quite envisage, nor had any convention been established which might guide his action. He was called upon to cut out a path for himself, with the attending risks of such a step. Nor did the law and practices of the English Constitution on which our parliamentary system is substantially modelled throw much light on the course of action he was to follow in the situation.

The decisions of the Governor have naturally raised a controversy and came in for public criticism by the opposition parties. Dr. Mahatab met the Governor on May 9, 1958 and tendered his resignation. The Governor did not immediately accept his resignation, but kept it under consideration and asked him to carry on till he was in a position to make alternative arrangements. Apparently the Governor did not know what to do and wanted to watch the developments in the fluid political situation of the

State before taking a definite line of action. The next day he sent for the leader of the Opposition Maharajah Sri Rajendra Narayan Singh Deo and asked him to let him know by May 13, the names of his supporters in the Assembly and whether he was in a position to form a stable ministry. But the leader of the Opposition subsequently asked for time till 20th May of the Governor to give him the information wanted. All the time, however, Dr. Mahatab's resignation was not accepted, but kept under consideration and the constitutionality of this action of the Governor has been questioned. Doubts were raised even about the impartiality and political neutrality of the Governor for not accepting the resignation of the retiring ministry before starting talks with the leaders of the parties for the formation of an alternative ministry. It has been contended that non-acceptance of the resignation of the outgoing ministry lends an air of unreality to the parley with the leaders of other parties for the formation of Government and tends to prolong the instability and fluidity of the situation. In our opinion there is much substance in this line of argument. The ministry might have been asked to carry on as a care-taker Government till an alternative Government was formed, after acceptance of the resignation. Under Art. 164 (1) of the constitution the Chief Minister and other ministers shall hold office during the pleasure of the Governor. Therefore it would have been perfectly constitutional for the Mahatab ministry to continue as a care-taker Government even after its resignation was accepted. But this state of unstable equilibrium could not be allowed to continue beyond a period unavoidable in the circumstances, because Art. 163 (1) read with Art. 164 (2) requires him to have a council of ministers with the Chief Minister at the head to aid and advise the Governor in the exercise of his functions and one which should be collectively responsible to the Legislative Assembly. This latter condition also puts a limitation on the power of the Governor in the matter of appointment of the Chief minister and other ministers so as to restrict it only to such as would be in a position to enjoy the support of the majority in the Legislature.

But the difficulty for the Governor was that none of the party leaders was in a position to have majority support in the Assembly excepting the Congress party with the support of the Jharkhand party members. That was the justification for his not accepting the resignation of the ministry and keeping it under consideration pending developments. If in the meantime the Parishad or PSP could get together a working majority singly or by coalition, the leader of that party or coalition would have been entrusted with the task of forming ministry and the resignation of Dr. Mahatab's ministry would have been accepted immediately. The Governor might well say that he was not prompted by any partisan motive in not accepting the resignation, but simply for having a ministry to advise him till an alternative ministry could be formed, for which he made every honest attempt in the meantime. The opposition parties criticised the inordinate delay in accepting the resignation, not without reason, and imputed even partisan motive to his action. They contended that this non-acceptance of resignation stood in the way of their getting a majority support. The delay in accepting the resignation of an outgoing ministry and formation of an alternative ministry is always liable to be viewed with suspicion and should be reduced to the minimum, as is the practice in England. But in England when one ministry resigns there is usually an opposition leader ready to form either a homogenous or coalition ministry or a minority ministry with the support of some other group or groups. But in the present case there was no such leader forthcoming who could undertake the responsibility of office and therefore the English precedent was not applicable. As the leaders of the other groups could not undertake the responsibilities of office by getting together a majority the Governor had no other alternative, but to request the leader of the Congress party who still commanded a majority in the Legislative Assembly, however slender, to withdraw his resignation, and failing that, to proclaim a break-down of the constitutional machinery under Art. 356 and invoke President's rule in the State. President's rule should not, however, be invoked except as a matter of the last resort,

after all avenues of forming a ministry have been explored and failed. Even if one of the leaders agreed to form a minority ministry he should be given a chance and face the Legislature to test his capacity to run the administration. If he is defeated on the floor of the House he may either resign or advise the Governor to dissolve the legislature and order fresh general elections, so that the electorate might be called upon to give their clear verdict in favour of the parties.

#### THE PROPER COURSE FOR THE GOVERNOR IN THE ORISSA SITUATION

Perhaps that was the best way of solving a deadlock of the nature that happened in Orissa. But no party leader agreed to accept office and then face the legislature. So the contingency did not arise at all. But when the other parties were not able to form ministry it was open to the Governor to dissolve the legislature and order fresh general elections and thus to place the onus of creating a stable ministry where it should

rest, *viz*, the electorate. As a constitutional ruler the Governor should not only be impartial but also appear to be so. The less he exercises his personal discretion in the matter of formation of ministries the better for him to preserve this neutrality as a constitutional ruler and the more he would take a hand in the formation of ministry the more he would subject his impartiality to be questioned with or without justification. The reason why the Orissa Governor did not take this step, however, was perhaps either he wanted to avoid a general election so soon after the previous one with all the resultant expense, excitement and dislocation of normal life or perhaps he waited for the Congress Executive to withdraw its directive to Dr. Mahatab which eventually happened. But the propriety and constitutionality of this course of action was legitimately open to question. It was liable to be interpreted as the Governor wanting to bring back the Congress ministry to office and thus behaving in a partisan manner contrary to the spirit of parliamentary democracy.

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## THE HOOGHLY RIVER

By D. N. SENGUPTA

SILTING of the river Hooghly and its salinity are the two great problems which now face the authorities for solution. The river has two main sources of supply: (1) Supply from the Ganga through the Bhagirathi, Jalanghi and Mathabhanga-Churni; (2) the Western Tributaries, the more important of which are the Mayurakshi, Ajoy, Damodar, Rupnarayan and Kangshabati-Haldi.

The flow from the Ganga is short-lived, being limited to 3 months in the year when the Ganga level is high. Although the supply from this source is beneficial to the Port, it is slowly and surely getting reduced. Two to three decades ago the branches of the Ganga flowing into the Hooghly remained connected with the parent stream for about four months in the year. At the beginning of this century, training

works could keep these branches navigable to small country boats even at their lowest stage.

The western tributaries having no snow-feeding, are entirely dependent on rainfall in their catchment area which totals about 20,000 sq. miles. These rivers practically do not now carry any discharge during the dry weather. Whatever little water used to come down before in the dry season, has practically dwindled to nothing owing to extensive deforestation and unchecked run-off from the basins.

The Hooghly river is the mainstay of the city of Calcutta, and as such it is of primary importance to the State of West Bengal that this river is kept in good order. The Port of Calcutta situated on it, not only serves West Bengal but also all the States of the north-eastern zone of the country and handles about half of the total imports and exports of India.



Moreover, the City of Calcutta and its suburbs draw their water supply from this river.

The irrigation canals which have been constructed in the basins of the western tributaries of the Hooghly, are according to some engineers, responsible for reduction in the supply to the Hooghly from these sources. When, however, the irrigation from Damodar Valley and Mayurakshi Canals will be fully established, seepage will increase and augment the dry weather flow. But the extent of this supply cannot yet be gauged fully, and it cannot also be said how far the seepage flow will help the river Hooghly.

In any case, the present position of the river Hooghly is rather serious. The river has shoaled up to the Hooghly Point. Whatever has been done up to date to improve the river, had no impression on it. Rather, the river has progressively deteriorated.

The question of doing extensive dredging to deepen the river is, it is understood, being considered. Such a measure is effective when bars between deep reaches of a river have to be removed, and the dredged sludge is dropped in the deeper reaches. But the river Hooghly has shoaled for a long length from the docks to the Hooghly Point. In such a situation, dredging to keep the river navigable to sea-going vessels is not likely to be effective.

This deterioration was noticed several years back, and necessity was felt for obtaining a substantial supply from the Ganga all the year round. A scheme was, therefore, prepared for constructing a barrage across the Ganga at Farakka for diverting about a third of its dry weather flow into the Bhagirathi. During the rainy season, when the Bhagirathi receives, in the natural course, a good supply from the Ganga, the barrage would be kept fully open, and the rivers would flow without any artificial control.

This scheme was first suggested by Sir William Wilcox, an eminent Irrigation Engineer, to whom Egypt owes construction of the Aswan Dam. Some thirty years ago, he visited this country on an invitation to find out how the Central Bengal rivers could be resuscitated. Since then, the question of constructing a barrage at Farakka is in view. Investigation of the subject was, however, taken up towards the

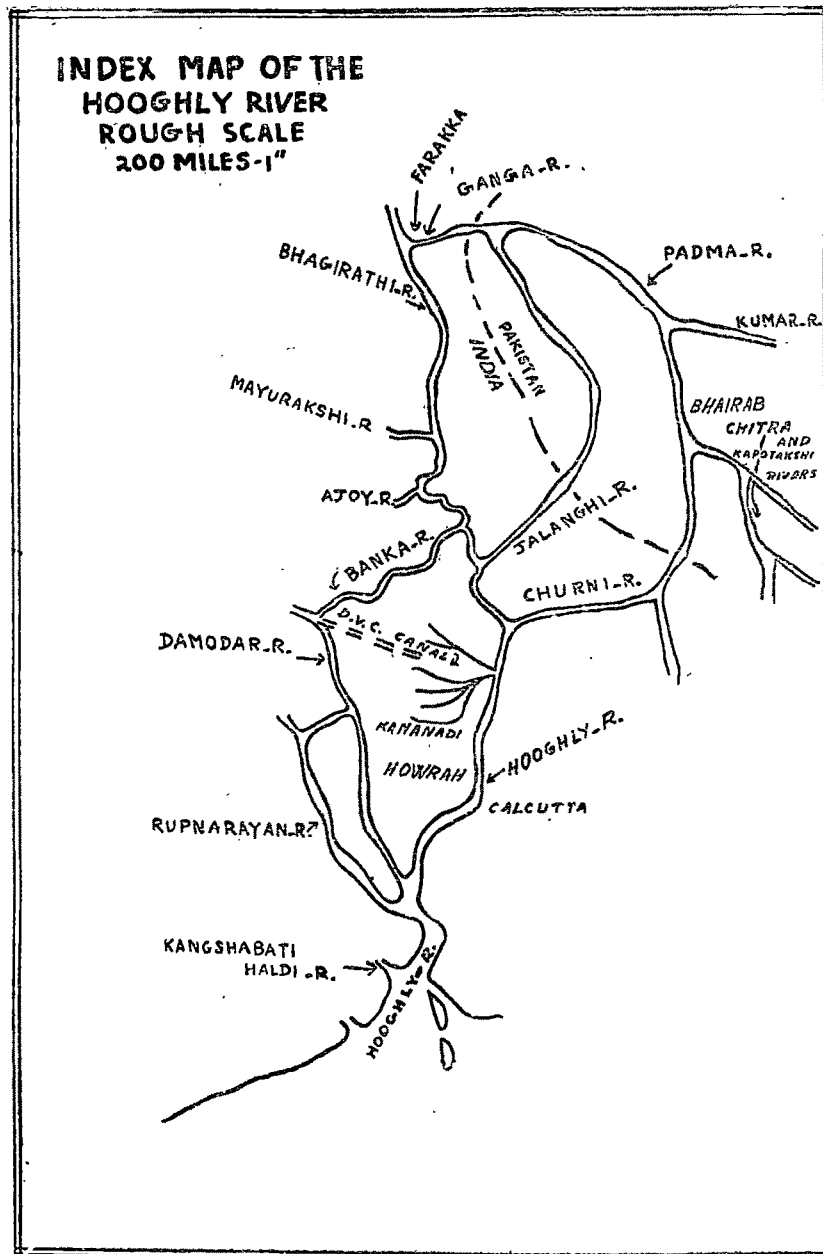
end of the last Great War, and a scheme has since been prepared for its construction. But the question of construction of the barrage was kept pending the execution of other more important projects.

Production of food-grains was given a more important position, and the Mayurakshi Irrigation Project and the Damodar Valley Project were taken up. The former project has since been constructed and the latter is nearing completion. But one of the essential works, namely, checking of quick run-off of rain water has been practically left out from both the Mayurakshi and Damodar basins. Only the more spectacular portions of the works have been done. The forests which were destroyed in these basins during the last Great War for getting timber, were not restored and the country is getting more and more a desert-like climate. Extreme heat and drought, and occasional heavy rain-fall will gradually bring in worse condition. The river Hooghly has thus been most seriously affected.

There is an opinion that the present condition of the Hooghly river is to a large extent due to the bad effect of the Damodar Valley Project. Whether this opinion is right or wrong, the alarmingly bad condition of the Hooghly is evident from the fact that the Kidderpur Docks are practically cut off during the dry months. The question of constructing the Farakka Barrage for improving the Hooghly has, therefore, been taken up now in right earnest.

Those engineers and politicians, who supported the Damodar Valley Project, now condemn it for the present condition of the Hooghly. Before, therefore, the construction of the barrage is taken up, every aspect of the scheme should be well-considered. The construction of the barrage might affect a large area of low country a part of which lies in East Pakistan. A detailed examination of the scheme is, therefore, necessary before the work is taken up.

It is understood that an eminent German engineer has examined the scheme recently and his report is under scrutiny of the India Government. But it is doubtful if he could get facts and figures of the adjoining Pakistan territory to see if that area might be affected by the scheme.



Apart from the question of its desirability and East Pakistan's objection to the Barrage Scheme, the time (10 to 15 years) that we will require to construct the barrage has to be taken into consideration, as in the meantime the river might silt up extensively and use of the Hooghly by sea-going vessels rendered impossible. We should, therefore, think of some immediate measures for maintaining navigability of the river.

The Hooghly river is a tidal creek for about eight months in the year from November to June, and all the considerations for maintenance of a tidal creek should be observed, and nothing should be done, which impedes propagation of tides. In this respect, draw of a large quantity of water from the river at Mullick Ghat near the Howrah Bridge for unfiltered water supply of Calcutta should be abandoned at an early date if possible. That a big *char* has formed at

the intake of this pumping station, signifies the bad effect of such a draw, and this has happened close to the docks.

In recent years, bores of an increasingly destructive nature were observed in the river, which indicate that flow-tide is receiving increasing obstruction. But apparently no steps were taken to improve the situation. Tortuosity of the channel which is another sign of decay, is on the increase. The river being mainly a tidal creek, it is wrong to say that this deterioration was entirely due to shortage of upland river water from the Ganga, although a good supply of silt-free water from that source would no doubt improve the channel. The present connection with the Ganga is almost the same for the last 30 years. The present rapid deterioration of the river must, therefore, be due to other causes.

Examination of the Bhagirathi-Hooghly bed in its entire length from its offtake at Farakka to the sea, will show that at each place, where a tributary joins, there is a big shoal above the confluence. This is due to the check received to the flow owing to the discharge coming down the tributary. The main examination points are the confluences of—

- (1) The Pagla river and Bhagirathi,
- (2) The Mayurakshi and Bhagirathi,
- (3) The Ajoy and Bhagirathi,
- (4) The Jalanghi and Bhagirathi,
- (5) The Mathabhangha-Churni and Hooghly,
- (6) The Damodar and Hooghly,
- (7) The Rupnarayan and Hooghly,
- (8) The Kangshabati-Haldi and Hooghly.

The western tributaries are all subjects to sudden and flashy floods and they carry a large quantity of coarse sand from their catchments. The Mayurakshi has a low *bil* area at its outfall into the Bhagirathi known as Hijaal *Bil*. Previous to the construction of the detention reservoir on the Mayurakshi at Messanjore, the uncontrolled flood from the hills used to flood this *bil* area, and breach most of the circuit embankments in the *bil*. This flood-water, desilted in the *bil*, was a good source for flushing the Bhagirathi lower down. Since the construction of the Messanjore Dam, very little

desilted *bil* water is now available. Thus, the flood-discharge of the Ajoy, which is charged with a large quantity of coarse sand, now operates in the Bhagirathi without any redeeming supply from upstream except during the three months of flow from the Ganga from July to September. It will, therefore, now be found that the Bhagirathi is badly silted up in its entire course up to Nabadwip. Such change has also affected the Jalanghi and Churni.

Nabadwip is now within the tidal range for 8 months from November to June. On account of the silting of the Bhagirathi, Jalanghi and Churni, the flow-tide receives here a sudden check in its upstream movement, and this check has accelerated the silting of the Hooghly river.

Flow from the Ganga by controlling the river at Farakka might have augmented the ebb-flow and worked as a corrective. But for reasons stated before, no such immediate remedy is possible. The only source, from which upland supply can be obtained immediately, is the left bank canal of Damodar Valley Project. Four Dams of the Project—at Maithon, Panchet Hill, Tilaya and Konar—have been constructed, which are already conserving a large volume of rain water of the river basin. This water is meant for production of hydro-electric power and irrigation. These necessities are great, but full development of irrigation will take about 15 years. In the meantime it should be possible to draw about a fifth of the canal's full discharge and pass it down the various outlets which eventually fall into the Hooghly. One of these channels is the Banka river which passes through the town of Burdwan. With a little improvement it can carry a good discharge to the Bhagirathi. Excavations and structures required for the purpose will be small works, and they can be done easily in one working season. The discharge thus obtained could scour out the silt which is now being brought down by the Ajoy River.

In fixing the volume of the upland supply, facts and figures of the D.V.C. must be scrutinized to find out what is the water resource that is available and what maximum discharge can be obtained. But whatever is done





A finely worked head from Baghera, a 9-12th century site in Ajmer district



A rare image of Saraswati from Banswara St

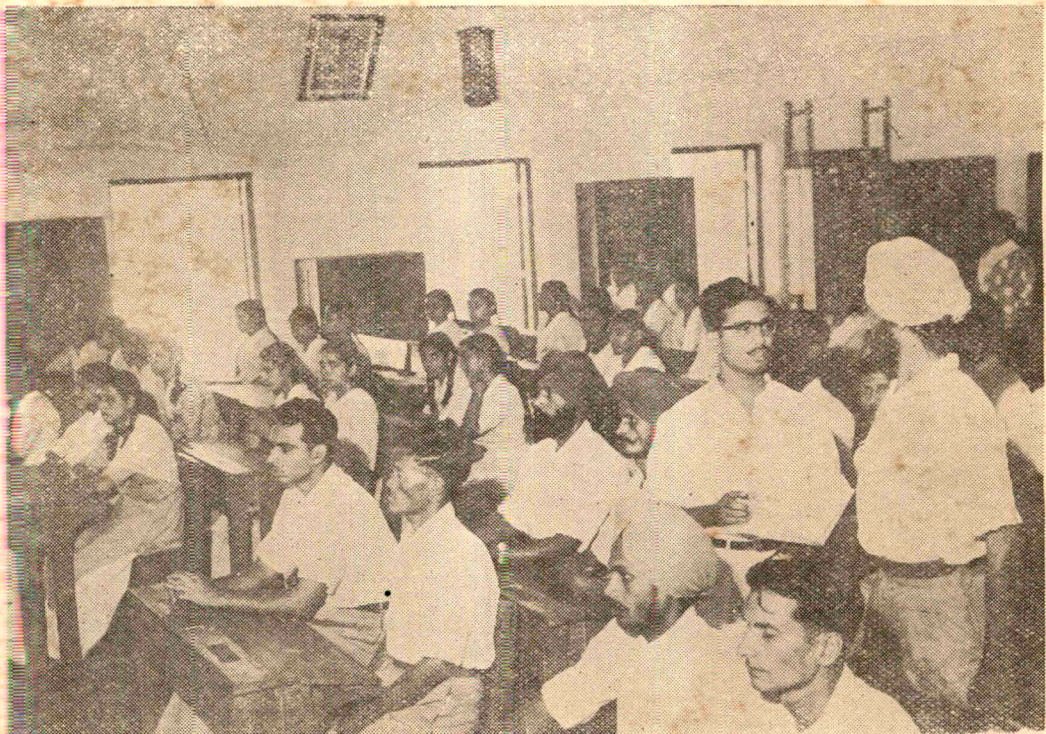


A fragmentary stone representing Pratah, Madhyamah, Aparanah, Sandhya as well as Magha, Purvaphalguna





Little girls at a Delhi school learning discipline through play



Trainees having a class in general civic problems at the Malviyanagar Training Centre



in this connection, the guidance must come from a model experiment.

We have a good Hydraulic Research Laboratory at Poona. But the requisite experience is not likely to be there. Cost of the experiment will not be much when its great importance is considered. The tidal rivers of U.K. which fall into the North Sea, have tidal fluctuation similar to the Hooghly. Prof. White of the City and Guilds College of the London University and Sir Claude Inglis, F.R.S., who practically established the Poona Laboratory, are doing Hydraulic Research work in U.K. One of them might be entrusted with this research work to find out if the suggested discharge from the Damodar would be useful in removing the shoals from the river bed. Advanced hydraulic research laboratories are also available in West Germany and U.S.A. where this experiment could be done. This experiment, if it is taken up immediately, should not take more than 4½ months.

The remedy suggested here can only be a palliative. The country requires more food, and irrigation water cannot be spared indefinitely. The present suggestion for diversion of the Damodar canal water has been made in view of the present danger to the Calcutta Port and threat to the hygienic condition of the City's water supply owing to its high salinity during the dry weather months.

The present year's deficit in rainfall is likely to create a worse situation in the coming dry season. The excessive draw of sweet water from the underground resource through tube-wells has already depleted this supply. It is understood that some tubewells have already begun to fail. As the underground water is derived mainly from rain water, this year's low rainfall will still further affect the tube-wells in the city and its surroundings.

When a similar tapping of the under-ground supply in the Thames and Mersey valleys of U.K. began to turn tube-well water saline in certain localities, that country had to introduce legislation for restriction to the draw

through tube-wells. A similar legislation is required here as well. It will also be found necessary to have the permanent remedies to replace the immediate remedy at no distant future.

When the idea of having a Ganga Barrage was originally mooted it was wanted for improving the then Central Bengal rivers. Of these channels, only the Bhagirathi, portions of the Jalanghi and Mathabhanga lie in West Bengal. The other channels namely, the Kumar, Bhairab, Chitra and Kapotakshi lie in East Pakistan. These latter channels require supply from the Ganga as much as those in the Indian Union. If the Barrage Scheme is so drawn up, that East Pakistan can get their requirement of water, objection may be waived by the authorities of that country. The palliative measure suggested here will, therefore, be required only for a short period for this negotiation, modifications, if any, that might be wanted for making the scheme suitable for both the countries and execution of the Scheme. In the meantime, the Damodar Canal irrigation water will have to be spared for the greater interest of the Calcutta Port and Calcutta City. The permanent remedy will be:-

(i) Ganga Barrage for which we will have to meet objection of Pakistan in the international field,

(ii) Further, conservation of water in the basins of the Western tributaries of the Bhagirathi-Hooghly. The present irrigation works will not retain even a fifth of the water. The additional necessary works are afforestation, construction of head-water-dams, check dams across gullies to prevent quick run-off and other steps for preventing soil-erosion and fostering of absorption of rain water. Later on, if found necessary, some more high dams may also have to be constructed.

These works are in any case necessary to find water for the great industrial ventures, which have been taken up in the valley.



# DYNAMISM OF INDIAN AGRICULTURE

By DR. P. C. BANSIL, M.A., Ph.D.

## II

### INCOME PER CULTIVATOR

There is no doubt about a rise in the yield per acre<sup>71</sup> in a small holding. But the objection raised is that the yield per unit of labour spent in a small farm is reduced so that the income per farmer is low.<sup>72</sup> An objection of this nature will also have no validity in India. Chestor Bowles points out in this connection that "the argument that small holdings of land in the hands of individual owners will mean less production is simply not valid. It confuses the cost of production per ton in America with the amount of production per acre. We have believed this myth because in the United States, where land is plentiful and labour is scarce and costly, we have found large-scale farming with giant machines highly profitable. But a Long Island farmer with two acres of good land, with plenty of fertilizer and intensive cultivation, could produce more wheat per acre than a North Dakota farmer with a tractor combine working a large farm."<sup>73</sup>

Again, the number of people on the land here are there not by choice but by force of circumstances. It is not a business proposition, but a way of life for them. The question of their removal from the land would not, therefore, arise. An increase in the yield per acre would go to give an increase in income per head as well, which cannot be reduced.

71. Dr. S. R. Sen, Paper read by him at the World Population Conference, Rome, September, 1954, "Agricultural Situation," November 1954, p. 528.

"In theory there may be almost no limit to the yield of crops per acre; indeed, before the Royal Commission of 1893 (UK) one witness declared that, by an abnormal application of" Capital (in this case stable manure), he had secured a yield of wheat of 130 bushels to the acre. (J. A. Venn, *Foundations of Agricultural Economics*, 1923, p. 375).

72. Cf., T. N. Carver, *Principles of Rural Economics*.

J. A. Venn (*Op. Cit.*, p. 89) while discussing this problem also agreed with Orwin who had said, "Taking the results as they stand the fact emerges that employment and production vary inversely with the size of the holding, but that the production per man employed varies directly with the size of the holding."

73. Ambassador's Report, *Op. Cit.*, p. 175.

This is particularly so when some 26 to 28 per cent of the net area sown in India is under a crop like rice on which some 50 per cent of the population depends for food and where mechanized cultivation on a large scale is not suitable. Then, emphasis has already shifted under the Second Five-Year Plan to protective foods which would mean bringing larger areas under vegetable and garden crops. The need here also will be that of small farms. Garden farms of Denmark and Germany are glaring examples of the type. They have succeeded in doing away with the disadvantages of marketing economies as well, by adopting co-operative methods.<sup>74</sup>

### LESSONS OF HISTORY

Small family farms have their own place in the agricultural economy of the world. Much of the progress in intensive cultivation in China<sup>75</sup> and Japan is, perhaps, due to the small size of the farms there. "Canada, France and New Zealand have long been nations of family farms. Years ago, the Netherlands, Denmark and Sweden divided small estates into family farms by positive action propaganda. In Czechoslovakia and England, steps in this direction have been taken since the Second World War."<sup>76</sup>

Imbued with the spirit of increasing production and general well-being, public opinion in Denmark set steadily in favour of small peasant farms. A law was passed to bring into being a large number of farms. The applicant, if he could prove that he had sufficient knowledge of farming and was industrious, was given a farm of 3 to 16 acres on payment of one-tenth of the cost only and further payments were required to be made only after 5 years.<sup>77</sup>

74. T. H. Middleton, *The Recent Developments of German Agriculture*, pp. 22 and 36.

75. According to J. L. Buck, (*Land Utilization in China*, 1937, p. 184), the average size of the fields throughout the country is half an acre.

76. *Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics*, Vol. III, No. 2, p. 79. Two members of Famine Commission (1945)—Mr. Ramamurthy and Mr. M. Afzal Hussain were also in favour of small holdings as compared to medium ones (*Final Report*, p. 260).

77. Keatinge, *Agricultural Progress, Op. Cit.*, p. 10.

Small holdings should not, therefore, be condemned outright. In a country where there is the maximum pressure on the land we cannot, perhaps, do away with them. The only way, there, out of the evil of sub-division (if we may call it so) is a change in our laws of inheritance. But this may not be possible. Even if this could be done, the advantages are a little dubious. Law of primogeniture under which the eldest son inherits the entire holding and he has to pay in cash to his younger brothers by way of compensation is in force in Burma. But the Burma Provincial Enquiry Committee found that one of the main causes of the poverty of the Burmese was the existence of this law.<sup>78</sup>

### CONCLUSION

It may thus be added that the size of holding, important as it is, is not all that matters in the agricultural economy. Consolidation of holdings, no doubt an important preliminary step for a more rational use of land, is considered to be no permanent solution to the problem of uneconomic holdings.<sup>79</sup> Many of our difficulties in this respect may be automatically solved as a result of whatever progress we can make in co-operative farming.<sup>80</sup> The desired change in our ideas about land values as envisaged under our future land policy, which we have already discussed, may also go a long way towards stopping further sub-division of holdings.

Slow progress made so far in the matter of consolidation seems to be due to the dearth of experienced staff, heavy costs<sup>81</sup> which accrue after every generation<sup>82</sup> and other complications involved. The Bihar Co-operative Planning Committee, under the chairmanship of Mr. Deep Narain Sinha, the State Minister for Co-operation, has already declared that a complete

consolidation of holdings is neither practicable nor desirable. The solution suggested by the committee is to permit mutual exchanges of plots<sup>83</sup> under the supervision of the village *panchayats*. The problem may immediately be solved by what is known as the consolidation of cropping under which different farmers cultivate the same crop in contiguous fields, so that it looks like a single farm in appearance. This system promotes the use of better seeds, fertilizers and implements besides securing other allied advantages.<sup>84</sup> The ultimate solution, perhaps, lies in the establishment of co-operative village management as envisaged by the Planning Commission.

Such being the nature of the problem it would be better for us to appreciate the real position and not unnecessarily difficulties. Whatever the acreage can profitably be consolidated is good, but even the existing land pattern should not stand in the way of our stepping up agricultural production. A dovetailing of small and big farms as they exist is, in fact, the need of the hour.

### VILLAGE COMMUNITIES AND THE BRITISH

BEFORE the advent of the British in India, village communities formed a special feature of her economy. These 'communities' performed a useful role and the villages functioned as small 'republics' which being self-sufficient, depended but little on the outside world. Communications and marketing did not, therefore, figure pre-dominantly in such economies.

After the British rule, however, agriculture in India changed rapidly. Although it is of the nature of subsistence farming, "the prosperity of the agriculturist and the success of any policy of general agricultural improvement depend, to a very large degree, on the facilities which the agricultural community has at its disposal for marketing to the best advantage such of its produce as is surplus to its own requirements."<sup>85</sup> Transport is, no doubt, only an

78. R. N. Kaushik, *Consolidation of Holdings in India; Studies in Agricultural Economics*, Vol. 1, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, p. 136.

79. Kolhatkar, *Op. Cit.*, p. 32.

80. For rough estimates refer to Royal Commission on Agriculture, *Op. Cit.*, p. 139 and R. N. Kaushik, *Op. Cit.*, p. 142.

81. Tarlok Singh, *Poverty and Social Change*, pp. 42-43.

82. Quoted by Chowdhry Mukhtar Singh, *Rural India*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 22.

83. *The Hindusthan Times*, April 25, 1955.

84. Baljit Singh, *Whither Agriculture?* *Op. Cit.*, pp. 82-83 and R. K. Mukherjee, *Economic Problems of Modern India*, Vol. I, p. 119.

85. *Royal Commission on Agriculture*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 367.



adjunct or contributory service in the process of production, yet it promotes the division of labour in space as between regions or countries.<sup>86</sup> Improved communication and marketing services thus play an important part in modern society. Such services serve as an impetus to agricultural production, both directly as well as indirectly.<sup>87</sup>

### COMMUNICATIONS

Good roads help the cultivator to market his produce profitably. They also "promote the free exchange of ideas no less than that of merchandise", according to the Royal Commission.<sup>88</sup> They help in reducing illiteracy—the *summum bonum* of all the rural ills—as closer contact is established between the town and the country.

Bad Communications are again a constant strain on the health and stamina of draught animals, thus seriously affecting their efficiency. The strain is all the more greater in areas where the marketing of 'khariff' produce coincides with the sowing of 'rabi' crops. Improved roads, on the other hand, indirectly improve the efficiency of bullocks.<sup>89</sup>

Cheap transport helps the cultivator in reducing his cost of production, in so far as he can get fertilizers, iron, cement, etc., at lower cost. He is thus able to supply his goods in the market at cheaper rates. Invariably transport constitutes a major percentage of the cost even when the whole-sale dealer is quite near the village. Such costs have been estimated in India by the Marketing Surveys as between 7

to 27 per cent of the consumer's price<sup>90</sup>. This comes to about 20 per cent according to Nanavati and Anjaria, while in an advanced country like the U.S.A. transportation does not account for more than 23 per cent of only the marketing costs<sup>91</sup>. An improvement in communications in India as anywhere else can therefore go a long way in reducing total marketing costs, thereby giving great fillip to production.

### RAILWAYS

The Indian Railway system is the largest nationalised undertaking in the country. "It is one of the few systems in the world with a net earning adequate to meet all fixed charges and provide substantial sums for development and reserves<sup>92</sup>." After World War II, the Railways were faced with the serious problem of rehabilitation and the total stock needing replacement by the end of March 31, 1956 was estimated by the Planning Commission at 2,092 locomotives, 8,535 coaches and 47,553 wagons. A major portion of this rehabilitation work will be completed by the end of the First Five-Year Plan. With 19 per cent of the total outlay of Rs. 4800/- crores allocated to railways, the Second Five-Year Plan has already placed great emphasis on meeting the increasing demands for both goods and passenger traffic and also constructing new lines.<sup>93</sup> Railways are thus sure to play an important role in the future economic set-up of the country.

### ROADS

Besides waterways, roads—metalled or unmetalled—form an important part of the coun-

86. According to Dr. M. B. Ghatge [Article on 'Agricultural Marketing,' ICAR Silver Jubilee Souvenir (1929-1954), p. 116] problems of Agricultural Marketing have assumed a socio-economic character.

*National Planning Committee Report*, Transport, March 1949, Pp. 20-21.

87. Denmark was the pioneer in understanding what may be called the 'language of the market.' cf., Chowdhry Mukhtar Singh, *Agrarian Relief*, *Op. Cit.*, Pp. 41-42, for details.

88. *Royal Commission Report*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 367.

89. *Royal Commission on Agriculture*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 368.

90. S. Y. Krishnaswami, *Rural Problems in Madras*, p. 325

91. G. S. Shephered, *Marketing of Farm Products, Iowa*, 1946, p. 213. Quoted by Sayana; *Op. Cit.*, p. 112. For India refer to Nanavati and Anjaria, *Op. Cit.*, p. 56 and for USA R. Cohan, *Economics of Agriculture*, p. 25. The British farmer in the case of farm product before 1939 obtained less than 8d. of every shilling paid by the consumer according to V. G. Ramakrishna Aiyar, *Op. Cit.*, p. 159.

92. *The First Five-Year Plan*, p. 461.

93. *Second Five-Year Plan*, A Draft Outline, Pp. 35 and 143.

try's economy. Existing roads in India fall far short of the actual requirements.<sup>94</sup> The Nagpur Report (1943) on the Post-war Road Development had recommended a ten-year development programme in which the mileage of hard-surface roads was to be increased from 66,400 to 122,000 and low-type roads from 112,000 to 207,500. The objective underlying the Plan was that no village should be more than 5 miles away from the main high-way.

Immediate attention was paid under the First Five-Year Plan to the roads which were neglected in the past. The length of the national high-ways was to be increased from 11,900 miles in 1950-51 to 12,500 miles in 1955-56 and of the State roads from 17.6 thousand miles to 20.6 thousand miles during the same period. The Second Five-Year Plan provides for additional 9,000 to 10,000 miles of national high-ways and State roads<sup>95</sup>.

But no road development programme can be of any real meaning unless 5 lakhs and odd Indian villages are connected with the marketing centres and other state roads or national high-ways.<sup>96</sup> The Central Roads Organisation has formulated a 'model scheme' for the development of village roads on a co-operative basis and has made an initial offer of a grant of Rs. 15 lakhs from the Central Road Research Fund as a contribution towards specific projects.

94. India has at present only about 249,000 miles of roads other than Municipal, of which only 90,000 miles are metalled. (*India—A Reference Annual*, 1953, Publication Division). According to *All-India Rural Credit Survey*, Vol. 11, p. 94, the length of municipal roads in 1947-49 was only 1,81,000 miles in Part A States. The All-India average (p. 23 of the Report) is only 0.22 miles per square mile which is less than the average (0.30 miles of highway per square mile) for a 'desert' area in the United States.

95. *The Hindusthan Times*, October 23, 1953.

96. *Royal Commission on Agriculture* (Op. Cit., p. 373) says, "The Provision of excellent main roads adequate in all respects for every form of transport is of little benefit to the cultivator if his access to them is hampered by the condition of roads which connect his village with them."

The Community projects, in their turn, are estimated to construct during the First Five-Year Plan about 16,000 to 17,000 miles of 'Katocha' roads in the village units where they are functioning. A sum of Rs. 150 crores has been allotted to the States sector for improving village roads constructed in the First Plan under Community Projects and National Extension Service Programme. (1) The 'Panchayats' are invariably empowered to construct and maintain village roads, streets, halting places, cart stands and encamping grounds. The 'Panchayats' in Madhya Pradesh may even undertake the construction of public-ways and roads outside their villages. Legislation for establishing the *panchayats* has been passed by practically all the States. The number of 'Panchayats' functioning up to March, 1954 was 98,256 serving some 294,460 villages. Nearly half of the country-side was thus covered during the first two years of the First Plan period. By the end of the Second Plan their number is estimated to go up to 2 lakhs so as to cover nearly all the 5 lakhs and odd villages<sup>97</sup>.

#### NEW OUTLOOK

What is more important in all these development schemes is not the absolute increase but a complete change in the whole policy. The transport system of the country in the past had been built up to serve strategic rather than economic ends. The railway and road systems were regarded as the most powerful instruments of administrative co-ordination. Instead of helping the home economy, the system deepened the economic distress in the rural zones: "Firstly, by precipitating 'uneconomic localization' of industrial units in the new urban areas, and secondly, by setting up in the country a competitive rural market which has transmitted to the economic system all the instabilities of international economic trends."<sup>98</sup> The position has now completely changed. The new transport system being evolved under planned economy has a definite bias towards the economic deve-

97. *Second Five-Year Plan*, Op. Cit., p. 37.

98. T. N. Rāmaswamy, *Economic Stabilization of Indian Agriculture*, 1946, Pp. 106-107.

lopment of the country and is thus sure to give an added impetus to agricultural production.

### MARKETING

With the break-up of the old system of predominantly self-sufficient village economies and the setting up of industries depending on agricultural raw materials like cotton and oil-seeds, commercialisation of agriculture started. The peasant began to produce for the market and agricultural commodities began to move from the surplus to the deficit areas. Thus the need of an agency for marketing was felt. This is especially so in regard to agricultural commodities which are produced seasonally, but are consumed throughout the year. The importance of an efficient marketing system as a fillip to agricultural production can, therefore, hardly be minimised. Notwithstanding all this, before the first World War, hardly any country, with the exception of the United States, appreciated the need for the efficient marketing of agricultural produce.<sup>99</sup>

The Royal Commission on Agriculture<sup>100</sup> recommended, for the first time in 1928, a proper study of exact information on marketing. The point was further emphasized by the Central Banking Enquiry Committee and the Provincial Economic Conference held in 1934<sup>101</sup>. The Government of India in January, 1935 announced a scheme for the study of marketing and appointed a central marketing staff attached to the then Imperial Council of Agricultural Research.<sup>102</sup> The Provincial Governments were also asked to appoint their own marketing staff and the Government of India undertook to meet the initial cost from Central Funds.

Although much headway could not be made by way of providing an efficient marketing organization for the cultivator, some work had already been done before the First Five-Year

Plan was launched in 1951. Regulated markets had been established in some of the States to remove the disabilities of the farmers in the 'Mandis.' Co-operative Marketing had also made some progress particularly in selling sugarcane and cotton.

The First Five-Year Plan provided for the setting up of regulated markets where they did not exist, encouragement of co-operative marketing, provision of more storage and warehousing facilities and grading of agricultural commodities. The Panchayat Acts, passed by the various State Governments, also provide for the establishment, maintenance and regulation of 'Hats', Markets and 'Bazars' on the village sites. Orissa, Saurashtra and Travancore-Cochin Acts specifically mention the development of marketing on co-operative lines. Madras legislation authorises the 'Panchayats' to examine weights and measures in the village markets under the Indian Penal Code.

When all the villages in the country are covered by Panchayats in the next few years and marketing facilities developed, rural development will get further stimulus. The Second Five-Year Plan provides a sum of Rs. 2.07 crores for agricultural marketing of which the continuation expenditure is of the order of Rs. 1.63 crores and the balance for the introduction of new schemes. A Market News Service Scheme is proposed to be introduced during the Second Five-Year Plan period. There is little doubt that the marketing facilities will improve as a result of the various schemes in hand and those proposed to be taken up. This is sure to serve as an added incentive for the cultivator who may develop a consciousness to produce for the market and increase production.

### AGRICULTURAL FINANCE

That the role of capital in agriculture is as important as in industry is more or less an accepted truth.<sup>103</sup> As the *All-India Rural Credit Survey* points out "a proper system of rural credit is basic to the development of agriculture and therefore to the prosperity of the country as a whole."<sup>104</sup> But much heed has not been paid to this fact all the world over except

99. S. Y. Krishnaswami, *Op. Cit.*, p. 313.

100 *Report*, p. 408.

101 S. A. Hussain, *Agricultural Marketing in Northern India*, p. 74.

102 Krishnaswami, *Op. Cit.*, p. 318.

in a few instances.<sup>105</sup> The position in India is still worse.

With low yields per acre as well as per man, the cultivator in India has to fight against heavy odds. His need for credit is, therefore, greater than that of his counterpart in Western countries where also the farmer finds himself obliged to apply for credit not merely for buying livestock, implements and fertilizers, but also for meeting current working expenses.<sup>106</sup> But the position of credit supplies in India is worse. With inadequate credit facilities, the total capital investment in the land—Rs. 1660 million in 1950-51—is of the lowest order. No wonder, if agricultural productivity, under the circumstances, has remained depressed.

#### CREDIT NEEDS

Total credit requirements of the cultivator are rather difficult to estimate. At the most only a rough guess can be hazarded. The Central Banking Enquiry Committee after comparing the figures of rural indebtedness and rough estimates of short-term credit given by some of the Provincial Banking Inquiry Committees took a figure of Rs. 300 to 400 crores as the lower limit for short term and intermediate working capital<sup>107</sup>, for the whole of British India.

103. Sir Frederick Nickolson (*Report on the possibility of Introducing Land and Agricultural Banks in the Madras Presidency*, 1895, p. 33) emphasised the need for the agriculturist to borrow. He added that "credit is not necessarily objectionable nor is borrowing necessarily a sign of weakness."

104. *All-India Rural Credit Survey*, Vol. II, *Op. Cit.*, p. 130.

105. Outside Europe and the USA, it is only in Egypt that the Agricultural Bank of Egypt was set up as early as 1920. For details in Germany and Denmark refer to O'Brien, *Agricultural Economics*, p. 139; *Royal Commission on Agriculture*, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 423-25 and Chowdhry Mukhtar Singh, *Agrarian Reliefs*, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 88, 120-124 and 191 for Egypt and other European countries; Dr. G. D. Agarwal, *Reorganization of Agricultural Credit*, pp. 258-291, for USA, USSR, UK, and France.

106. *Report on Systems of Agricultural Credit and Insurance*, Louis Tardy, p. 3.

According to another estimate made by S. Y. Krishnaswami<sup>108</sup>, before the First World War, such requirements of the cultivator for agriculture alone were of the order of Rs. 30 per acre for irrigated areas and half that amount for dry ones. Out of the total cropped area of some 300 million acres, about 60 million acres are irrigated. Total cash requirements on this basis would work out to Rs. 540 crores. With the present price level when the Index stands in the neighbourhood of 350, the figure should be Rs. 1890 crores. But the needs of the cultivator are manifold. From a detailed economic survey of 141 select villages in Madras, Mr. Sathianathan indicated the following purposes for which borrowing was resorted to by the peasant<sup>109</sup>:-

Purpose	Percentage
Payment of prior debit .. ..	25.1
Marriage and other ceremonies ..	10.5
Payment of land revenue .. ..	3.3
Relief of distress .. ..	6.1
Agricultural expenses .. ..	10.0
Improvement of land .. ..	4.4
Education of children .. ..	1.4
Trade .. ..	12.9
Purchase of land .. ..	13.8
Construction of houses .. ..	5.6
Other purposes .. ..	6.9

From the above it is clear that the agricultural expenses concerned with the land only account for 38 per cent of the peasant's total borrowings. Even if we take 50 per cent of the borrowings as agricultural expenses, total needs of the peasant would work out to about Rs. 3780 crores.

Similar estimates for foreign countries, however, indicate that in Europe the value of farming capital is ordinarily between two-thirds of and equal to the value of land<sup>110</sup>. If the average value of land per acre on a very

107. Quoted by Dr. Baljit Singh, *Whither Agriculture?* *Op. Cit.*, p. 221.

108. Krishnaswami, *Op. Cit.*, p. 357.

109. W. R. S. Sathianathan *Report on Agricultural Indebtedness*, p. 42.

110. The Capital and Income of Farms in Europe as they appear from the Farm Accounts for the years 1927-28 to 1934-35. (League of Nations Publication).



rough estimate is taken to be Rs. 100, total value of 300 million acres cultivated land in India would work out to Rs. 30,000 crores. Farming equipment in India at present is not even half as costly as in Europe but if more intensive methods of cultivation are to be adopted, our future capital needs will tend to equal those of the European countries.

The total national income of the country is estimated at Rs. 10000 crores, about half of it, i.e., Rs. 5000 crores being the contribution of agriculture. The figure of Rs. 30,000 crores representing the credit needs of Indian agriculture on the basis of the European standard would thus seem to be too high.

The annual borrowings of the cultivator have been estimated by the Rural Credit Survey at Rs. 750 crores<sup>111</sup>, and the total needs may roughly be taken as Rs. 1,000 crores, i.e., one-fifth of the contribution of agriculture towards the national income.

This can be taken as the short and medium term requirements of the cultivator. As for the long-term credit which is needed to bring about permanent improvements in land, even the Central Banking Enquiry Committee admitted that no such estimate was possible. It could only say that there was an unlimited scope for the grant of long-term loans to the cultivator in India.<sup>112</sup>

It would thus be seen that the credit needs of agriculture in India are immense. The extent to which these needs can be fulfilled, will therefore determine the progress of agriculture and provide "grease to the economic machine."

#### PRESENT POSITION

The two broad sources of credit are the private and the public or the semi-public agencies. Public agencies include the money-lender, the land-lord and commercial banks. Notwithstanding legislation passed against the private money-lender, it has been estimated that as

much as 93 per cent of the total amount borrowed by the cultivators is provided by this source.<sup>113</sup>

As for the commercial banks they hardly provide 1 per cent of the total borrowings of the cultivators.\* In the USA, on the other hand, loans to farmers account for nearly 43 per cent<sup>114</sup> of the total advances made by the banks; such accommodation provided in India is only of the order of 4 per cent.

Public and the semi-public agencies thus hardly provide about 6 per cent of the borrowings of the cultivator. The 'Taccavi' loans provided by the Government are also quite insignificant, although they rose from Rs. 1 crore in 1938-39 to Rs. 15 crores in 1949-50.<sup>115</sup>

Public institutions providing agricultural credit are the Co-operative Credit Societies and Land Mortgage Banks. The first Co-operative Society, Shamlat Society of Panjwar, was registered in 1892 and, the number of such societies rose to 1.85 lakhs in 1952;<sup>116</sup> yet the credit advanced by them covers only 3 per cent of the total borrowings of the cultivator.<sup>117</sup> Again, medium and small cultivators have little association with the movement. As against this at least 60 per cent of the farms in America are associated with the co-operative movement.<sup>118</sup> In the matter of providing long-

*Agricultural Economics, Op. Cit.*, p. 108) however, says that such needs for short and medium term credit alone are roughly between 500 to 800 crores. Also refer to G. D. Agarwal, *Op. Cit.*, Pp. 77 to 87 for other estimates.

112. *Report of the Central Banking Enquiry Committee*, p. 71.

113. *Rural Credit Survey, Op. Cit.*, p. 323.

\* *Ibid.*, p. 167.

114. Article by Lal Singh, Ex-Director of Agriculture, Punjab, on "Call to Farmers to Unite" in the *Indian Express*, April 4, 1955.

115. *The Five-Year Plan Progress Report*, September, 1954, *Op. Cit.*, p. 81.

116. A Review of the Co-operative Movement in the country by the Reserve Bank of India for the period 1950-52; reported in the *Hindustan Times*, April 25, 1955.

117. *Rural Credit Survey, Op. Cit.*, p. 8.

118. Lal Singh, *Op. Cit.*

111. *Rural Credit Survey, Op. Cit.*, p. 156.

Dr. S. R. Sen in a paper presented by him at the International Conference on Agricultural and Co-operative Credit held at Berkeley in August-September, 1952 (*Studies in*

term credit facilities, Land Mortgage Banks present an equally dismal picture. While farm mortgage loans alone aggregated to Rs. 3500 crores in the USA in 1953, the total amount of advances made by such banks in India in 1951-52 was only a meagre sum of Rs. 2.51 lakhs.

The Co-operative Planning Committee recommended that 50 per cent of the villages and 30 per cent of the rural population should be brought within the ambit of primary societies<sup>119</sup> for purposes of short-term credit, within a period of 10 years. The target of advances to the cultivator fixed by the Grow More Food Enquiry Committee was of the order of Rs. 100 crores per annum.<sup>120</sup> The Planning Commission, under the First Five-Year Plan, however, preferred slower progress to hasty expansion.

The target fixed for medium-term finance at the end of the Second Plan is Rs. 25 crores per annum and that for the long-term another Rs. 5 crores per annum. The Finance Minister declared at the Farmers' Convention held in April 1955 that another 400 branches of the State Bank would be opened for the provision of credit facilities to rural India.

The Central Banking Enquiry Committee suggested the establishment of licensed warehouses, aimed at encouraging the proper storage of agricultural produce, and a uniform system of warehouses with provision for the grant of warehouse receipt generally acceptable to bankers as security for loans.<sup>121</sup> These recommendations were repeated by the Marketing Sub-Committee, the Agricultural Finance Sub-Committee, the Co-operative Planning Committee and the Rural Banking Enquiry Committee. The Food Minister revealed in the 'Lok Sabha' that a chain of warehouses will be built with all the speed<sup>122</sup> so that the cultivator can deposit his produce and get credit against it.

The 'Panchayat' Acts in Assam, Saurashtra, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh also provide for the development of agricultural credit

in order to meet day-to-day requirements of the farmer.<sup>123</sup>

#### PRICES AND PRODUCTION

Prices in a free economy are governed by the interaction of the forces of demand and supply and the normal equilibrium price which finally emerges tends to equal marginal utility on the one side and marginal cost of production on the other. But the existence of any such relationship between the supply of foodgrains in India and their prices is debatable.

*Production Hardly Related to Price:* Seasonal factors remaining the same, Dr. Natarajan established a high cor-relation between acreage and prices.<sup>124</sup> Serious objections have all the same been raised to the validity of this cost of production theory.<sup>125</sup>

This theory is assailed on the ground that, firstly, agriculture in India is never a profitable or even a business proposition. It has, on the other hand, been accepted as a losing concern.<sup>126</sup> Secondly, the cultivator is tied to the land not by choice, but by force, since he can do nothing else.<sup>127</sup> Thirdly, the supply of the various factors of production—land, labour, and capital—which tend to be more or less in-elastic—is not responsive to the changes in the

123. *Agricultural Legislation in India*, Vol. V, *Village Panchayats*, p. (x) and also relevant pages under each State.

124. Dr. B. Natarajan, *Food and Agriculture in Madras State*, 1951, p. 198.

125. Dr. Baljit Singh, *Whither Agriculture?*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 194. According to him, "there is no longer any causal relationship between expenses of production and prices." Cf., *Proceedings of the Fourteenth Conference of the Indian Society of Agricultural Economics*, pp. 14-94.

126. Cf., *Central Banking Enquiry Committee Report*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 1440; Sir John Russell's *Report on the Work of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research*, p. 67; *Prices Sub-Committee Report*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 8; Wadia and Merchant, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 226-39; *Cost of Production of Crops on a Canal Irrigated Estate in the Punjab (1935-36 to 1939-40)*, *Punjab Board of Economic Studies*, p. 7; Dr. Desai, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 204-205; Dr. D. R. Gadgil and V. R. Gadgil, *A Survey of Wai Taluka*, 1940, p. 178; M. G. Bhagat, *Op. Cit.*, p. 178 and the *National Sample Survey*, No. 2, p. 3.

127. This position though peculiar to

119. Quoted by the *First Five-Year Plan*, p. 236.

120. *Op. Cit.*, p. 61.

121. *The Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee Report*, 1931, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 221-225.

122. *The Indian Express*, March 26, 1955.

prices of agricultural produce.<sup>128</sup> Even if some little elasticity is assumed in the supply of these factors, the greater time-lag between the 'input' of these factors and the corresponding output renders the cultivator helpless to adjust production to price changes.<sup>129</sup> Fourthly, agriculture being susceptible to natural hazards<sup>130</sup> most, the cultivator can rarely think of his actual cost of production. Lastly, while the costs of production are more or less sticky, prices of agricultural produce are invariably determined mainly by extraneous factors. Cost of production varies from place to place, but agricultural prices tend to be the same over wide areas. There is, for example, only a slight difference in the basic price of wheat in the various 'mandies' (markets) in India. No wonder, if even world prices exert their influence on the prevailing prices in other countries. Farm prices are at least influenced to an appreciable extent by the general price level.<sup>131</sup>

Changes in prices have been so varied and wide<sup>132</sup> that they can have no relation to the cost of production. The prices of agricultural commodities fell by more than 50 per cent during the depression period while the cost of production fell only by 15 to 20 per cent.<sup>133</sup> The problem can be examined with respect to falling as well as rising prices separately.

*Falling Prices:* Normally it may be said that when the price of a commodity falls below

countries like India, is not much different in the case of others. *Business Men's Commission* (*Op. Cit.*, p. 8) pointed out that even in America "there are many toilers on farms who if subjected to ordinary business standards, would be eliminated from the reckoning."

128. George O'Brien (*Op. Cit.*, pp. 10-11) gives a very interesting discussion when he explains that land is more or less fixed, capital invested in the land also assumes a fixed form, and the supply of labour becomes all the more inelastic, particularly when the farm is worked by the owner and his family. The abandonment of a farm in such cases means the abandonment of the home.

129. Besides the time-lag, the helplessness of the cultivator is aggravated by the fact that prime costs which he can reduce to a certain extent form only a fraction of the whole. It is the supplementary costs which figure in the cost of production and they remain more or less fixed,

its cost of production, the supply would stop over a period. The fundamental law, however, seems to be contradicted in the case of agriculture in general and food in particular, where farm consumption itself takes a big slice out of the total production. Again, owing to the peculiar nature of agriculture, the farmer cannot introduce changes in his programme at a short notice. There are certain paddy lands in South India which are not suitable for any other crop. No shift under such circumstances is possible even over long periods. Where such a shift is possible, the cultivator can at best divert lands from less profitable to more profitable crops. Even this becomes impossible during a general depression.

A glaring proof of the inability of the cultivator to adjust production to the level of fall in prices is found when we study the position during the thirties. According to the Director-General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, the value of agricultural crops taken at an average harvest price, fell from Rs. 10,340 million in 1928-29 to only Rs. 4,730 million in 1933-34<sup>134</sup>. But there was hardly any decline in the net area sown or the agricultural output.<sup>135</sup>

Odds are that in a country like India, where agriculture is more a mode of life than a business proposition, the cultivator may be compelled to increase rather than decrease his production under falling prices. The tendency

130. Engberg (*Industrial Prosperity and the Farmer*, pp. 41-42) and Wyllie (*Transition of Agricultural and Highland Society*, 1927, p. 23). According to the latter, 75 per cent of crop variations are due to weather conditions.

131. E. M. Ojala, (*Agriculture and Economic Progress*, p. 142) after a study of farm prices in the USA, Sweden and the UK, finds that "the most potent influence upon the absolute level of farm prices is the general price level."

132. *Report of the League of Nations on Depressions* (quoted by Dr. R. V. Rao, *Op. Cit.*, p. 188).

133. S. G. Beri, *Price Trends During the Last Decade*, 1940, pp. 8-9.

134. Quoted by Palme Dutt, *Op. Cit.*, p. 215.

135. P. C. Malhotra, *Stabilization of Agricultural Prices in India*, 1946, p. 5.



was clearly observed during the depression of 1929-33.<sup>136</sup> This is because he cannot afford any further contraction in his already scanty income.<sup>137</sup> Of the two variables, prices and returns, it is the latter that is more important.<sup>138</sup> An individual farmer who, acting in isolation, reduces his production may have to face a double loss arising from a smaller output and a lower price. It may be argued that the demand for agricultural, particularly food-crops being practically inelastic, the cultivator may charge monopolistic prices. Such possibilities are, however, rare. Firstly, because the number of producers is large and secondly scattered as these cultivators are over a vast area, there is no machinery or institution under which they can put themselves. Agricultural prices are accordingly rather competitive.<sup>139</sup>

To conclude, production may have an inverse relation with falling prices, but the question of its having a linear relation would not arise. Supply in agriculture in other words remains more or less inelastic during falling prices.<sup>140</sup>

#### RIISING PRICES

The position with regard to rising prices would, however, seem to be a little different. The farmer under depressed market conditions, while not curtailing his production, is at the same time disinclined to raise prime costs. The application of fertilizers, for examples, was uneconomical in India, during the thirties, at least for foodcrops. But the demand for them had increased tremendously during the period of post-independence price spurt. High prices also provide sufficient incentive to the cultivator to try improved methods of cultivation laboratory.<sup>141</sup> All these things may have the combined effect of increasing production but always in response to an effective demand.<sup>142</sup>

136. S. G. Beri, *Price Trends*, Op. Cit., p. 9.

137. *Business Men's Commission*, Op. Cit., Pp. 77, 118-119; O'Brien, Op. Cit., p. 31; *Price Sub-Committee Report*, Op. Cit., p. 32; and P. C. Malhotra, *ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

138. Cf., Wilfred Malenbaum, *The World Wheat Economy—1885-1939*, pp. 24-29.

139. Cf., O'Brien, *ibid.*, p. 19.

140. *Ibid.*, pp. 11 and 31.

#### CONCLUSION

It may be safely concluded from this study that agricultural, specially food production may never have a sagging tendency either under falling or rising prices. The possibility, on the other hand is that in both cases, production may increase. We can thus look to the future without any fear of a fall in food production as a result of the price debacle, which otherwise is the greatest curse for the farmer.<sup>143</sup>

#### SUMMING UP

We have in the preceding pages discussed the various endo-genous and exo-genous factors in brief. We find that the effect of exogenous factors, which serve more or less as catalytic agents, is quite favourable in the case of India. The various policies already adopted and those contemplated for adoption are sure to create a congenial atmosphere for better productive activity. This would mean that beyond the narrow technical frontiers represented by endo-genous factors, economic factors which generally play their part to an appreciable degree in the productive activity, will also be conducive to increased food production.

As for the endo-genous factors, we will study their effect in more detail in subsequent chapters so as to work out the approximate food potential of the country.

141. It is, however, implied that Government will extend not only full co-operation, but also resort to extensive propaganda in that direction. If normal facilities are not available, even progressive cultivators who are keen to introduce new improvements will be helpless to do anything.

142. The presence of an effective demand is the most important thing. During the initial stages of the Grow More Food Campaign, the cultivator was not prepared to divert cotton lands to food, unless the Government gave a guarantee to purchase the extra produce at pre-announced prices (Cf., p. 29, Chapter II).

143. Sir Roger Thomas puts it that next to rain, price changes have been the greatest enemies of the Indian farmer (Quoted by the *Final Report of the Famine Inquiry Commission* p. 482. Also p. 285 of the *Report and Dr. Desai*, Op. Cit., p. 340).



## BIRD IN ART AND RELIGION

By AMAL SARKAR M.A., LL. B.

FROM the earliest stage of civilization birds have occupied a very important place in man's religion, art and sculpture. In one respect man is indebted to birds for inventing his own language: 'Birds made sounds and the primitive man began to imitate.' Later he found these winged creatures hovering round the sky and giving out different musical notes and he imbibed the belief that they were none other than the messengers of the super-power whose abode was in heaven. Gradually on account of this belief he began to revere these strange creatures of Nature, and different kinds of birds began to be used as motifs in art and sculpture. In the Egyptian hieroglyphs we get the figures of the bird, in the continental ikons and in the Indian and far-east Asian art and sculpture we hardly find at any time any total omission of these angels of God.



Hen-motif—Mohen-jo-daro (Circa 2500 B. C.)

Birds have sometimes stood as the symbols of human feelings and emotions. Thus the crane was the symbol of happiness and prosperity, peacock an emblem of resurrection and cock the symbol of light and life. Almost all human languages speak

of the conception of soul as a bird which is ready to take flight as and when desired. This belief is shared by the Bororos of Brazil, the Bella Coola Indians of British Columbia, the inhabitants of Lepers' Island, Bohemia and Java and by the Mohomedans of Sumatra. The Indian belief is that the soul of a dead person is often reincarnated in a bird, especially in some nocturnal bird. Even in this age of scientific progress the Indians still believe that in certain birds they meet the spirits of their departed relatives, 'who speak to them in the mournful and dismal tones of these birds'. Sometimes different tribes of the world claim the descent (Uthka) of human beings from birds.

The birds who by their individual habits and traits have indelibly created an impression on the human mind are the peacock, swan, dove, crow, crane, falcon, cock and a few others. These birds have always found place in art, religion and sculpture of different peoples of the world. A bird, perhaps a dove, was often represented in Minoan-Mycenean religious art. The mounted double axes painted on the sacrophagus of Hagia Triada were always crowned with doves. These birds evidently were taken as symbols of the visible presence of the gods, as signs of the epiphany. In this connection it is interesting to note that in Christian iconography the Holy Ghost is pictured as a dove. The idol from Knossus is not the only example of the goddess with a bird. Two bell-shaped idols of the same goddess were found in the house shrine of Gazi excavated in 1936 by Marinatos. From the third shaft grave of Mycenae we have two gold leaves cut in the form of a nude female goddess with a bird, perhaps a dove, perched on the head. The peacock, it is believed, has its origin from somewhere in Western Asia, possibly India. In ancient Greece this bird is worshipped as the bird-god Phaon "the Shiner" and sometimes as the attribute of the healing god, Paeon. In the island of Samos it became the attribute of Hera, the goddess of Heaven in association with whom it became the 'star-bird' because of 'the starry firmament on account of the eyes in its tail



feathers.' The primitive Scythians were great worshippers of the Sun-God and they associated, quite strangely, peacock with their sun-worship. It might be that this bird because of its crying at sun-rise became associated with the Sun-god. Even in modern days we find that in all lands inhabited by the Saoras of the Ganjam district of Orissa the Sun-god Galbesum is strangely connected with peacock.

In ancient days a motif showing two peacocks facing the Tree of Life was very common. Another popular motif was a peacock holding a snake, its constant enemy, in its beak. During the middle of the 10th century B. C. this bird became a common motif in distant lands like the land of King Solomon. In India deities like Saraswati, Lakshmi and Kartikeya have this 'bird of beauty and splendour' as their vehicles. The Persians being lovers of beauty and art regarded this bird in high esteem. 'Its image is common in the crafts, particularly those applied for imperial purposes,' but the most celebrated example of its use associated with this country is the Tukt Taous, the "Peacock Throne." In China the peacock stands as the symbol of the spirit of fire, and the peacock feather was 'bestowed upon officials, both military and civil, in expression of imperial favour as a reward for faithful service.' During Kama-kura and Fujiwara periods this bird became a very popular object of painting in the land of the Rising Sun. Sometimes we find that the Japanese have used this bird as a god of Wisdom.

The cock, like the peacock, is associated with the Sun. Among the Chinese this 'fearless' bird is regarded as the symbol of valour; it has, according to them, the power to drive away all the evil influences that contaminate humanity. More than this, this bird has the strange power of healing and on account of this belief in times of an epidemic 'a cock's head was attached to houses, or an earthen cock was placed on the roofs.' Sometimes the cock is used also as the lucky symbol of happy union in marriages. In agricultural ceremonies of certain tribes of India cocks were beheaded and their blood sprinkled over a clay or metal effigy because mixed with

their blood the earth, they believed, would be more fertile and productive. In ancient Europe the cock had a phallic origin and it was sacred to Attis, the god of Spring and Fertility. On the eve of Maypole festival this bird was tied to the top of a rod and carried by boys around the pole. The people of far-east Asia have a great regard for this bird for 'its beauty and its plumage'.

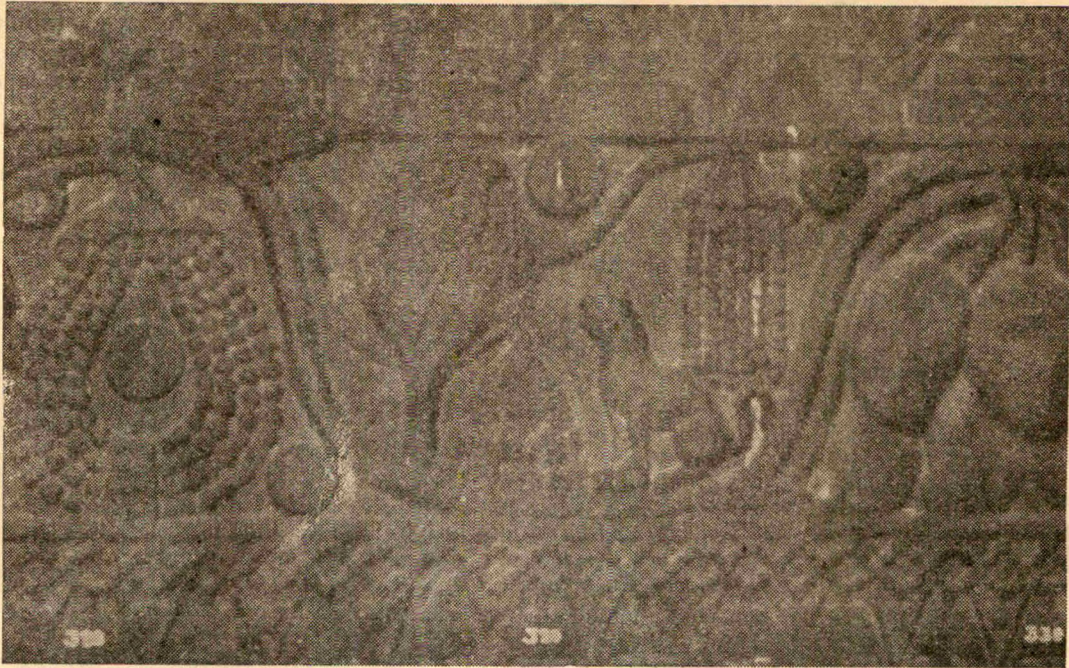


Peacock-motif—Bharhut Railing medallion  
(2nd century B. C.)

The crane is the symbol of happiness, prosperity and longevity. In Japan a common motif of this bird is represented when painters paint the picture of the sage Oshikyo who is always shown riding the crane through the clouds. Even as early as 2000 B. C. we find the representation of the falcon in China. It is said that the Mongol rulers were great devotees of this bird and in times of great ventures they always carried falcons and eagles.

In Indian mythology birds which are very much in use are the hawk, the eagle and the vulture. The hawk as the Garuda is the vehicle of Vishnu, the eagle is the mount of Lord Krishna and the vulture is associated with malignant Sani or Saturn. In Cambodia the bird hawk is known as the Kruth which in ancient as well as modern Cambodian art





Kakuta Jataka—Bharhut  
(2nd century B. C.)

is more extensively found than in any other country.

In Japan the duck, known as Kamo, symbolizes conjugal felicity and is a favourite subject among painters and colour-print designers. The duck and its mate, the 'chakwa' are very much liked by the Hindus in their poetic and artistic imagination. Among the traditional subjects in Japan, 'the Alighting of the Wild Geese at Katata' is familiar to every schoolboy. But while among the Westerners it is the embodiment of stupidity, it is the symbol of intelligence among the Chinese. A swan is sometimes regarded as the symbol of the Sun. Brahma the Creator has a swan as his mount and in Sanskrit swan is known as 'hamsa' reverting which we get 'sa-a-ham', an interpretation of the term 'God' among the Hindus. When Saraswati, the goddess of learning, was born into a new spiritual life she was privileged to use the 'hamsa' as her mount. The Egyptians also revered the goose, they had a goose-goddess by the name of Bes-bes who laid the egg of life. The peoples of Greece and Rome had also their sacred geese. In India swans are believed to be the 'apsara' or 'Celestial dancing girls' and the gandharva or 'Celestial choris-

ters' changed into the likeness of birds. The Pythagorean notion was that the souls of poets reappear as swans.



Mother-bird fondling her child—Bengal  
(Medieval Period)



The Indian belief is that the dead return as crows, which are the symbol of longevity. Cuckoo has been taken as the symbol of unrequited love, particularly applied to women. In Greek mythology Zeus, to woo his sister for his wife, flew to her in the form of a cuckoo. Sparrows possess the thought of acquiring spiritual merit. The unlucky owl, because of its nocturnal habits and its association with bats, serpents and toads on dark cliffs and gloomy caves, had been universally regarded as a most inauspicious creature. But the owl which is the mount of Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, is taken as the most lucky bird by the

Hindus and whose stay in a house will, it is believed, bring wealth and prosperity.

Thus we see that in all times and in all countries men have always been in close association with birds. The strange beliefs connected with the finding of symbols of divinity and of their own feelings and emotions in birds rested perhaps on the peculiar traits of these vertebrates; the common and popular use of birds as motifs in art, religion and sculpture perhaps depended to a great extent on the wonderful and magnificent qualities of these 'feathered and beaked' creatures.

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## INDUS VALLEY CIVILIZATION—EXCAVATIONS AT LOTHAL

EXPLORATION and excavation undertaken by the Central Archaeological Department during the last four years have extended the zone of the Indus Valley Civilisation by another 600 miles south of Mohenjo-Daro right down to Bhagatrav near Surat.

Lothal in Saragvala village of Ahmedabad district, discovered in November, 1953, and excavated since then, has come to prominence as a full-fledged Harappa settlement far south of Mohenjo-Daro.

Recent exploration in the Narmada and Tapi Valleys has resulted in the discovery of another important Harappa site in the estuary of the Kim river at Bhagatrav near Jetpur village in Olpad Taluka. That it was a fairly large settlement in the 2nd millenium B. C. can be inferred from the typical Harappa pottery found in the course of a trial excavation conducted by the Central Archaeological Department. Besides black-on-red and chocolate-on-buff painted pottery, terracotta animal figures, chert blade, carnelian bead and copper objects have been found at Bhagatrav. Beakers, dishes-on-stand, dishes, troughs, handled bowls and jars are some of the ceramic forms of Harappa culture encountered at the site. And further interior is a late Harappa site at Hasanpura near Bhatgaon.

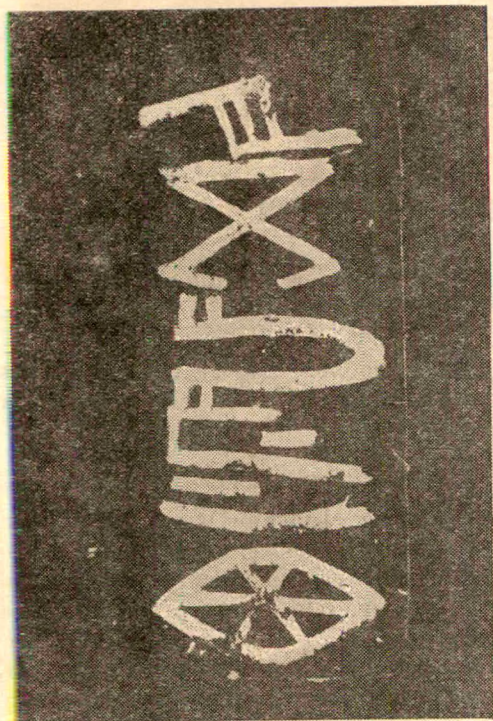
At Lothal, the area of the ancient habitation is found, in recent explorations, to extend much beyond the limit indicated by the present mound. So far habitation has been traced over an area half a mile in length and a quarter mile in width.

### EXCELLENT SYSTEM OF DRAINAGE

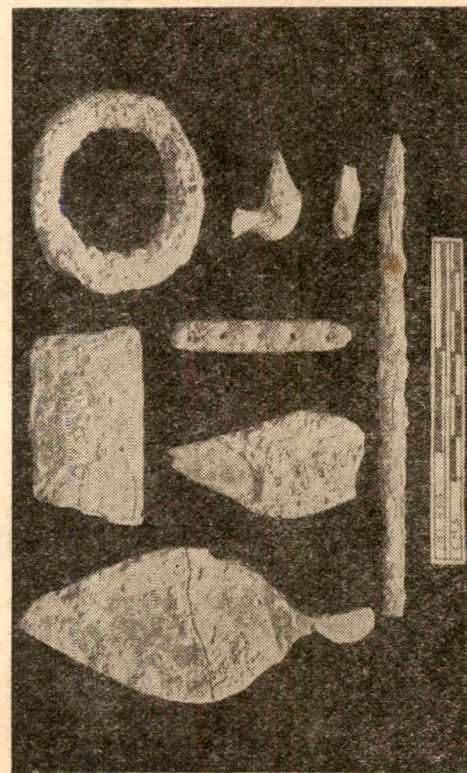
Lothal, like Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, had an excellent system of drainage. Two important streets with houses standing in rows have been laid bare. A row of eight bathrooms in eight houses has been, uncovered in the southern sector of the town, found to have been connected by subsidiary drains with a large public drain meant for carrying sullage and rain water. In the third phase of building construction at Lothal, it is observed that there was a 6-foot wide conservancy lane paved with bricks in the south-eastern sector, but it came to be converted into a public drain in the fourth building period when houses were built on a raised platform nearby. The bathrooms are paved with finely-polished bricks, and lime-mortar is used as binding material.

In another lane, parallel to the one referred to above, can be seen manholes with soakage jars, septic tanks and water schutes for easy flow of water, connected

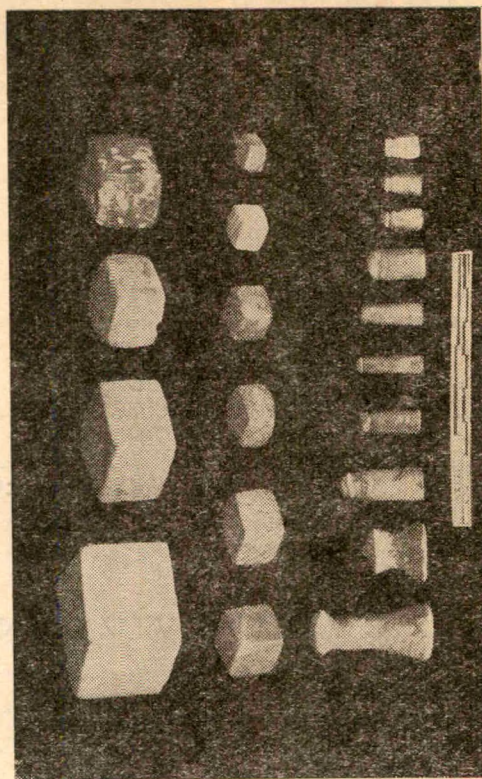




An agate seal bearing the Indus script

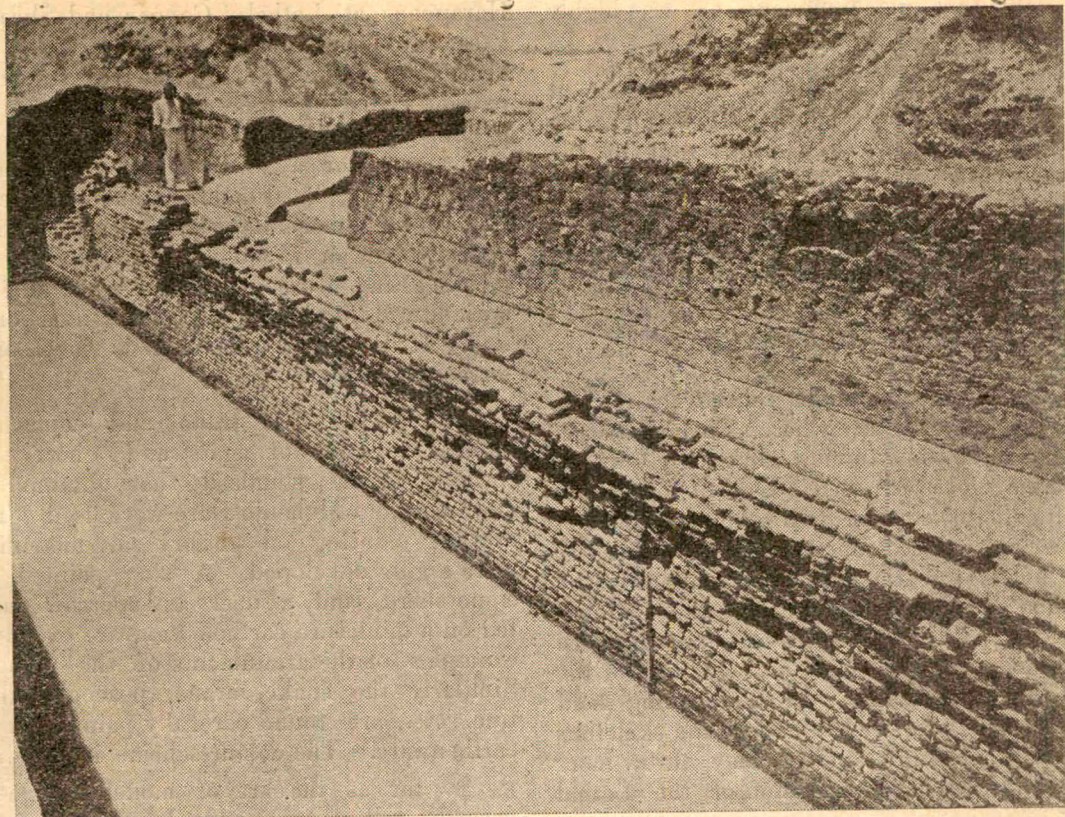


Some of the copper and bronze objects discovered at the site excavated at Lothal



Some of the standard weights recovered at Lothal





A part of 250-foot long wall of kiln-burnt bricks exposed at the Lothal site

with a 100-feet long drain covered in some portions.

In the northern sector a 12-feet wide road, with houses built in straight rows on either side besides drains and soakage jars, has been uncovered. It is significant to note that in the third and fourth phases of occupation the alignment of the roads was maintained. It is during these phases that Lothal reached the height of prosperity. In the fifth phase, however, we notice a marked decline in its prosperity. Drains were constructed shabbily and the alignment of the roads was not scrupulously maintained.

#### BEAD-MAKING FACTORY

Plans of two large houses have been found in the western half of the mound during recent excavations. One of them has a large open courtyard flanked by a row of two rooms on two sides. This was a factory of bead-makers as can be inferred from the large number of finished

and unfinished beads of agate, jasper and carnelian found on the working platform. Not far from this factory is a small kiln with four openings in its roof. This may not have been a pottery kiln but one meant for heating the raw material and half-finished beads.

In the course of the excavation on the eastern and southern peripheral regions two mud-brick platforms enclosing an inner platform on which twelve alters had been built were revealed. They are 45 feet to 60 feet wide and more than 200 feet long on each side. They were built in the second phase of occupation in order to prevent damage to the plinths of the houses and inner platforms from the overflowing rivers.

On the eastern side a wall of kiln-burnt bricks 250 feet long, 10 feet high and 4 feet wide has been exposed. It was a revetment for mud-brick structures against sheet flooding. Also a well, which must have served a group of houses, has been found. It can



be said that the plumber's art was highly developed.

There must have been in existence at Lothal a powerful municipal organization exercising control over the layout of the houses, roads and drains and insisting on the maintenance of sanitary conditions. There must have been some arrangement for periodical clearance of manholes and septic tanks.

#### RITUAL AND RELIGION

The most outstanding discovery of the year is the cemetery where as many as eight burials have come to view; but only two of them have been exposed. One of the burials is found to contain two skeletons, both of which are placed north-south with head to the north. As the graves were disturbed by erosion and due to other causes the earthen-ware of the burials were missing. In another burial the head and the legs of the body are also missing. In the ensuing field season it is proposed to expose the skeletons which when fully studied may throw more light on the racial composition of the Lothal folk.

Some idea can be had of the religious practices of the inhabitants of Lothal from the terracotta and other objects recovered in the excavations. In one place animal skeletal remains are found deposited in earthenware and buried carefully. Last year, in another place, charred animal remains, gold pendants and beads were found in a brick enclosure specially built for ritualistic purpose. Hence it appears that certain animals were sacrificed and certain others were considered sacred. Worship of the mother goddess and snake are suggested by the terracotta and paintings on pottery. Burial was the normal method for the disposal of the dead but cremation might have been practised by a section of the population, for on one of the alters bones and ash were found below two courses of bricks.

#### ART AND CRAFT

Tools, weapons, ornaments and objects of domestic use have thrown new light on the various arts, crafts, and industries of the

Harappans at Lothal. Copper and bronze axes, pins, fish-hooks, arrow-heads, spear-head and drill-bit indicate the various occupations. Fishing was an important occupation. The drill-bit might have been used by a carpenter or a jeweller for boring beads. Blade-making, bead-making and metal casting were other industries. A beautiful figure of swan in copper is an example of metal-casting. Moreover, for the first time an agricultural implement is represented on a seal. It is a seed-drill that is shown on a terracotta seal.

For purposes of trade and commerce, cubical weights of agate and chert conforming to the standard that obtained at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro were used. The arts of painting on pottery and modelling were highly developed. A stag painted on a potsherd, and a deer and sparrow painted on a miniature earthen vase are excellent examples of the attainments of the painter. Similarly the snake, crane, peacock, palm-tree, etc., are found carefully painted on an earthenware. The colour-scheme is pleasing.

So far as the art of modelling is concerned, well-proportioned human figurines, animal figures such as rhinoceros, ram, bull with movable head, peacock, leopard and dog are very well modelled in clay. Engraving of animal figures such as unicorn, elephant and goat besides pictographs on seals has been executed in excellent taste.

Among other important finds seals of steatite, soapstone, agate and terracotta and sealings of terracotta bearing Indus script, and animal figures in some cases, stand foremost. One of the seals bears a Svastika symbol, while another has two lines of writing above a unicorn. One of the terracotta sealings bears impressions of three different seals.

Excavations at Lothal have aroused a great deal of public interest. Hundreds of visitors from the surrounding areas have been visiting the site. Growing attraction of the Lothal site led the Government of Bombay to run special buses for the convenience of visitors. Recently, an exhibition of some of the excavated articles was arranged at the site itself.—PIB



## EDUCATION IS MORE THAN BOOKS

At Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, New York, undergraduates are afforded broad opportunities to conduct student affairs and to plan their own education.

interchange of ideas possible between teachers and students and among students themselves.

Outstanding at Sarah Lawrence is Sue (Suzanne) McClain, 20-year-old senior



Sue McClain, 20-year-old senior and president of the Student Council is seen in the College Library

They also participate in the formation of college programs, including development of the curriculum. The 388 undergraduates govern themselves, organize dormitory life and enjoy a wide measure of personal freedom.

In this college for women, founded in 1926, each student follows the program of studies which she has decided upon with the advice and help of her faculty advisor. The student analyses her own needs and determines the courses of study and college activities most suitable to her particular abilities and future educational requirements. The college has no set of required courses that all students must take. Classes are small enough to make frequent discussion and



A Tennis match

and president of the Student Council, governing body for the student community. Her activities, as these pictures show, provide a view of life at the college.

"Formal education," says Dr. Harold Taylor, President of Sarah Lawrence College, "is not something done to the student. It merely surrounds him with the possibility of learning. The teacher's first duty is to show his students how they can arrive at their own honest principles and then teach them that the test of principle is in human action."

Of Sue McClain, Dr. Taylor says, "Sue is talented and competent in many directions. That's why they elected her Council president. I'm sure that she would do a good job at whatever she tried."—*USIS*

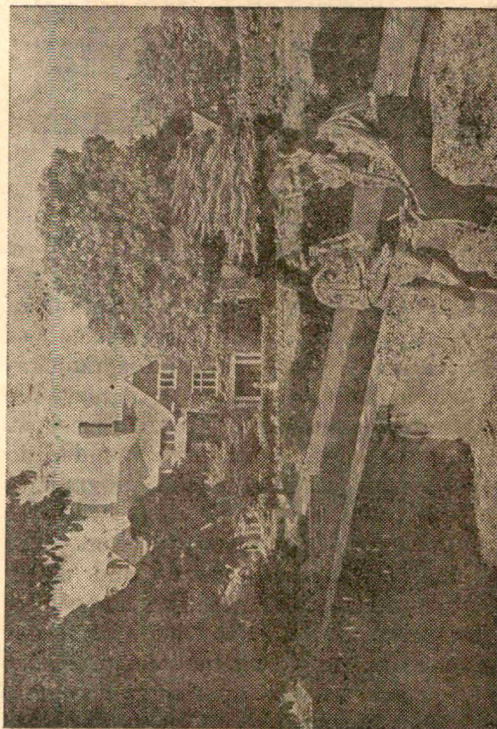




Sue confers regularly with Dr. Harold Taylor, President of Sarah Lawrence College, on campus policy and student affairs and Government



To help pay for her education one of the students operates the college switchboard

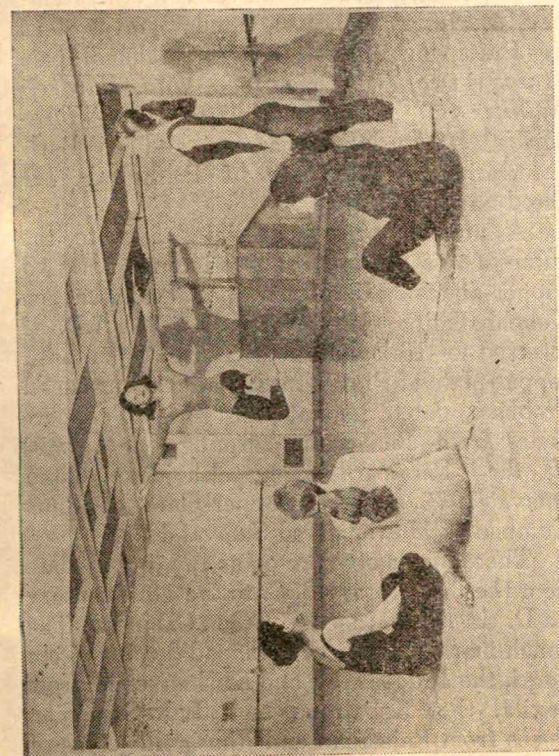


On the tree-shaded campus of Sarah Lawrence College, three students discuss student activities

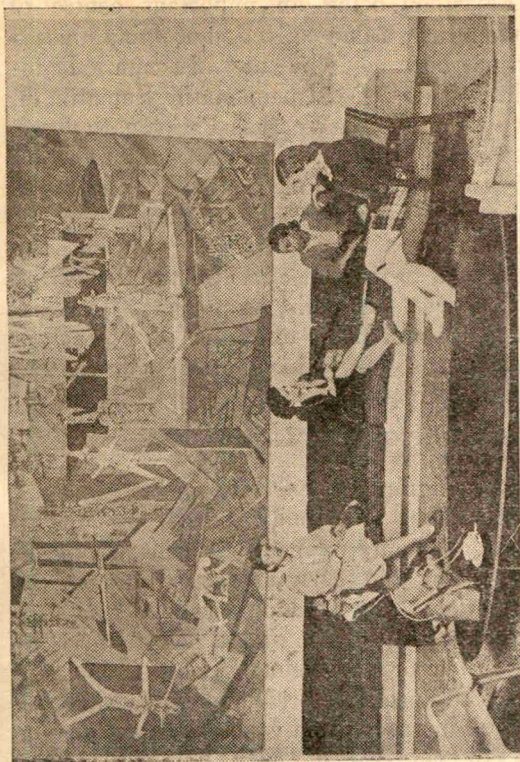


The Joint Faculty-Student Committee which is the planning and legislative body on college affairs often meets at lunch time





One of the students executes a modern dance



The Arts centre has become the heart of student community life at Sarah Lawrence



A student plays the guitar



A meeting of the Student Council



## RAJPUTANA MUSEUM, AJMER

The Rajputana Museum was formally opened in October, 1908, in the main central hall inside the Mughal Fort (built by Akbar in the year 1572 A.D.) at Ajmer. This fort is situated in the Naya Bazar locality of Ajmer and can be easily reached from the Ajmer Railway Station in ten minutes.

The Museum, according to its founders, was meant for the benefit of the whole of Rajputana of the British times consisting of 22 Indian States and Ajmer. Thus, in the various galleries we come across exhibits collected from all former Indian States of Rajasthan—from Alwar to Banswara and from Dholpur to Jaisalmer.

The Museum has at present five main sections devoted to pre-historic relics, sculptures, epigraphical galleries, coins and paintings together with some photographs.

About five hundred antiquities from Mohenjo-Daro and other sites together with 23 casts of seals with photographs are displayed in the Pre-Historic Relics Section. It was opened in the year 1939 to enable scholars to make a comparative study of pre-historic antiquities unearthed in Rajasthan, as Indologists felt that in Rajputana some pre-historic settlements of the same period as Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro may lie buried in the sands of Jodhpur, Bikaner and Jaisalmer.

### SCULPTURE GALLERY

Housed in the main central hall there are a number of unique Brahmanical sculptures ranging in date from the 7th to 14th century A.D. Of special interest among these are Chaturmukh Sivalingas, Vaivahika Murti of late Gupta period from Kaman, Lingodbhava Mahesvara from Haras Hill, fine Siva-Parvati panels from Katara and Kusma, a number of Surya, Brahma and Vishnu images and a Trimurti of Vishnu, Hari-Hara and Lakshmi-Narayana.

Images of Navagrahas, Nakshatras, incarnations of Vishnu, Revanta, Varuna and 'Mother and Child' are there too in this collection. Of the female figures, the Saptamatrikas, Mahisasuramardini, Kali, Ganesa-Janani, Ganga and Nagakanya deserve notice. An excellent collection of sculptures including Kuvera, chauri-bearer and numerous other fine images is there from Baghera—a 9-12th century site in Ajmer district itself.

Rajasthan being an important centre of Jaina culture, a fine collection of Jaina objects d'art has been made by the Museum. It includes images of Rishabhnanath, Sumatinath, Sreyansunath, Santinath, Parsvanath and Mahavira. Among the Yaksha and Yakshini figures a rare image of Gomukha and a fine Saraswati deserve special attention.

Recently a new interesting section has been added to the Museum for the display of pillar pieces, capitals, Amalakas, Toranas, door-jambs and finely-executed *Krittimukhas* which were so long lying in the godowns for want of accommodation.

### EPIGRAPHICAL GALLERY

The epigraphical exhibits in the Museum, which number about one hundred are unsurpassed in many respects in the whole of India. For the early mediaeval history of India they are so indispensable that no researcher in that period can afford to ignore them or do without having a look at them. Of special interest among these are : (i) Brahmi Inscription from Barli (assignable to c. 4th century B. C.) ; (ii) Samoli Inscription of Siladitya dated Samvat 703 ; (iii) Jodhpur Inscription of Bauka dated Samvat 894 ; (iv) Pratapgarh Inscription of Mahendrapala II ; (v) two slabs inscribed with *Harakeli Nataka* ; (vi) slabs containing *Lalita-Vigraharaja Nataka* by Somadeva, and (vii) Barli Inscription of the time of Prithviraja III dated Samvat 1234.

A number of copper-plates add to the value of this section. These include : (i) two copper-plates of Maharaj Sarvanatha of Uchchhalkalpa dated 191 (437-38 A.D. if referred to Kalachuri era) ; (ii) Daulatapura copper-plate of Pratihara Bhojadeva (surnamed Prabhasa) dated Samvat 900 ; (iii) two copper-plates from Banswara (forming one grant) of the Paramara king Bhojdeva dated Samvat 1076, and (iv) copper-plate of Rana Kumbha of Mewar dated Samvat 1494.

There are many rare coins ranging in date from the 3rd century B. C. to the 18th century A. D. in the Museum Coin Cabinet. The punch-marked and Sibiyanapada coins from Nagri, the Indo-Greek and Kushan coins from Taxila, the Kshatrapa and Indo-Sassanian pieces from Rajasthan and the gold coins of the Imperial Gupta dynasty deserve special



mention. From the various State Governments have also been acquired more than a thousand coins of the Pathan and Mughal rulers, some issues being from the mint which flourished in those days at Ajmer.

The Paintings and Photographs Section contains more than one hundred exhibits, including a dozen rare Rajasthani paintings.

The photographic exhibits, however, are limited to views of ancient protected buildings.

In addition to the main five sections there are three more sections where old arms and armours collected from Rajasthan, many objects from Adhai-din-ka-Jhonpra Mosque Ajmer, and duplicates of less important antiquities in the Museum have been displayed forming a reserve collection meant for exhaustive study of various subjects.—*PIB*

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## THE ARTISTIC QUALITY OF THE FIRST CHAPTER OF THE GITA

AS INTERPRETED BY BANKIMCHANDRA CHATTERJEE

By SUSIL KUMAR DEB

QUITE a remarkable feature of Samkara's commentary on the Bhagavadgita, the Song Celestial, is that he has—not without purpose—omitted to annotate the verses of the First Chapter as well as the introductory ten verses of the Second Chapter of this immortal Sanskrit work. For one reason in particular, the keynote address of the Gita being entirely religious, it was not meant to be contained in this portion of the text, and any religious interpretation of it, consequently, was just not necessary. Bankimchandra Chatterjee, the celebrated Bengalee literary genius and modern expositor of this holy book of the Hindus, has pointed out that the memorable occasion for the preaching of the religious doctrines by Krishna or Vedavyasa, the Poet of the Gita, is nonetheless described clearly in the First Chapter. It is unique in this respect. This point, specifically, needs here to be elaborated.

Bankimchandra supports the view that the value of this Chapter consists rather in the delineation of the art of poesy, *i.e.*, in the aesthetic portrayal of the beginnings of the internecine Kurukshetra war. Some essential materials for the epic type of poetry of the rare beauty of the Mahabharata, of which the Gita had become an integral part during the course of long ages of the former's evolution,

seem to have found a place in the First Chapter.

In the field of Kurukshetra, warriors on the opposite sides were drawn up in ranks and files. And everything was in shipshape. It is recorded that the Kaurava monarch Duryodhana observed that the formidable Pandava army on the enemy side had taken up position. No doubt, to this at once he drew the attention of Drona, the venerable military expert, who was his preceptor. As Duryodhana, too, was a little nonplussed at this imposing spectacle, he said, 'Please watch on and guard my general Bhishma!' Seized with a sublime devotion, old Bhishma appeared more enthusiastic and merry-hearted than even a youth. He sounded the first call of the war, by blowing the conch. Bankimchandra reminds us that the conch was the bugle of those days. In response to this call, the panoplied veterans consisting of several companies, who stood in battle array, were roused, and answered back hilariously by blowing their conches, alike from both sides. Military bands, then, using their various musical instruments including the trumpets, the kettledrums *et hoc genus omne*, sounded respectively their orchestras. When the demonstration was done, the music echoed and re-echoed in the skies. It is said that the uproar filled the whole atmosphere of the



earth and the heavens. Thus the grave situation witnessed an increase of enthusiasm of all concerned in this keen contest.

Arjuna, however, maintained his baffling clamour. On him, among others, rested the responsibility of winning the Mahabharata war against the Kauravas. Krishna, the living God Himself, was his counsellor and charioteer. Besides, Krishna played the role of the diplomatist in the negotiations of the war. Presently Arjuna pleaded with his Divine guide to hold standstill the chariot between the battle lines. "Let me scrutinize with whom we are in close encounter," he spoke in a reasoned tone.

Thereupon Krishna drove the vehicle drawn, it will be remembered, by some chargers with shining white complexion, into the middle of the two armies confronting each other. "Look on," came the reply from the omniscient thaumaturge.

Meanwhile Arjuna was staggered at the august sight of his kith and kin swarmed about him, ready for the assault. There were, we are told, the elderly relations, in addition to the younger folks—in fact all orders and degrees of relatives, friends and associates in great numbers.

It is touching to note how his body trembled, his face grew pale, his head reeled, and the large bow slipped from his grip. He felt that his heart was sinking. As his interest in the war slackened he began to lament, willing to die for his beloved kindred to save them from the doom. "Krishna! What benefit would accrue, by killing those who are the dearest and the nearest in the kingdom? I cannot launch an attack," he protested. He thought the attack would be a sacrilege.

Already the partisan hordes had rallied for the fight. Above the deafening din of the battlefield came rushing the sound of the orchestras. The war psychosis was unmatched in the circumstances of the moment.

Bankimchandra dwells on this aspect of the question, which assailed or otherwise

menaced Arjuna, who set up as an army chief was loth to take direct action and was self-absorbed.

Would he not have held at his onerous post?

The answer shows up that the Poet of the Gita had to collate and compile a marvellous account of Krishna and Arjuna, round whose sacred memories a whole idealistic philosophy had been nurtured in India. Glancing at the work of the craftsman who enlarged on this theme of Arjuna's predicament, Bankimchandra could not but admire this Gitaic picture as 'scarcely available anywhere else in the realms of world literature.' He quotes the melodious words uttered by Arjuna to prove the intensity of this hero's spirit of fellow-feeling. So it was the deep sense of commonality of the organized human society that permeated Arjuna's mind and heart at this crisis. Overwhelmed with sheer pity, he cried out, "O Krishna! I shall not relish victory nor also the throne, nor again any pleasures!"

No appreciation of Arjuna's serious but understandable conflict over the issue of inhumanity of man to man would be complete without a reference to the alarms that heralded the battle, rich in dramatic hints. At the outset, he quailed at the threat of waging a stubborn war; ultimately he developed a kind of negativity of the mind. So he has been painted, during a brief interlude, as remaining apparently quiescent. This sudden suspense indeed dwarfed all of his other feelings. And so, on the premiss of Bankimchandra, the incident did not have to emerge into the traditional pattern of the drama, dwelling on the characteristically tragic human emotions. On the other hand, this turned out to be a fitting prolegomena to the treatment of the hundreds of impressive, didactic verses throughout the succeeding seventeen Chapters—a melange on arguments and judgments on the Eastern Upanishadic religious culture.



# SCIENCE IN EDUCATION ✓

By USHA BISWAS M.A., B.T.

Today science plays such an important role in our everyday life that the education of our children will be defective and incomplete, if they fail to understand, appreciate, and apply such scientific methods and principles as will enable them to live intelligently and comfortably in the modern civilized world. At the present moment scientific knowledge and methods are indispensable in every sphere of our life and activities, present-day civilization being essentially based on scientific inventions and discoveries. We owe all the amenities of our modern civilized life to the scientific inventions and achievements of the day. But for those, we would have still to keep to the primitive mode of living. We are thus enjoying the fruits of the wonderful discoveries and inventions made by the eminent scientists of the world in the field of various branches of science, which have not only added greatly to the comforts of our daily life, but have also brought about the security of our life and property. Science has reduced human labour to a minimum, replacing it by machinery, and has served to do away with the barriers of time and distance, to an amazing extent. It is with the help of science that man has been able, at least, partially, to unravel the mysteries of nature, and to harness her forces for the good or evil of humanity. Science has done immense good to mankind, and has worked wonders in the field of agriculture too. Modern scientific research has enabled us to increase our food production to a considerable extent, by making even the arid regions of the earth yield the maximum quantity of food. On the other hand, science has also done incalculable harm to humanity, inasmuch as it has lent itself so admirably to the invention of the nuclear weapons of destruction, which constitute a serious menace to the peace of the world. The marvels of modern medical science have taught men how to grapple with the death-carrying germs of diseases, and thus to fight out death even. The wonderful discoveries in the field of surgery have effected the radical cure of innumerable fatal diseases. Today the modern civilized nations of the world pride themselves upon their

marvellous scientific achievements, immensely conducive to intelligent and comfortable living, which have served to raise considerably their standard of living too. The industrial and agricultural development of a country is dependent on its scientific development to a great extent. At the present time the all-round development of our country, as envisaged in the five-year plans, can hardly be achieved unless all the planning is done on scientific lines. Today all our schemes of national development are being formulated and drawn up in terms of scientific principles and methods. All this renders an elementary knowledge of fundamental scientific ideas essential for every child of the day. It will be a great pity if the children of our country remain quite innocent of science in a scientific age like this. So science should form the corner-stone of present-day education.

Now the question is how to teach science to the children of our country, and what place is to be assigned to it in their education. It should be borne in mind that science should never be taught as something external to man, and utterly divorced from the practical interests of his everyday life. First of all, a child must have a knowledge of the physical and biological world, in which he lives, moves, and has his being. He should be taught how to observe and understand the phenomena of nature surrounding him, both animate and inanimate. Every endeavour should, therefore, be made to arouse his natural curiosity, so as to enable him to take an active and intelligent interest in the facts concerning his physical environment, as revealed and embodied in Geography, Geology, and Astronomy. He should be given an elementary knowledge of the physical sciences, such as physics and chemistry. He should, also, be interested in the flora and fauna of his country, and should be made to observe and study the plant and animal life of the region. He should be keenly observant, and should try to acquire a first-hand knowledge of the living things around him. So he needs to be acquainted with the elements of Biology and Botany too. He should, also, be familiarised with the major scientific concepts and the basic vocabulary used in each of the major

fields of science. He must have an elementary idea of the evolution of the fundamental scientific concepts. This sort of knowledge will serve as an introduction to all the major branches of science. Attempts should, also, be made to elucidate and explain the scientific concepts with the help of typical illustrations, as also by means of practical demonstrations, wherever possible, so as to enable pupils to grasp those clearly. An elementary knowledge of scientific ideas will stand them in good stead in their practical life too, and will form the basis of a further specialization in any branch of science that they may go in for in future. This is, also, likely to provide an incentive to their future self-education in a particular branch of knowledge that may interest them. A sound foundation is sure to facilitate their further self-education in the subject of their choice. In the opinion of Mr. Bertrand Russell, the teaching of science in a school should not begin earlier than at the age of twelve. But science should be taught at the primary stage too, it being an integral part of children's education. So at no stage should it be excluded from the educational programme of the day. As soon as children's powers of observation and reasoning develop, they are able to grasp scientific ideas, to some extent. But at this stage, the teachers' mode of approach to the subject or subjects should be entirely different, and should be perfectly adapted to the needs and capacities of smaller children. The teachers should see that the subject-matter to be taught does not prove too difficult or abstruse for the little ones. Care should also be taken that the former do not talk over the heads of their pupils of tender age to whom the instruction needs to be both concrete and agreeable. Children's intellectual curiosity should not be damped by any means. They also need to be trained in the powers of observation. There are countless things in their physical environment, which fill their mind with awe and wonder. These things seem very novel and strange to them, as they have not yet become inured to these like their elders. So it is quite in the nature of things that small children feel curious to know the whys and wherefores of whatever seems inexplicable to them. Curiosity is a vital need of childhood, which should be

satisfied by all means. But unfortunately children seldom receive satisfactory answers from their elders to the innumerable questions put by them. Very often parents and teachers feel inclined to look upon these questions as unnecessary ones, and take little or no notice of them. Sometimes they are even annoyed with children for worrying them by asking "unnecessary" questions. It is a commonplace of pedagogy that children's innate urges should never be inhibited. So it is nothing short of sheer indiscretion on the part of parents and teachers to let such questions remain unanswered. If they do not happen to know the answers to some particular question or questions, they can find them out from a reliable source of information and tell them later on. In any case children's curiosity and inquisitiveness should not be nipped in the bud. Science may prove of great help to parents and teachers in answering many of the questions put by children. If the former are lacking, even in an elementary knowledge of science, they may collect the information from various books, such as the Book of Knowledge, children's Encyclopaedias and the like. Attempts have been made to compile some children's encyclopaedias in Bengali too, suitable for the juvenile readers. Bigger children may be asked to find out the answers for themselves from such books. The elders should make a point of seeing that children always get the correct answers to all their questions. That general science has been included in the compulsory subjects for the School Final Examination in West Bengal is a move in the right direction. It will help to provide a scientific background both for the teachers and the taught.

The need of well-balanced and broad-based education for the children of our country is being keenly felt by everybody at the present moment. The human mind is a unity and knowledge should be regarded and treated as an integrated whole. Besides, the different branches of knowledge being inter-dependent, arts and science can hardly be kept in watertight compartments in our everyday life. Different studies should be considered to be the parts of a whole. As has been very aptly observed in the report of

Radha Kissen Commission on Education, "The various elements of education should be pursued in vital relation to each other, so that for any person the result will be the best practical all-round development, together with an effective training in his own field of work." Hence the necessity and importance of well-balanced and broad-based education for children at the school stage. Specialization is to begin at a later stage, after their tastes and aptitudes have been properly assessed.

If education is to be a dynamic force in life, it must needs be a continuous, life-long process, which should never come to a standstill. It should be an ever-growing process of self-development, all true developments being such self-developments and not something imposed from outside. One of the main aims of education is to promote the growth and development of children's mind on the right lines. Both the teachers and taught should be keenly alive to the fact that knowledge is illimitable and boundless. So their mind should never be allowed to get static and rusty. The acquisition of knowledge should always be motivated by children's innate desire and urge to learn to discover things for themselves. They should be taught not to take things for granted. They should always be encouraged to cultivate a scientific attitude towards whatever they have to learn, to discover and find out things for themselves, by dint of their personal efforts. This spirit of scientific enquiry should be stimulated on proper lines. Pupils should not be the mere passive recipients of the information imparted by their teachers in the class-room. The former should always be made to participate actively in the lessons. So mere theoretical instruction in the elements of scientific knowledge is sure to prove dull and uninteresting for them, unless the lessons on science are followed up by a good deal of practical demonstrations. They should also be afforded plenty of opportunities of carrying out various experiments for themselves, under the guidance and supervision of their teachers. A properly equipped laboratory should be provided for the purpose at every school.

Time and space permitting, a science club may be organised on a small scale at every school with the minimum of expenditure. The activities of this students' organization may be included in the other co-curricular activities of the pupils of the school, and when possible provision should also be made for these activities on the school time-table. The members of the club should be duly elected by the students themselves. The object of the science club should be to disseminate scientific knowledge among the pupils, as also to stimulate their spirit of scientific enquiry and to encourage scientific experiments. A science club will thus help to arouse children's enthusiasm, and to create a taste for science, so that they may feel inclined to take an active and intelligent interest in all scientific subjects. Pupils should be encouraged to call regular meetings of the science club, at which various topics of scientific interest as also the interesting scientific experiments carried out by the teachers and the taught at the school laboratory may be discussed to their mutual benefit. With this end in view, discussions on different subjects may also be arranged among smaller groups. Occasional demonstrations of the new experiments to be carried out may be held for the benefit of all interested in science. Excursions to places of scientific interest, too, may be arranged under the auspices of the science club, the members of which may be called upon to organize such excursions and to raise the necessary funds for the purpose of meeting the expenses to be incurred. Various foreign magazines of scientific interest may be subscribed to by the club, and the same should be made available to its members. This will help to enable the teachers and the taught to keep in touch with the modern scientific thoughts and developments of the world. A magazine either printed or in manuscript may be run by the science club on a monthly or a quarterly basis. Interesting articles on a variety of scientific topics may be invited from pupils and teachers, and these may be contributed to the magazine. The articles may well be illustrated with pictures and diagrams. The magazine may also be turned into an important organ of the science club. It should publish from time to



time all the information relating to the activities of the club, such as brief accounts of the various meetings, discussions, excursions, exhibitions, if any, held, as also any interesting suggestion put forward by any member of the club. Important gleanings from the scientific news of the world, as culled from different foreign magazines, may also be a special feature of the magazine in question. The members of the science club may hold an exhibition at least once a year, at which the magazines, and the various charts, models, diagrams and the like prepared by them, together with other exhibits of scientific interest, may be displayed. Volunteers may be appointed from among the members of the club for the purpose of explaining the exhibits to visitors by means of practical demonstrations. Occasional film shows of scientific interest may also be arranged by the science club, so as to enable children to see what science has been able to achieve in every sphere of life, all the world over. It is science that has enabled man to change the face of the earth entirely, by building up civilizations, even, in the midst of forests and deserts.

A good and well-organized museum should be a necessary adjunct of the Science club. The pupils of different age-groups may be encouraged to collect various things of scientific interest, and to contribute their interesting collections to the museum. When they are taken out for excursions, they may be asked to observe whatever seems to have a scientific value, and to collect such things as may interest them from the scientific point of view, however trifling those may be. The collections made by them as well as by the teachers may be preserved in the school museum, and may be on display for the benefit of all. Children's innate urge to collect things will thus be appealed to. Provision should be made for a properly organized children's section at every public museum, which the school children may be encouraged to visit from time to time, with a view to collecting important information regarding various subjects of scientific interest. They will do well to note down the main items of important and interesting information in their notebooks for future reference. This will also

prove an inducement for them to organize their school museum, on a small scale in a befitting manner. If a museum proper cannot be organized at any school for want of sufficient space as well as of an adequate number of collections of different types, attempts should be made to provide a Science corner at each school. Pupils may be called upon to try to observe and collect things of scientific interest, wherever those are available and to arrange their finds suitable manner in the science corner of their school.

Now that the all-round scientific development of our country is being aimed at, the need of an adequate number of efficient and qualified scientists cannot be emphasized too strongly. It is a pity that today science is not very well taught at the average school in our country. Lack of adequate laboratory facilities as well as the dearth of qualified teachers has much to do with this state of things. The provision of well-equipped laboratories at the schools will touch only a fringe of the problem, until and unless the quality of teaching is improved. Better and more efficient teaching can hardly be secured until and unless an adequate number of trained and qualified teachers of science can be turned out. The present output is anything but sufficient. The prospective teachers of science need to be properly equipped for the important task to be entrusted to them. The teachers will fail to interest their pupils in the subject-matter selected, unless they can instil their own love of it into the mind of those whom they teach. Every endeavour should be made to create a taste for science so that children may naturally take to it. In the event of dull lessons, their interest is sure to flag. If the teachers know how to make their lessons interesting and impressive, they will be able to enthral and captivate the mind of their pupils for hours on end. When carrying out an experiment at the school laboratory they should try their best to inspire children with their own zeal and enthusiasm. The intense thrill of joy and the rapturous pleasure felt by a teacher at the results of a successful experiment should be equally shared by the taught too. Children need to be afforded occasional relief from the bore-

dom of their class routine. The rigidity of the syllabus, too, is likely to lead to the dullness of the lessons. The science syllabus should, therefore, admit of a good deal of flexibility. Teachers should not fall back entirely upon a rigid, cut and dried syllabus.

One of the main objects of teaching science should be to imbue the mind of children with the spirit of scientific enquiry, as opposed to dogmatism in any shape. Their reason must be appealed to, and their thinking should be stimulated on the right lines. This

being a scientific age, dominated by reason, coupled with doubt, children should be science-minded. They should never make a fetish of blind faith and superstition. They should be taught how to reason things out and evaluate them from the view-point of a scientist, as also to apply scientific methods and principles, wherever possible. The children of the present generation being the products of a scientific age, what is expected of them is a rational and scientific approach to all the problems of their life. ✓

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## NATIONALISM AND UNITY IN INDIA

BY PROF. G. N. SARMA, M.A.

### I

NATIONALISM, as a political force, is inseparable from unity. There have been many definitions of nationalism, each emphasising the importance of some element or other which enters into its formation but all definitions are agreed that it is a subjective and psychological factor, "a way of thinking, living and feeling, of peculiar intimacy, intensity and dignity." It is difficult to subject the idea of nationalism to a practical and realistic analysis because each of its elements, race, language, religion, tradition, common way of life can never by itself be enough for the formation of a nation while most of the elements are by themselves intangible. Even when all the elements are present in a people, the nationality which is a result is psychological and belongs to the realm of the mind and has to be embodied in the visible form of unity which is political unity, under subjection to the state to which citizens owe emotional loyalty. Emotional unification or the spirit of nationality is the foundation of the structure of the nation state.

Until 1947, in India all discussions of nationalism centred around what was described as "Fundamental Unity of India."

Separated from the rest of the world by "almost invioable barriers", India's geographical unity is beyond dispute. Fixed territory is for a people the material basis on which nationality can thrive. It is to a nation "what the body is to the individual." Thus, quite early in the life of the people India became to its inhabitants the motherland. The Puranas define Bharatavarsha as "the country that lies north of the Ocean . . . and south of the snowy mountains, . . . marked by seven main chains of moutains . . . ; where dwell the descendants of the Bharatas, with the Kiratas living to its east, the Yavanas living to its west, and its own population consisting of the Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras."

The emotional and religious expression of the idea of the motherland is emphasised in the prayer which every Hindu is required to recall and worship the image of his mother-country as the land of the seven sacred rivers. Another prayer calls up the image as the land of the seven sacred cities, representing important regions of India. The spirit of these prayers is reinforced by the peculiar Hindu institution of pilgrimage which expects Hindus of all creeds and sects to visit with devotion the shrines and sacred places of the land. In some of the sacred

texts like the Bhagavata Purana, or Manu Smriti are found passages of patriotic fervour describing Bharatavarsha as the land fashioned by the gods themselves who even wish to be born in it as heaven on earth for the spiritual stimulus of its environment. The mother and motherland, it is acclaimed, are greater than heaven.

Hinduism is yet another element in the fundamental unity of the country. "India and Hinduism are organically related as body and soul", as Macdonald has said. "Hinduism has imparted to the whole of India a strong and stable cultural unity that has through the ages stood the shocks of political revolutions, being preserved in its own system of social self-government functioning apart from, and offering but few points of contact with the state, indigenous and foreign."

A common language, not in the sense of a language in daily use all over the country but as one studied and revered by the learned, respected and venerated by the common folk, acted as a spiritual bond of union among the people. "India, although it has more than five hundred spoken dialects, has only one sacred language, and only one sacred literature accepted and revered by all the adherents of Hinduism alike, however diverse in race, dialect, rank and creed. That language is Sanskrit and that literature is Sanskrit literature—the only repository of the Veda or Knowledge in its widest sense; the only vehicle of Hindu theology, philosophy, law and mythology; the only mirror in which all the creeds, opinions, customs and usages of the Hindus are faithfully reflected; and (if we may be allowed a fourth metaphor) the only quarry from whence the requisite materials may be obtained for improving the vernaculars or for expressing important religious and scientific ideas."—(Monier-Williams)

## II

We must remark, however, that the so-called fundamental unity of India was more or less like the fundamental unity of Greece which, politically divided and distraught, never able to come together effectively for any purpose or under any emergency (with the single exception of the threat from

Persia), ultimately lost her free life just because of her incapacity for union against external danger. Even before this final end Greek history presents a spectacle of unending hostile combinations and of fratricidal struggles which were to make her finally a part of the Macedonian empire. Greek historians have, like Indian historians, had to dwell on the fundamental spiritual unity of Greece in the absence of outward and tangible unity.

It may, at this stage, be permissible to examine how far this unity pervaded the mind of the people in the distant past of India. Now that we are a nation State in political parlance, we should not mind questioning some of the time-honoured assumptions and arguments of pre-independence days.

The Hindus were, no doubt, fortunate in that they were favoured by a land which they could call their motherland. From the evidence of ancient and sacred texts it would be hazardous to conclude that the idea of the sub-continent as a whole was present in any but a few minds, if at all, in spite of the injunctions of religion that Hindus should visit sacred places spread all over India. Even today when transport facilities are comparatively abundant and tourism is sought to be promoted and encouraged, it cannot be said that many of us have travelled the length and breadth of this vast sub-continent. This notwithstanding the considerable number of people who are able to avail of the transport and tourist facilities provided by the state. Needless to say then, that only an infinitesimal fraction of people would then have travelled over the entire land and cultivated the living sense of the motherland.

Similar considerations would suggest that the binding force of Sanskrit, the "common language", might have been more limited than has been imagined. The achievement of universal education has been more or less an unrealized aspiration of even the present-day states; the evolution of a common language for the country is still a formidable task. How can we imagine that when education was not widespread, literature embodied in a particular language could serve as a bond of union from north to south? Only a very small fraction of the people would have had such



experience of literature as would inspire a sense of unity of the land in which the literature grew. Besides, how could a fellowship of such learned men develop when the means of communication were not yet well developed.

In the same way, although Hinduism was the religion and Dharma in which people lived and moved and had their being, it was known by the individual only in the particular aspect of the Dharma of his class. This helped each individual to find his station in his life and fulfil the duties that were attached to it but the emphasis on the station and on the duties cannot but have led to a stratification of classes and stations. This was the social barrier that counteracted whatever bonds of union there might have been in the past.

### III

As social unity or political unity was not achieved at any time in the past in India, the emphasis could be only on spiritual and religious unity—a unity which transcended all diversities of creeds and sects. It may be said that to the extent to which unity was present it was based on the unity of religion in India, more than on any other single factor. This is not to say that the various elements of unity in India were fictions of the imagination or that they were entirely inoperative but that they were not so potent as was imagined at one time. These factors were no doubt present very often in the background and in an inarticulate form but were in crises thrown into forcible and clear expression.

It may be laid down as a broad generalization that all major historical events in India leading to the foundation of new empires or kingdoms had, as their motive force, the upholding of religion. The foundation of Vijayanagar or the rise of the Maratha state or of the Sikh kingdom are some instances which bear out this generalization.

In the 19th and 20th centuries the political movement in our country had the same spiritual background. As a reaction to British rule and policy, a renaissance in various respects was initiated. "... Whatever temporary rotting and destruction this crude impact of European life and culture has caused it, it gave three needed impulses. It revived the

dormant intellectual and critical impulse; it rehabilitated life and awakened the desire for new creation; it put the reviving Indian spirit face to face with novel conditions and ideals and the urgent necessity of understanding, assimilating and conquering them."\* "There arose in the period a number of reformers, teachers, saints and scholars who have purified Hinduism by denouncing some of its later accretions, separated its essentials from its non-essentials, confirmed its ancient truths by their own experience and have even carried its message to Europe and America."\*\*

Owing to the teaching of saints and reformers as well as to the impact of modern life on traditional India, some of the rough edges of age-old social divisions have been smoothed. The caste system may be said to have lost much of its divisive force. Yet even the survivals of this system are strong enough as obstacles to the realization of social unity. Unless social unity is achieved political unity will be no more than form without substance. As Tagore put it, it is impossible to 'build a political miracle of freedom on the quicksand of social slavery.' "Those of us in India who have come under the delusion that mere political freedom will make us free have accepted their lessons from the west as the gospel truth and lost their faith in humanity. We must remember whatever weakness we cherish in our society will become the source of danger in politics. The same inertia which leads us to our idolatry of dead forms in social institutions will create in our politics prison-houses with immovable walls."

During the British period the emphasis on the political aspect of freedom was paramount, the social aspect of freedom occupying a comparatively minor and subordinate role. But the political problem of unification was not present in our minds because the British, against whom the struggle for freedom was carried on, had themselves given India a degree of political unity unprecedented in the country's history. This was possible because of the country-wide system of transport and communications and uniform administration all over the country which the British were able to develop in the course of the 19th and 20th centuries. Whereas in Germany and

\* Sri Aurobindo,

\*\* D. S. Sarma

Italy the struggle for unification was a prelude to the attainment of nationalism, in India unification was not a prelude in the sense that India had not to attain unification by her own effort as part of the struggle for nationhood. Rather, the carrying out of that unification to its logical completeness was the task of independent India. The integration of native states and the abolition of the distinction between Part A and Part B states which followed the achievement of independence is an indication of the loose ends in the administrative pattern of British India. Although the British held control over the native states, the distinction between native states and provinces was maintained as part of the programme of Divide and Rule.

The problem of Hindu-Muslim differences also assumed political prominence during the 20th century leading to the partition of the country along with the attainment of independence. In the long run it should appear that the parting of the disaffected is a gain to the parent body as those that remain within the country may, by that very fact, be regarded as loyal to the country of their choice.

The problem of language with which we are struggling today is a legacy of pre-independence days. It was contended in those days that as the British Indian provinces were multi-lingual administrative units where uniformity was emphasised at the expense of variety, it would be better to split and reorganise them on the basis of the language of the subjects. Arguments in the name of democracy were also advanced to show that as people's opinion could be formed and expressed only through the people's language and not through the language of the rulers, reorganisation of states was imperative. Such arguments were no doubt attractive and effective in rallying people's opinion against a foreign government, using a foreign language. But such arguments have a survival value beyond their time and circumstance and were carried over to post-independence India. Multi-lingual provinces, the argument ran, were not a rational arrangement as they would inevitably lead to the domination of one linguistic group over the others. Thus, soon

after the achievement of independence, when the pressing need was consolidation and unity and meeting the challenge of economic, social and administrative problems, the attention of the country was taken up by the problem of states reorganisation. The reorganisation of states on the basis of language has set the seal of sanction and recognition on a principle which makes more for division than for unity. In order to balance the effects of this centrifugal principle states are again brought together on the zonal councils. The struggle between the forces of union and division is seen in the fact that the first great achievement of independent India which was the integration of states was followed by an unwilling reorganisation of states.

The particularism resulting from the linguistic reorganisation of states has, in its turn, created the problem of a common language for the country. The opposition to British rule was, as was normal, accompanied by hatred of all that was associated with British rule. The English language which in the course of the British period had become the common language of India, had opened the treasures of modern western thought and knowledge to India, and had largely inspired ideas of national independence and liberalism in the minds of the people, had yet to be regarded as a foreign language in order that there may be no softness in the opposition to the British rule. With the coming of independence it has been considered necessary that there should be a national language for India. While some think that English would serve as our national language, others contest that a foreign language cannot serve as a national language and cannot be accepted as such. The language that is spoken by the largest section of the people alone, therefore, can become our common language. This has naturally led to embitterment and linguistic division and tension and in this situation the announcement of a common language for the whole country may prove most impolitic, breeding more bitterness and discord than commonness and understanding.

#### IV

The above considerations would lead to the conclusion that vague talk of nationalism

and fundamental unity would be entirely inadequate for the present situation. Whatever spiritual unity may be present in the recesses of the people's mind it would avail us nothing if it is not able to weld us into one social body on which our polity may rest securely. A call to revive the Dharmic state as the only form of state consonant with the country's genius would sound antiquarian today because the social foundations of the ancient Hindu state have been shaken and corroded by the impact of the modern age. In the present context it would be impossible to revive the exact forms of the ancient Indian society and polity. The broad tolerance and universal understanding of Hinduism would assuredly serve as a link between peoples of various religions and faiths in India but Hinduism in any sense can be only in the background of the state, in the minds of the people. The state cannot become the missionary of any faith if the state knows its proper nature and province as a human contrivance for providing the external conditions necessary for the realization of the

aims and ideals of the people. If the people are united by the bonds of religion it is assuredly a thing to be welcomed but this sort of unification is the proper duty of religion and not of the state parading as a spiritual or moral force. The task of the state is secular, to provide the material foundation on which the feeling of oneness in the people may grow. Our decision to become a secular state must be viewed against the background of the call, in the days of the struggle for freedom, to revive a truly national state, founded on the traditions of our religion and Dharma. If it is understood in this sense it would be clear that this decision has thrown overboard all the arguments for spiritual nationalism or nationalism on the basis of race, culture and so on. It is necessary to realize that 'States' which may be a better term for our purposes than 'Nations' are faced today with the challenge of economic and social problems more than anything else and their success in promoting the unity and loyalty of their subjects would be measured by the adequacy of the response to these challenges.

—:O:—

## A DROP OF TEAR FOR MAHAKAVI VALLATHOL

By KRISHNAN KUTTY,

*Late Scholar of the Sorbonne (Paris)*

AFTER four score years of active life poet Vallathol Narayana Menon of Kerala breathed his last. In the death of this great poet, who had influenced the Malayalam literature and the cultural life of Kerala for more than half a century, we have lost a good friend of mankind and a fighter for human rights and justice. Literature is the medium of struggle for those gifted with creative powers and imagination. Active interference in the day-to-day affairs do not come under the cadre of their work; theirs is a superior task in the field of creation and sublimation of the human experiences.

If a poet is a true fighter, Vallathol is certainly one among them. He had the

missionary zeal of a poet and teacher who had dedicated his whole life to the noble purpose he had chosen early in life. Born in 1879 in a small village called Thirur in Kerala, the poet began to express his ideas through Malayalam. Later in life he won recognition as a Mahakavi of great originality and vision. Many honours, both official and unofficial, began to be conferred on him. Short poems and long pieces, based on classical themes, found expression in the most beautiful way from the fertile mind of the Mahakavi. "Kochu Sita", "Bandanashanaya Anirudhan" (Anirudhan in Prison), and "Magdalana Mariyam (Mary of Magdalene) will be retained as treasures of the Malayalam literature. Mahakavi,



who unfortunately is deaf, has given expression to his feelings in "Badhira Vilapam" (Lament of the Deaf). We are rightly reminded of Milton's verses on his blindness.

The great achievement of Mahakavi Vallathol is the pioneer work he had done in reorganising the dance-drama of Kerala, the Katha Kali. The Kalamandalam of Kerala, with its international significance, owe much to the great poet. Many Indian artists from all over India owe something or other to this teacher for his counsel and guidance if not for their entire formation.

Vallathol was associated with the nationalist movements under Mahatma Gandhi, though, of course, he did not come forward for direct actions. Like a true poet he gave shape to his feelings and thoughts and contributed to that revolution that was shaping up in India. Vallathol was a true Indian in sentiments and his ideas were cosmopolitan. The gifted poet

did not interfere with the clicks of the Malayalam literature caused by a few political-minded writers in Kerala. The Mahakavi towered over his colleagues like an eagle over the other birds.

Like the great Tagore who lived, worked and died in Bengal, Mahakavi Vallathol confined himself to Kerala. But the poet had travelled extensively and had assisted many international cultural conferences, including those held in Moscow and Warsaw. Vallathol had been a representative of Indian culture in those missions abroad.

In the death of this great poet we miss from our midst a great soul, a true patriot, a good citizen of India and a fighter for the evolution of mankind. Vallathol belongs to the celebrated poets of India. We mourn the death of Mahakavi Vallathol, but we are sure, his voice will be heard for decades to come and inspire us to good and selfless actions.

—:O:—

## BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

### ENGLISH

**THE EARLY RULERS OF KHAJURAHOO:** By Sisir Kumar Mitra. Firma K. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1958. Pp. 253, 20 illustrations, one map. Price Rs. 15.

In recent years considerable attention has been given by a number of Indian scholars to the history of the Chandellas of Jejakabhukti (Modern Bundelkhand), one of those Rajput dynasties which filled the stage of Indian history in the great period of invasion and conquest of northern India by the Muslim Turks. Because of the commanding position occupied by the kings of this dynasty in the

politics of northern India in the 10th and the first half of the 11th centuries and equally because of the rise of Khajuraho as a city of temples in their time, their fortunes have been treated not only in general works on history like the *Dynastic History of Northern India* by Dr. H. C. Ray and the *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Volume V, but also in a valuable monograph entitled *History of the Chandellas* by Dr. N. C. Bose (Calcutta, 1956). The present work, which fetched for its author the coveted D.Phil. degree of Calcutta University, is a welcome addition to this list. It is based upon a very thorough examination of all

the sources, literary and archaeological, original and secondary, available on the subject, one particular source (namely the *Mahoba Khand*) being analysed in full practically for the first time in the original proto-Hindi. Equally admirable is the author's comprehensive treatment of the topics in successive chapters under such heads as physical and historical geography of the region, the origin, early history, rise and fall of the dynasty, the administrative organisation, the social and economic conditions, the state of religion and the progress of art and architecture. The author's comments on sundry points at issue are always interesting as e.g., in his discussion of the status of the early rulers of the dynasty (pp. 29-33), of the attitude of the Chandella king Yasovarman towards the contemporary Kalachuris (pp. 39-42), and the causes as well as consequences of the invasion of Bengal by two successive Chandella kings (pp. 44-5, 61-3).

We propose to make a few remarks for consideration by the author in the event of publication of a new edition. The question of the origin of the Chandellas (pp. 12-20) should be more fully discussed in the light of the arguments of Vincent Smith in his *Early History of India*, of R. B. Russell in his *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, and of G. S. Ghurye in his *Castes and Races of India*. The description of the administration as well as the social and economic conditions (Chs. XI and XII) should be compared with the corresponding accounts of the contemporary Rajput dynasties like the Kalachuris of Chedi, the Paramaras of Malwa and the Chahamanas of Sakambhari and Ajmer. The picture of social conditions, particularly, should be interpreted in the light of the fuller notices in contemporary *Smriti* commentaries and digests. The rise of the Kayastha caste as distinguished from the profession called by that name (pp. 173-75) should be discussed more fully in the light of the available evidence. Under the head "exchange and currency" (pp. 182-84) reference should be made to a valuable hoard of 48 silver coins of Madanavarman discovered in September, 1913 and noticed in JASB 1914, pp. 199-200. In the chapter on religion (Ch. XIII) the picture of the degraded condition of Buddhism and Jainism in Krishnamisra's *Prabodha-chandrodaya* drama should be discussed fully.

The value of this work is enhanced by the addition of 20 plates, a descriptive inventory of the inscriptions of the dynasty, a genealogical table, a bibliography, an Index and a map. Dr. B. C. Sen of Calcutta University contributes an appreciative Foreword.

U. N. GHOSHIAL.

**POPULATION & PLANNED PARENTHOOD IN INDIA:** *By S. Chandrasekhar. Introduction by Dr. Julian Huxley, F.R.S., London. 1955. Pp. XIII, 108. Twelve shillings and six pence.*

**HUNGRY PEOPLE AND EMPTY LANDS** (An Essay on Population Problems & International Tension): *By S. Chandrasekhar. Preface by Dr. William Vogt, London. 1956. Pp. 306. Twentyone shillings.*

*Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. To be had of the Indian Institute for Population Studies, Madras-20, India.*

"Population", writes Dr. Julian Huxley in the latest issue of the *Population Review*, "is the problem of our age." If one did not like to go to such an extreme position in one's assessment of the problems of the world, there was little scope for argument about the basic truth in the statement that the increase of population and its relation to available resources and fulness of life remained, as ever, the crucial point in the man's struggle for supremacy over his environment; and that in certain parts of the world (notably in the heavily-populated regions of economically-underdeveloped Asia) the relative positions of population and the state of national economy did in fact give rise to some concern as to the outcome of this struggle. The state of contemporary international relations and the absence of any international agreement on an integrated action in regard to population tended, if anything, only to accentuate the difficulties of the existing situation. In this context every country had only the other alternative of working out a population policy of its own. In the two volumes under review Dr. Chandrasekhar, the internationally known Indian demographer, deals with both the aspects of the problem: national and international. *Population and Planned Parenthood in India* is a contribution to the understanding of the nature of population problems in India

and the lines along which a solution might be sought. In contradistinction to the other writers on the subject such as Pendell and Vogt, Dr. Chandrasekhar's point of departure is humanism. He advocates a policy of population planning in India as part of a broader democratic planning for national welfare and prosperity. Such a policy has already been in operation in India for some years but as Dr. Chandrasekhar points out, its execution leaves much to be desired. It would however be well to remember the author's statement: "Fertility decline is not an overnight process; it is at best an end—result of a slow, silent, social revolution. And such a revolution has begun—as indeed it has in India—it can be accelerated by governmental and other forces that are eventually constructive, morally acceptable and socially purposeful."

In the second book, Dr. Chandrasekhar discusses the great demographic disequilibrium in the present world which arises mainly from the uneven distribution and rate of growth of population in different parts of the world. More than half of world's total population live in about 1/20th of the total land area at an average density of 400 persons per square mile. The greatest concentration of human beings is found in the Asian countries—China, India, Japan and Indonesia—and in Europe. In contrast, the greater part of the world—notably Siberia, parts of Central Africa and South America, the Central and Northern parts of North America and parts of Australia—is very thinly populated. This great unevenness in the distribution coupled with a comparable imbalance in the rate of growth presents a direct threat to world peace in so far as the overflowing population from the heavily populated areas would soon be compelled to seek living places beyond their present borders and opposition would mean an international war. As a possible solution Dr. Chandrasekhar proposes planned emigration from the heavily populated areas (principally Japan, China and India) to the thinly-inhabited areas. Such emigration is to take place only as a part of a wider programme of birth control, industrialization and agricultural development.

There are obvious difficulties in the path of the realization of this solution and the

author also is not blind towards them. Indeed, he devotes considerable attention to a discussion of these problems.

The two books together make an important contribution not only to Indian thinking but world thinking on what Dr. Julian Huxley calls the "central and overshadowing problem of our age" and bring great credit to Indian scholarship.

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

TRADE MARKETS IN EASTERN EUROPE: *Compiled and Published by Mr. K. K. Roy from 18/36, Dehi-Serampore Lane, Calcutta-19. Pages 145. Price not mentioned.*

This is a Commercial Reference Book dealing with trade aspects of East European Countries—Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia and USSR, Peoples Republic of China, Viet Nam and North Korea are also included although these countries belong to Far East Asia.

Since the attainment of Independence, India has taken up industrialization in right earnest and the country is exploring all possibilities of expanding her foreign trade with the countries which were outside the picture in pre-independence days. The countries dealt in this publication except East Germany and Czechoslovakia were mainly agricultural and USSR although now a Class I industrial country was primarily agricultural before the Revolution. All the countries of Eastern Europe except Yugoslavia are practically under Soviet leadership politically and industrially and all these countries have adopted economy of the Soviet type. Of late, India has entered into trade relation with some of these for mutual benefit and USSR is helping India in her Five-Year Plan. India in her non-alignment policy expects co-operation and trade relations with all nations in spite of their different ideologies. So she has financial aids and loans from U.S.A., Canada, Britain, West Germany, Australia and also from USSR.

Although this Reference Book is concerned with the countries which deal in foreign trades through the machineries of their states only, the information and particulars contained in the volume will be of help to businessmen of our country who desire to expand their trade



relations in these regions. The get-up of the book is excellent.

(1) FROM BHOODAN TO GRAMDAN: Pp. 92. Price 60nP.

(2) SAMPATTI-DAN: Pp. 44. Price 30 nP.

(3) SARVODAYA AND COMMUNISM: Pp. 40. Price 40 nP.

All these three booklets are by Acharya Vinoba Bhave and are published by Akhila Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh, Tanjore. They contain lectures and talks given by Vinobaji from time to time in different places in connection with his Bhoodan tour. Vinobaji wants a Samya-yogi Society and a self-disciplined Free India and believes that the way to world peace is through Bhoodan, Gramdan and Sampattidan. He wants to rouse the third force or Jana-Sakti without recourse to any kind of violence. His is a moral force which will lead mankind towards a State-free Society. His idea is to attain Sarvodaya social order where coercion has no place. Satyagraha is the weapon to attain this social order. What was being done everywhere in the name of Satyagraha is no Satyagraha at all—it is a sort of violence and as such cannot change the hearts of men and thereby reform and purify them. Vinobaji is out to create a nation-wide brotherhood of Sarvodaya Samaj, built on service. He is appealing to the people and not to the legislators because people are the masters of legislators.

He wants one-sixth of land-gift, from individual villagers who have land, for the landless; gift of the entire village collectively from all the land-owners of a village for the same purpose. He wants gift of wealth from those who have wealth of different sorts but possess no land. He uses the word 'wealth' in a very wide sense. With this land and wealth gift he would equip his landless brothers of the country for greater production.

When the ideal will be attained there will be no 'state'; the 'state will wither away' as the Communist philosophy would put it. He would meet Communism with Bhoodan. He would convert capitalists into trustees of their capital and wealth. He would mobilize goodness of all. "Marxism will be of use to India only if it adopts itself to the condition of this country," says Vinobaji. He hopes Marxism will merge into Sarvodaya one day.

These three booklets would introduce readers into the philosophy and art of Bhoodan

movement of Vinobaji, the great exponent of Gandhiji's *Ahimsa* and Sarvodaya.

A. B. DUTTA

THE SPIRIT OF ISLAM: By Ashfaq Hossein: Pp. 76. Asia Publishing House, Calcutta. Price Rs. 4.75.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, whose recent death is mourned by all Indians, wrote a commentary on the Quran in Urdu—*Tarjumaund Quran*. An adequate English translation of the same will be a valuable addition to things Islamic in English. The writer has summarised Maulana's commentary on Sena I—Al-fateha in English and has earned the thanks of all non-Urdu knowing people. The author has given a translation of this opening chapter in English; but he should have transliterated it first from Arabic, for the verses of the Quran are written in rhymed prose (*saj'*). It has been said that the Arabic is a language in which, like Italian, it is almost impossible not to rhyme. Instead of translating it again he should have given, in our humble opinion, Sir Richard Benton's translation, which according to persons competent both in English and Arabic is the best translation and gives some idea of the rhymes of the original.

The Quran is a difficult book to read, especially in translations, for apart from its arrangement, it is not so much a book as a collection of manifestoes, edicts, discourses, sermons, etc. At the same time the spirit of Islam cannot be understood without a study of its high ethical teachings and its uncompromising monotheism.

The late Maulana Saheb has expanded its teachings in beautiful language, and we are all grateful to the translator for giving us an opportunity to get an idea of it. As he has styled the book—*The Spirit of Islam*, our one regret is that he has not given more, especially the exposition of Maulana Saheb, on Sena 112 At-Taubid, which is called the essence of the Quran, and is said according to a tradition of the prophet, to be equal in value to a third part of the whole Quoran. Like *Oliver Twist*, we want "more" from the translator, and we hope he will not disappoint us.

J. M. DATTA

GEMS OF ANDHRA LITERATURE IN ENGLISH VERSE—Part 1, *Kavya Period*: By Sri Surya Narayan Peri. To be had of *The Manager, Srinivas Publishing House, Rajahmundry*. Price Rs. 3-75 np.

Andhra or Telugu is one of the four important languages of South India. Though of Dravidian origin it has been profusely influenced by Sanskrit, so much so that now nearly two-thirds of its words are of Sanskrit origin. The history of its literature may be divided into four periods: the Kavya, the Kavya-Prabandha, the Prabandha and the Modern period. The Kavya period stretches roughly from 1000 A.D. to 1350 A.D. (In this respect there is an anomaly in the Introduction. In page 3, the writer mentions 1300 A.D. as the limit, but in page 5, he indicates 1350 A.D. as such). The author has chosen specimens of poetic compositions of this period and rendered them into English. Nannaya, Tikkana and Errana were the most representative poets of the time. They and other poets of the age all took their themes from Sanskrit classics. This book gives us a fair idea of the literature of the period.

**THE BEGGAR PRINCESS** (A Historical Drama in Five Acts): *By Dilip Kumar Roy and Indira Devi. Kitab Mahal., 56-A, Zero Road, Allahabad. Price Rs. 3/-.*

This beggar princess is none other than Mirabai, queen of Chitor, who, as a devotee of Krishna and as a poet, ranks among the highest. The present work is different from ordinary dramas because it depends little on action; it depicts the picture of a dedicated soul. Sri S. K. Ghosh in his Introduction says: "The Beggar Princess operates on two stages—the inner and the outer. The present moment is a point of intersection between what-has-been and may-again-be. It is, therefore, a play in a double sense. To show it thus is perhaps Dilip Kumar's central effort and achievement. To see it thus at once on both levels, will be, for us, real understanding."

**NANALAL, POET-LAUREATE OF MODERN GUJARAT:** *By Balchandra Parikh. Hind Etabls Ltd., Bombay. Price Rs. 3-12.*

Sr. K. M. Munshi in his Foreword observes: "Sri Parikh has rendered a service by introducing poet Nanalal to an all India public. Perhaps a sketch of the poet's life against the background of contemporaneous literary achievements of Gujarat would have greatly increased the value of this little work." Nanalal, the most outstanding poet of Modern Gujarat of the last half a century, is almost unknown to the rest of India. It is a pity that nurtured for ages by the same culture and tradition Indians are now separated by barriers of language. Frequent

attempts should be made through translations to overcome these barriers and establish inter-communion of thought.

**SHADOW AND SUNSHINE:** *By K. C. Chatterjee, M.A. To be had at Messrs. P. Ghosh and Co., 20, College Street Market, Calcutta-9. Price Re. 1-14.*

A bunch of agreeable short stories. Characters in our modern short stories often verge on the abnormal. Here happily they are not so. These stories have rather a romantic colour though they deal with common life. All the incidents take place outside Bengal—in Bombay, Lucknow and other places; incidentally they provide some refreshing novelty in atmosphere. Unfortunately almost all the stories end in a death; they cast a gloom at the end. The last one is in the form of a short play, probably based on a Jataka story.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

## BENGALI

**BANGLAR NABYA SAMSKRITI:** *By Jogesh Chandra Bagal. Visvabharati Granthalaya, 2, Bankim Chatterjee St., Calcutta-12. Price Re. 1-40 only.*

Perhaps no other writer has devoted himself so unsparingly to the task of presenting before us a complete picture of our Nineteenth Century Renaissance. The vision of a cosmopolitan world, the youthful spirit that discarded all handicaps and the manysided efforts for ushering in a new age were reflected in the utterances and activities of the prominent people of the times. Unfortunately we lack their enthusiasm and determination. Whatever reasons we might adduce for that, we do not derive any consolation therefrom. It would perhaps be better for us to remember the glorious past and seek inspiration from it. Reverent study of the achievement of the great pioneers of the last century in religion, society, politics and literature might infuse new vitality into our soul and guide us along the path of progress.

The author gives here brief accounts of the important social welfare societies of the day like the Gaudiya Samaj, the Academic Association, the Tattwabodhini Sabha, the Bethune Society, the Bamabodhini Sabha, the

Bangiya Samaj Bijnan Sabha, etc. From gardening to cultivation of science, industrial progress to female emancipation—nothing escaped their attention. They fought hard to eradicate ignorance and superstition from the country and build up a healthy modern nation. From these accounts we have occasional glimpses of our illustrious men and women who once paved the way for Bengal's regeneration. Though not voluminous the book under review is packed with information and Sri Bagal is well-known for his eye for accuracy and able presentation. His qualities as a historian are evident here as in his other works.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

PARVATI: By Ramanand Tewary Sastri, "Bharatinandan". Published by Sm. S. Rani, Professor Colony, Nayapara, Kotah (Rajasthan). Price Rs. 15 only.

This is an epic poem written during a period of 2 years on the same lines as the

great work of Kalidasa, *Kumar-sambhavam*, running through 27 cantos, and preceded by a *mangalacharan*, *archana* and followed by *arati*, very much in traditional style, but not strictly attending to the traditional variations in metre from canto to canto. The modern tone is also there, the language is simple and lucid.

One must also pay a tribute to the inspiration that could in these days last through the length of the poem, and also to the audience which retains its love of poetry against the drab background of modern materialism. We have here a poet, we shall not say, born out of his time, but a sincere worshipper of the Muses who has pledged himself to wholehearted devotion to melodious thought.

The poet has imagination and a philosophy of his own, and the reading public, appreciative of poetry, will surely be delighted to read the volume.

P. R. SEN

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# Indian Periodicals

## Race Conflicts In South Africa

The story of race prejudice and injustice is unfolded in an arltale in *The Aryam Path* by Mr. E. S. Sachs, now living outside South Africa but well known for his stand against his country's tyrannical racial laws :

On April 16th, 1958, the Nationalist Party of South Africa, led by the ailing Mr. J. G. Strijdom, scored its third successive victory since 1948, when it first secured a majority of seats and took over the government of the country. The 9,250,000 Africans, the 1,250,000 "Coloured" and the 400,000 Indian people were silent spectators without a voice or a vote, although their fate figured prominently in the election. The Coloured people were removed from the common voter's roll a year ago and elected four European representatives to the Union House of Assembly on April 3rd. The Africans, who constitute 70% of the total population, elect 3 European representatives out of a total of 163. It is doubtful, however, whether they will have any representation at all for long, as Dr. Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs, has stated that a law will soon be passed to remove native representatives altogether from the Union Parliament. The Indian people have no franchise rights whatever.

Among the 2,000,000 Afrikaners and 1,000,000 British who have the right to vote some are more "equal" than others. In accordance with a law passed by the Nationalist Government in 1953 the 25,000 White voters of South West Africa elect 6 members—in the large cities that number of voters would elect only 2. The rural constituencies which are almost entirely Nationalist have an average roll of under 10,000, whereas the average in the urban constituencies is over 12,000. In spite of Nationalist gerrymandering, they failed to secure the support of the majority of the White electorate when the 24 constituencies which they did not contest are taken into

consideration. On a 49% vote, however, they did succeed in capturing 103 seats against 53 for the United Party. The three candidates of the Liberal Party were defeated only one saving his deposit. The two Labour Party candidates, who had both been in the last Parliament and earned the respect of all intelligent South Africans for their courage and ability, were both defeated, one losing his deposit.

The year 1957 was one of the blackest in the history of South Africa, a country which has known many black years. Unless something unforeseen happens the coming years will see an increase in the oppression of the 11,000,000 non-Whites and in the persecution of Whites who dare to oppose the Nationalist Government's policy.

Civilized people throughout the world have consistently expressed their indignation at the inhuman policy of racial intolerance as preached and practised by successive governments in South Africa, whether that policy is presented in its brutal nakedness of Apartheid by the Nationalists, or as hypocritically labelled "Christian Trusteeship" by the late General Smuts. Yet there are not a few apologists in Britain and elsewhere for that policy. Spokesmen for the Nationalist Government abroad present Apartheid as a policy of "equal but separate development for Whites and non-Whites in the interests of both racial groups." Thus in the Summary of the Report of the Tomlinson Commission (Chapter 4, Par. 3) we find in referring to Apartheid the following :

"In this connection, it must be emphasized at the outset that it would be erroneous to allege that this pattern originated solely or even in the first instance, from selfish and oppressive considerations, or only favor the European. Actually it is based on two clearly perceptible principles, namely (1) self-protection and self-preservation on the side of the Europeans, and (2) recognition and protection of the Bantu's own institutions,

etc., and of their needs, interests and rights. To a large extent these two principles are not mutually conflicting, but complementary, and they are frequently applied as a harmonious entity. However, as the Bantu are introduced into non-Bantu areas and become more and more detribalized and westernized, the European will be confronted with ever greater problems in regard to the maintenance of his position of authority."

When addressing the White electors, however, the Nationalists are not so well-mannered but more truthful, and they sum up Apartheid as "*Die Kaffer op se plek en die Koeli uit die land*" (The Kaffir in his place and the Coolie out of the country).

Even a cursory examination of the history of South Africa, the laws and regulations enacted to further the so-called "equal but separate development for Whites and non-Whites," will prove conclusively that the philosophy and practice of *Baaskap* (White domination) is not only inhuman and immoral and designed to degrade, oppress and impoverish the non-Whites, but that it is unprofitable to the Whites and, if persisted in, will lead to inevitable disaster for Whites and non-Whites alike.

After a hundred and fifty years of *Baaskap*, nine successful Kaffir wars, the seizure by Whites of 90% of the land, the creation of millions of landless African labourers, it was conservatively estimated in 1929 that out of a total Afrikaner population of over 1,000,000 at least 300,000 were poor Whites, living in an abyss of poverty and misery on incomes of less than £20 a year. A similar number lived on an income of about £50 a year. Hopelessness and despair filled their lives; and in the course of time they lost not only the possibility of escape but even the energy to extricate themselves from their misery. They were saved from total degeneration, but not by the champions of *Baaskap* who were quite helpless and could offer only myths about White Supremacy, some charity and prayer.

The industrial development of the country, which proceeded in spite of the advocates of White Supremacy, saved the Afrikaners from disaster. There was no legal colour bar in industry and thousands of factories

sprang up where Whites and non-Whites worked side by side. Today over 1,000,000 non-Whites work in the manufacturing industries, commerce, transportation and other occupations, and about 500,000 Whites. The influx of non-Whites and the improvement in their skill, far from undermining the standards of Europeans and causing unemployment among them, had the very opposite effect. Hard facts indubitably prove that the economic colour bar offers no defence for White workers; on the contrary it undermines their standards.

The fantasies and myths inspired by the leaders of the Nationalist Party rule South African political life: hard facts and realities seem to find no place. The Nationalists know in their hearts that their policy of oppression will not save but destroy the White community; yet, having swallowed the philosophy and technique of the Nazis and determined to maintain themselves in power at all costs, they are relentlessly and with ever-increasing recklessness following the road which must lead to catastrophe.

Those who are conversant with South African facts and realities find the hypocritical talk of the Nationalists and their friends about Apartheid being in the interests of both sections of the community positively sickening. Admittedly the basis for African oppression had been laid long ago. In 1911, one year after the Union was established, the Native Labour Regulations Act was passed, an Act which deprives all African workers of the most elementary rights. In 1912 was passed the Works and Mines Act, which prohibits the employment of African mine workers, who number nearly half a million, in any skilled occupation. In 1913 the Native Land Act was passed dividing South Africa into "Back" and "White" areas. Over 90% was demarcated as "White," in which Africans are prohibited from owning any land, and less than 10% was allocated to the Africans, who constitute more than two-thirds of the population.

Yes, the policy of "Christian Trusteeship" pursued by the Smuts Government was not fundamentally better than Strijdom's policy of Apartheid, yet there are several important differences between the two,

The policy of Christian Trusteeship was an expedient. The White mine-owners and the White farmers needed a vast reservoir of cheap native labour, and Christian Trusteeship was designed to supply 500,000 African mine workers at less than £4 a month and 1,000,000 agricultural labourers at a wage ranging from £10 to £25 a year. Apartheid, on the other hand, has become a national philosophy, eternal, immutable and, according to the Nationalists, designed by Providence. Under Smuts the door was not altogether closed to the Africans; and what a comfort it is to the masses of the oppressed to know that there is at least a ray of hope for them!

Under the Nationalists the door has been shut, the lamps of liberty extinguished and all that the oppressed non-Whites can look forward to is more oppression and humiliation. Those who are anxious to know the truth about Apartheid need only peruse the South African Statute Book since 1948. Under the Group Areas Act every non-White group or community can be forcibly uprooted by the Minister for the Interior and transplanted elsewhere. The Urban Areas Act, prohibiting Africans from living in the cities which they helped to build, compels them to live in shanty towns, in squalor and misery, miles away from the place where they work. These laws also compel Africans to carry numerous passes, and various regulations give departmental officials the power to deport Africans from urban areas. Under the Riotous Assemblies and Suppression of Communism Acts non-Whites and Whites may be banned from certain areas, banished, removed from any public position they may hold and forced to live in isolation. Gatherings, even of the most peaceful nature, may be prohibited. *The Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1953 provides penalties of five years' imprisonment, ten lashes and a £500 fine for persons participating in or aiding passive resistance campaigns.* The Bantu Education Act of 1953 introduces an entirely new and diabolical principle in education. This law decrees that the entire system of education for Africans shall be designed for making them good servants for the Whites.

From the end of 1956 new waves of

oppression began to sweep the country. On December 5th of that year 140 homes were raided at dawn and 140 men and women of all races, representing a cross-section of South African society, were dragged out and rushed to the Johannesburg Fort and charged with High Treason. Sixteen more were later arrested. A year later 65 were released after a protracted preparatory examination: 91 will face trial by a special criminal court in June or July. High Treason is a capital offence under South African law. Early in January 1957 the new Industrial Conciliation Act became law. Under this Act White and non-White workers are prohibited from belonging to the same trade union, and the Minister of Labour is given unchallengeable power to remove workers belonging to any racial group from any industry, trade or occupation. In due course the University Apartheid Bill followed, as also the Native Laws Amendment Bill *prohibiting social intercourse between Whites and non-Whites even in places of worship.*

Nationalist oppression and terror, far from crushing the spirit of Freedom among the non-Whites and a small number of courageous Whites, has had the very opposite effect. Resistance to tyranny is growing rapidly. Five years ago the African National Congress, the mouthpiece of the African people, had barely 5,000 members and comparatively little influence; today it has a membership of over 100,000 and a following among millions. Over a year ago 150,000 Africans staged a Bus Boycott, deciding to walk to and from work. The passive, silent, dignified march of 150,000 pairs of African feet spread fear amongst their oppressors.

The whole of the African continent is awakening and if the three million Whites in South Africa still refuse to pay heed to the spirit of freedom which is sweeping Africa they will have only themselves to blame if disaster overtakes them.

### The Conditions of Liberal Democracy

The following article by the Spanish savant Salvador de Madariaga, who is now settled in Britain as Honorary Fellow at Exeter College, Oxford, has been reproduced in *Bhოდan*.



He has reached conclusions which run so close to Vinobaji's new concept of Loka-niti :

I consider liberal democracy to rest on three essential conditions : government by consent of the governed ; a free press ; a judiciary independent of the executive. On the other hand, I do not consider universal direct suffrage as an essential condition for liberal democracy. It has always seemed strange to me that some countries, France for instance, while adamant on the suffrage issue, let her judiciary fall under the sway of politicians and bureaucrats. This seems to me a far more serious outrage against liberal democracy than any criticism of universal direct suffrage.

I hold that government by consent of the governed is essential ; but that universal direct suffrage is mere machinery and can be adopted or rejected without in any way touching the principles of democracy. I also think that universal direct suffrage can work well only in small communities. That is why in my view it should be restricted to the commune, to what the Swiss call *Gemeinde*.

On the other hand, this commune should, in my opinion, receive many powers now usurped by the central State ; and in particular should have the initial and basic powers of taxation, so that the wider organisms including the federal State should receive their funds from the communes and not as it happens today in so many countries, the other way about. The communes would, therefore, be quasi-sovereign States, and this puts the limitation of direct suffrage to the commune in its proper perspective, since the citizen is given back in actual power within the communal State what he loses in theoretical power in the national State by the mere use of his voting ballot.

I also hold that a nation is not the sum-arithmetic of its inhabitants, but that it is the organic whole of its institutions ; and that, therefore, once the communes have been constituted, they should not be left outside in the cold, but should remain in the live stream of the consent of the governed, which should flow upwards from the citizens to the Central State by the channel of all the intermediate institutions without by-passing any. The present system by-passes them all since

it elects the national chamber directly from the loose, unorganized individuals, voting with no regard for the communal will, which at this stage should be more weighty as well as more competent than the will of the individual. My criticism bears on what amounts to an usurpation by the political parties of a function which really belongs to the communes. Now, the parties are abstract and ideological, while the communes are concrete and empirical. The citizen, by limiting his individual, direct action to the commune or *Gemeinde*, which in its turn has been made almost sovereign, would be forced to "keep his eye on the ball".

If, to be precise, this general scheme were applied to France, the citizens would elect the municipal council, the municipal councils would elect the departmental councils ; and the departmental councils would elect about twelve parliaments, one for each of the old provinces (Picardie, Provence, Bretagne, etc.) : a national senate would then be elected by the twelve parliaments to deal with strictly national issues.

I fail to see why this should scandalize true liberal democrats. To begin with, it would eliminate the two worst evils of the present system : slogans and the dependence of elections on money. It would stabilize politics and would associate a greater number of people to the government of the country at different levels and sizes. It would disperse power and in many ways come closer to the Swiss model. It would by no means do without parties ; but it would force them to face concrete issues ; it would raise the dignity of the communes, now-a-days treated almost like minors subject to the tutelage of *prefest* and *sous-prefest* and make of them quasi-sovereign little republics. It would force a strong draft of freedom throughout the whole nation.

As I wrote these lines the British Press was publishing the opinion of Mr. Gresham-Cooke, a member of Parliament, until recently at the Treasury on a way to deal with inflation. According to this British parliamentarian, since part of the cause of inflation is excessive taxation, and since Parliament is incapable of cutting government expenditure, taxes instead of being collected centrally and

distributed in grants from the central State to the local authorities, should on the contrary be gathered by the local authorities, the surplus going upwards to the States. This decentralization of tax-gathering would, in Mr. Gresham-Cooke's opinion, give the ordinary person more democratic control and so prevent the automatic rise of expenditure in which Parliament finds itself entangled.

In my view, this is the chief issue in Europe today. France, Italy, Spain, Greece are not able to stabilize their political life because they suffer from this superstition of the direct universal suffrage which they have acquired from the Anglo-Saxons. The United States of America is ruled in a nonsensical way because of a system for selecting its leaders by massive votes obtained through a forced compression of issues into slogans and the use of all kinds of mechanical-electrical means such as radio and television. This system is so expensive that the administration that gets elected is politically mortgaged to

the interests that have financed it. The evil effects of the direct universal suffrage are also felt in Scandinavia and Britain in the demagogic outbidding they tend to produce between the parties.

France has been led to her present plight by an all but irresponsible Assembly elected in fact by a number of all but irresponsible parties thinking only of their abstract ideologies and their clientele. If it have been governed by a Senate of one hundred and twenty men elected by twelve responsible parliaments in their turn elected by departmental councils elected by municipal councils born of the local universal suffrage, namely resting on a truly national basis of experience and responsibility, her problems would have been tackled with continuity and common-sense; and her people, far from being less free, would have been freer, since every commune would have enjoyed full liberty to organise its life and government in its own way.

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# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## Dogma Is Its Own Enemy

In the course of an article in *Unity*, April 1958, Dr. Sunder Joshi observes:

Religious liberals have no creed or dogma! Are they justified in this?

### DOGMA AND SCIENTIFIC METHOD

The scientific method combines the methods of the natural and social sciences in order to reach rational conclusions based upon verifiable evidence. Therefore, the approach to religious questions will be from the point of view of experience itself. It is obvious that which is beyond experience is also beyond evidence, at least in the present state of knowledge. This is not to say that future evidence of supposedly supernatural phenomena will not come within the realm of the natural in the years that lie ahead.

The liberal approach to religion is primarily based upon the open mind which is not closed to new evidence at any future date. Liberalism consists of reverence for the reverence of other people's religion. However, this does not mean that liberals revere what orthodoxy reveres. To have an open mind means that all our conclusions are subject to change provided there is enough new evidence. We may understand all other religious positions but may not necessarily agree with them.

The important point to remember is that the scientific method stresses the law of change in all organisms and human institutions. History gives us first-rate evidence of this position, particularly in the field of religion. No society is ever static because life itself is always on the move.

Since this is true, the needs and desires of men under specific circumstances formulate the driving force for newer forms of religion. The founders of world religions have addressed themselves to the problems of the time and place in which they lived. Their solutions, whether religious or otherwise, took into consideration the context within which their teachings had to function. It is the life-situation which brought forth the kind of teaching or truth which they expressed in their day.

Therefore, religious truth is true only when it is related to a certain time and place in a specific culture.

It is taken for granted that scientific method does not limit religion to theology but to the whole of life itself. And life is constantly moving, and not fixed. Therefore, any ideas of religion would naturally have to consider the fact that religion is a function of human life and not merely a fixed position reached by some people hundreds of years ago.

Since any truth is a product of the context of experience, which is constantly changing, nobody can divorce the truth from its context without losing the meaning of truth itself. It is obvious from this introduction that any idea or truth, which is fixed and unchanging, has no point of contact with the flow of human affairs. Dogma is a fixed opinion or truth or idea which is the child of a specific context of history. Such dogmas are solutions offered by men appropriate to the times in which they lived.

The tragedy of dogma is that it tries to superimpose a truth, which was true in the context of its time, upon the contexts of succeeding centuries when the circumstances which produced the earlier truth no longer exist. The result is that such a superimposed truth has a very hollow ring to it.

Since dogma defies almost all the fundamentals of scientific method, it can hardly presume to be rationally effective among people who do any critical thinking at all. By remaining rigid and fixed in a world of fluid knowledge, it thereby becomes its own enemy. It drives people toward atheism and agnosticism by ignoring the new knowledge about the universe, the earth, and human nature, which was not available to the people who composed the scriptures in a pre-scientific and pre-democratic world of long ago. If the truth of 2000 years ago is still just as true concerning the universe and man, then modern knowledge is false. You cannot have two unique truths representing opposite positions.



### Marriage and the Family in Korea

The concluding portion of the article "Marriage and the Family in Korea" by Miss Sun Song published in *Korean Survey* is given below :

The traditional Korean family, as it exists in the rural areas of Korea, is patriarchal and monogamous. The key figure in the household is the patriarch, the eldest male member, in most cases. It is he who manages the family affairs. Insofar as ritual is concerned, the patriarch is the priest in the family worship, the breadwinner of the family, and, consequently, it is he who regulates the income of the family. The word of the patriarch is law. His decisions must be accepted by the other members of the family.

The key element in the relationship between the patriarch and his wife is just as Confucius decreed it should be thousands of years ago : respect. Their relationship must be harmonious ; the husband is active and the wife is passive—he is like a needle and she like the thread. He is heaven ; she is earth. All these analogies point out that each of them has specific roles to fulfill and that the one cannot fulfill the role of the other. Nor do the husband and wife show their affection toward each other in the presence of their children or friends. There is no kissing custom in Korea—this is strictly a Western innovation—therefore husbands don't kiss their wives. Or if they do, they don't do it where other people might see them and make fun of them. Public opinion is a very strong means of social control in Korea !

Although there are modern exceptions to the rule, women are supposed to walk behind their husbands, not beside them, when they are out in public. Formerly whenever the men went out to some party or special dinner they would not take their wives, for in Korea there was a special class of female entertainer, the *kisaeng*, who would dance and sing for the guests. Even inside the home the traditional attitude of the husband is that a man should not work in the kitchen because it is beneath his dignity. But here again there are many husbands, who, when there are

no outsiders around, will help their wives with the cooking and washing the dishes. Some men will not admit it, but they actually enjoy cooking.

The relationship of the husband and wife is expressed also in the language. When they speak to each other they may use the somewhat affectionate term, *yobo*. Most important, however, they may not call each other by their first name ! This would be a most serious and insulting thing to do. Instead, they use many different terms such as *pakkan-yangpan* (husband), *uri chuin* (my master), *chip-e saram* (person of the house), *anhai* (wife). More common in the husband-wife interaction is the use of the term *aigi aboji* (father of the child) or *aigi omoni* (mother of the child) to refer to the husband or the wife. Also the name of the child may be used, for example, *Poktong-ui-aboji* meaning Poktong's father. Another interesting fact about the Korean husband-wife relationship is that when they marry, the wife keeps her maiden surname. Thus, if Kim Soon Hi marries a man named Lee, she is still referred to as Kim Soon Hi. If you wanted to call her "Mrs. Lee," you would have to say he equivalent of "Mr. Lee's Wife."

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Sociologically speaking, the Korean family is parent-child centered rather than husband-wife centered, as most Western families are today. It is this parent-child relationship, more specifically the father-son relationship which is the key to the understanding of the Korean family system. The importance of a son in the family can be readily understood in view of the Korean attitude toward ancestor reverence and ancestral tablets in continuing the family line, and "face," an attitude which is strengthened through the teachings of Confucianism. Only through a son can there be a continuation of the family line. Girls will marry into some other families and will no longer be considered members of their true family. In this social context lies the strong preference for male children rather than female. Nevertheless, Koreans would prefer to have daughters than to have no children at all. Another practical reason for the preference of a son is, of course, that sons are better able to work on the farms and can provide for the sustenance of the aged parents.

The father's attitude towards his children is an interesting one. He must always try to be very dignified, so that the children will show him the proper respect; therefore he is not too affectionate toward them, even though he loves them very much. There is no concept in Korea that the father is the "boy's best friend." It is the father's job to discipline the children. Sometimes he spansks them if he thinks it is necessary or makes them go to bed without eating their supper. When they speak to their father they must use a respectful form of language (Korean language is based upon a system of polite forms, some very polite and others less polite, being used between very close friends.) If a child ever used other than the honorific level to his father, he would expect to be punished very quickly. Korean children respect and fear their fathers and it is rare to find children who are hard to handle.

If we compare the parents to the human body, the father is the head and the mother is the heart. It is she who takes care of the food and clothing for the family. As all

of the father's activity is carried on outside the home, the mother works inside the home. She works from dawn to dusk just managing the home. She cannot go to bed until the father has gone and she must get up before him in the morning. You will never find a Korean wife making her husband prepare his own breakfast before going to work.

Mother must do the thousand and one little things which often go unnoticed—things like remembering all the relative's birthdays—so she doesn't go out very often. Therefore she often asks her husband on some family occasion to invite their friends to the house and she prepares a big meal and spends the whole day chatting and gossiping with her friends.

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Until quite recently the Korean wife did not work outside the home to earn money even if she was able to do so. It was considered a disgrace for such a thing to happen and the father would lose "face" among his friends and neighbors. Girls were trained to be good wives and mothers—not to be office girls. Boys are brought up so that they might become responsible husbands and fathers in the future. Today as far as the girls are concerned, however, this old attitude is losing ground and many young girls and wives have found it necessary to seek work in offices and factories of the large cities in order to meet the demands of a war-shattered economy.

In most other ways, though, Korea retains the old customs. This helps to explain why there is very little divorce in Korea. In our culture divorce carries a stigma which is greater than in most Western countries, so couples are less inclined to seek divorce as a solution to their problems. But, on the other hand, there is less reason to need a divorce because of the very nature of the roles of the husband and wife. The husband knows what is expected of him and he knows that no one will try to take over his duties unless he gives his permission. The wife is brought up to respect her husband and love her children. There is no conflict as to whether a woman should turn to a career or to housekeeping. The culture solves that problem. In the Western world there are many role conflicts between husband and wife, and the value of individualism de-emphasizes the importance of the family group. In Korea the men are supposed to be authoritarian and active while women are taught to be submissive and passive. Men and women co-operate in order to bring up their children and continue the family name.

The importance of a son to continue the family name helps to explain one of the ancient institutions which has recently been abolished, that is, concubinage. In the old days when a wife was barren the husband had the right to take a concubine in order to have a son. If the concubine had a son he would become the legal heir and she would receive much prestige. Even so, the wife's position would not be endangered, for she was still the wife and no one could take over her position.

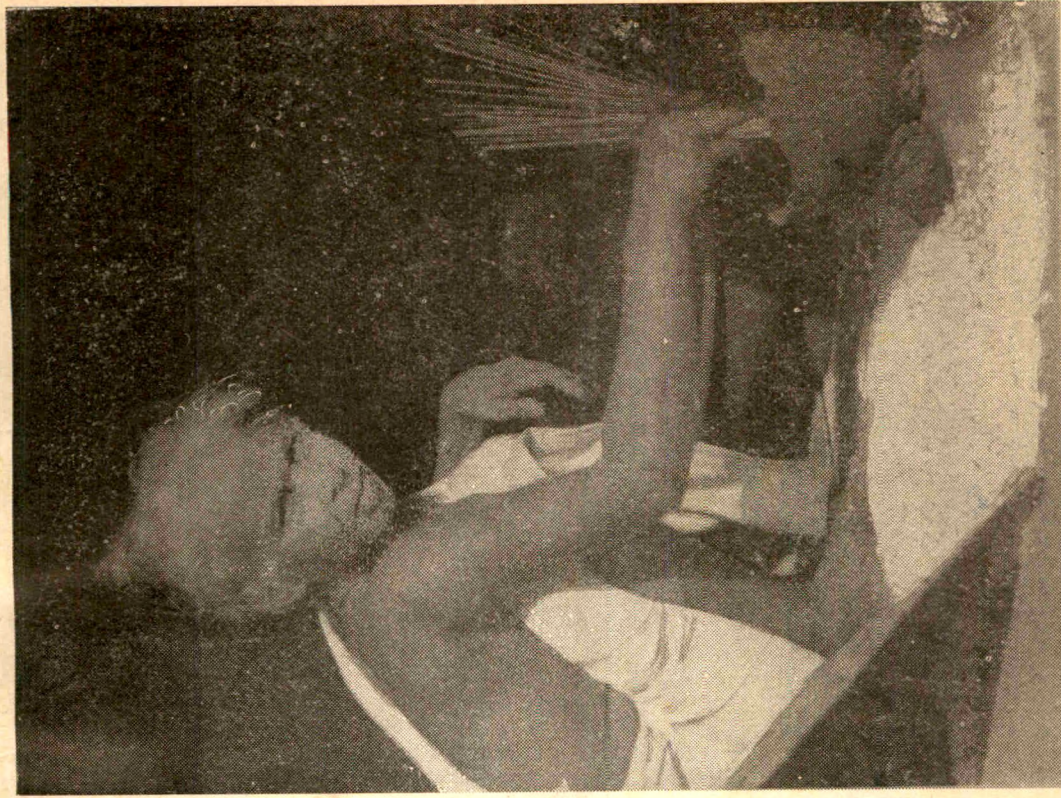
I mentioned earlier that the patriarch was the authority in the family. This is quite true, but as he gets older he becomes more of a figurehead and it is the wife who has the greatest influence. Usually the patriarch knows that his wife is assuming more and more responsibility, but he lets her gradually take over more of his duties. If the wife has several sons it is easier for her to gain more power in the household because she already has a great deal of prestige. It often happens that the wife is able to make herself the real authority in the family without the husband's knowing or realizing it. In other words, the husband *thinks* he is the authority but the wife *knows* that she is. This is one of the most important secrets for a happy marriage in Korea.

And when the couple is old they may expect that their children (the eldest son in particular) will take care of them for the rest of their lives. So old age, in Korea, becomes a time, not of worry and anxiety, but of peace and happiness, the aged parents secure in the knowledge that they have done their part in continuing the family line and contributing respectable citizens to their society.





Monsoon  
Photo: Gour Dutt



Household work  
Photo: Tulsidas Singha





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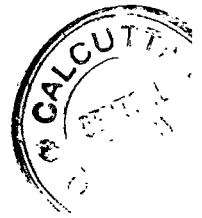
MOTHER AND CHILD  
By Panchanan Roy

# THE MODERN REVIEW

OCTOBER



1958



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WHOLE No. 622

## NOTES

### THE LESSON FROM PAKISTAN

India today is a democratic island, in a vast ocean of military and totalitarian rule stretching from Egypt to the eastern confines of Burma. Further east there are a few uneasy democracies, balanced in a precarious state between totalitarianism and democracy. The oldest democracy of the world, France, has also entered into a new phase, of which the full reading is as yet impossible. It behoves all thoughtful persons of our nation to ponder over the why and wherefore of the portents of these recent happenings. The following sentences from President Mirza's proclamation, bringing in Martial Law in operation all over Pakistan, should be given serious consideration:

"For the last two years I have been watching with the deepest anxiety the ruthless struggle for power, corruption, the shameful exploitation of our simple, honest, patriotic and industrious masses . . . . ."

"Adventurers and exploiters have flourished to the detriment of the masses and are getting richer by their nefarious practices."

"Agriculture and land administration have been made a hand-maiden of politics . . . ."

"My appraisal of the internal situation has led me to believe that a vast majority of the people no longer have any confidence in the present system of government, and are getting more and more disillusioned and disappointed."

*"It is said that the Constitution is sacred. But more sacred than the Constitution, or anything else, is the country and the happiness of its people. . . . . It is seriously threatened*

by the ruthlessness of traitors and political adventurers."

It is said that every serious malady has specific symptoms, which lead to death or disablement. In the case of a nation, death spells foreign domination or extinction, and disablement means disruption. Martial Law is merely a colossal surgical operation, under anaesthesia of the whole nation, to cut out the affected parts. It may or may not succeed.

President Mirza's proclamation, which we have reproduced elsewhere in this issue, gives the broad outlines of his reading of the symptoms, his diagnosis and the treatment he proposes. We have no comments on those, but we find parallel symptoms, perhaps to a lesser degree in the *malaise* of our nationals. And there is a danger that this *malaise* may develop into a serious malady, unless the Rip Van Winkles at the helm of the State wake up in time and take action. The Constitution, we have, has also failed to prevent corruption.

France has also had to take recourse to drastic measures, bringing in a semi-dictatorship armed with new weapons, in the shape of a new Constitution. Here also we see the results of the disruptive action by ruthless and reckless politicians, backed by irresponsible parties like the *Colons* of Algeria, with an insatiable lust for power and gain. We have in this country legions of such irresponsibles, working under different guises, that have infiltrated into all parties, organisations and administrations, political and otherwise.

The portents, therefore, are ominous.



### *The Ganga Barrage*

It is encouraging to note that the people of Bengal and its Government are now aware of the urgency of the execution of Farakka Barrage both for the sake of saving the port of Calcutta as well as for putting life into the dead and dying rivers of the State. As a result of this awareness the Government of India has been made conscious, though rather belatedly about the Project. But it appears that in spite of the suave assurances of the Central Ministers in this respect much still remains to be done. A general assurance has, of course, been given. But there appears no sign of sense of urgency and exactness regarding it.

One reason for this may be due to the fact that all projects now-a-days are considered from the provincial angle and therefore unless the province and its Government puts maximum pressure nothing happens. On the contrary we have examples when provincial governments put maximum pressure and threatened to make it public, results were soon forthcoming. The Farakka Barrage, however, is not only a life and death question for West Bengal; it is no less important for the country as a whole. For the Barrage will provide life-giving waters to the Port of Calcutta.

The importance of the Port in the context of the developing economy of the country can be gauged from the following paragraphs :

The Port of Calcutta has for the hinterland the States of West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Assam, Orissa, part of Madhya Pradesh and Nepal. This covers an area of 5 lakh square miles with a population of 150 millions. In this area is located the richest coal fields of India with an annual output of 40 million tons, ore mines with an output of 760 million tons annually, the entire tea industry of North-East India, the Jute Industry of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Assam and West Bengal. The two biggest existing steel works at Tatanagar and Burnpur with two more under construction at Rourkella and Durgapur are also situated in this area. Besides the heaviest concentration of engineering industry is located here.

This Port handles about 45 per cent of India's import and export of dry cargo.

This amounts to 9 to 10 million tons every year. It is the greatest Foreign Exchange Earner for India. The 4 to 5 million tons of exports that go out of this Port earn very valuable foreign exchange that help to stabilise the economic position of India in the world market.

India is far from self-sufficiency in food supply. Considerable quantities have to be imported from foreign countries. Calcutta alone deals with more than half of the import of foodgrains. To feed the vast hinterland and to provide them with sufficient food supply from outside India, Calcutta is the only suitable Port for the whole of North-East India.

Besides foodgrains, considerable quantities of iron and steel, machinery, railway plants and materials have to be imported for the successful implementation of the Second Five-Year Plan. The sites where these materials are to be utilised are easily accessible from Calcutta. Hence, this Port forms the most natural receiving and distribution centre for the industrial belt that is building up during the Second Five-Year Plan.

It is due to these obvious and natural advantages that Calcutta has grown to its present position from a cluster of small villages Govindpur, Sutanuti and Kalikatta. But for how long can it continue to maintain its key situation? Signs of decay are not wanting. Newspaper reports remind us ominously of the fate that overtook its predecessors like Gour, Murshidabad and Hooghly. Notes as follows are now quite frequently seen in newspapers :

1. Ships are now not allowed to berth from French Moorings to Howrah Bridge because of heavy silting in the Hooghly.
2. S. S. Marianne (8960 tons) ran aground in the Hooghly below Falta Point about 22 miles below Calcutta on September 17. About 2,500 tons of cargo will have to be discharged before the ship may be of a suitable draft to be refloated. This ship was carrying mostly equipments from the Continent for Durgapur and Rourkella.

3. A bore came up the Hooghly on Monday, the 15th September, 1958. This was followed by very high waves. A number of vessels, some as big as 17 to 18' 6" draft parted both Bore Springs, Port quarter chain and Bore anchor.
4. Calcutta Port faces a crisis because of the rapid deterioration in the navigability of the Hooghly during the past few months. The river is silting up at points at far greater strides than the Port Authorities' dredging operation can cope with.

In spite of these increasing drawbacks the traffic in the Port is still the heaviest in India. This indicates two things that

1. The Port is so favourably situated with reference to its hinterland that trade will continue to come to it knowing fully the delay and loss likely to be met with.
2. The impetus to the industrial development of the country due to the Plans is so great that the trade is going up by leaps and bounds, and must find channels for movement.

The Port of Calcutta must, therefore, be improved unless the tempo of improvement of the country itself is allowed to be hampered. No amount of dredging or training works can do it successfully. *Only Ganga Barrage can do it, so says the Expert.*

Although on the surface it appears that the Central Government is keen to execute the project, the way it is being handled indicates dilatory tactics. Whether this is intended or not is not in question; we are interested mainly with the end-result. We are told that fresh investigations and estimates for the project are necessary before the project can be sanctioned. This argument, however, is rather thin. This project has been investigated over and over again by several experts. Its justification is beyond question. Then where is the difficulty for the Government of India to state in unambiguous terms that the project is included in the Second Five Year Plan? Detailed investigations regarding designs of the Barrage, etc., can take place

thereafter as has been the case on many other occasions. Same is the case for the estimates. We would like to be informed in which case the Centre has given firm estimates of major projects and have not substantially deviated from it subsequently.

May we point out here that in such important projects as the Kosi, the Hirakud, the Bhakra Nangal and the D. V. C. the Govt. decisions were made even before proper designs were ready or any detailed estimate prepared. It is also important to note that in such Civil Engineering Projects design features cannot be finally settled except in the process of execution itself. This has been amply demonstrated in the case of the Bhakra Dam Project or the Hirakud. The design of the Panchet Dam had to be changed even after the last stage as the foundation excavations revealed many faults and problems. The Kosi Project was sanctioned in 1952 although the design of its Barrage has not even now been finalised.

Therefore the important point is for the Government to make up its mind as regards the usefulness of the project as a whole and the technical experts may subsequently go into the details of designs and estimates as a part of the execution of the project.

Further every project of the magnitude of the Ganga Barrage Project requires some time for making preliminary arrangements such as acquisition of land and material that are available in India, construction of roads and railways, connections to the site of the barrage from the nearest railway junctions, construction of workers' sheds, godown for stores and ordering gates and other machineries that may have to be imported from outside. May we, therefore, urge upon the Government of India to announce its decisions without any further delay? May we also ask the Govt. of West Bengal to ask the Government of India for expediting matter? The situation of the Calcutta Port is so serious that any further delay will prove calamitous. If our Governments are too lethargic in this matter, we would request the public to create the necessary public awareness which will force the Government to act.

### *Benefit Expected from the Barrage*

(a) This barrage with a feeder canal will connect Bihar and Uttar Pradesh with the Port of Calcutta and thereby with the outside world by a channel navigable all throughout the year.

(b) It will reduce the flood hazards and improve the drainage of the fertile districts of Central Bengal.

(c) It will remove the salinity of the Hooghly water at Falta and thereby supply sweet water to the city and industrial suburbs of Calcutta.

(d) It will remove the navigation difficulties of the sea route from Calcutta, improving the depths over the bars and reducing the intensity and frequency of the "bores".

### *"The Hooghly River"*

We have received the following letter from a high authority on rivers. In view of the importance of the subject we publish it in the notes. The letter refers to an article in this journal of the September issue:

Shri D. N. Sen Gupta has raised certain points about the factors responsible for the present deterioration of the river Hooghly. One of these, according to him, is the operation of the Damodar Valley Project. Though Shri Sen does not explicitly write that he agrees with this idea, he suggests caution before the Ganga Barrage Scheme is taken up. Further, Shri Sen says that "the construction of the barrage might affect a large area of low country a part of which lies in the East Pakistan."

It is difficult to understand the author's argument. So far as the effect of the Damodar Valley Project is concerned, for the last half a century only a small portion of the total flow of the Damodar used to join Hooghly through the Damodar outfall opposite Falta Point on the Hooghly. This could have very little influence on the river Hooghly at this point. The main flow used to go through the Rupnarain. Though under the new regime this will be moderated, the final effect of this change will have to be watched and compensated, if necessary, by bringing in additional discharge from the Ganga, which is only possible with the help of the Ganga Barrage.

Far from the Ganga Barrage affecting low

areas in the Pakistan, it is likely to help them by reducing, though to a small extent, the flood discharge of the Ganga, while during the driest months of the year, the Ganga Barrage Project will require very little withdrawal from the Ganga.

As the implementation of the Ganga Barrage Project will take 10 to 15 years, the author's only immediate solution to the problem of the Hooghly and the Port of Calcutta is to divert 20 per cent of the D.V.C., water into the higher reaches of the Hooghly and thereby to scour out the silt that is being brought into the river by the Ajoy. The author seems to have no idea about the volume of silt that is being deposited every year in the sea-route of the Hooghly from Calcutta to Diamond Harbour. It is of the order of 100 million cubic feet and the rate at which the capacity of the river channel is deteriorating varies from 0.3 to 1.3 per cent yearly. To expect 20 per cent of D.V.C. canal discharge (i.e., about 1800 cu|se.), to wash down this enormous volume of silt to the sea indicates that the author's knowledge of the actual position is very limited. The volume and distribution of upland discharge that is essential to counteract the tidal impulse that travels up the river and to help this huge quantity of silt to travel down the river, can only be obtained from the Ganga with the help of the Ganga Barrage.

### *Economic Development and Instability*

Economic instability is a thing that has two prongs, it cuts either way. It is the inevitable result of an economy which is on the process of development and it will also result if the economy of a country remains underdeveloped. An important feature of economic comparative study of the nature of inflationary conditions under which the purchasing power of the people increases at a rate much faster than the increase in the availability of consumer goods and services. The *World Economic Survey*, 1957, published by the UNO, makes a comparative study of the nature of inflationary developments in industrial countries and underdeveloped countries. The study makes an attempt in distinguishing the inflationary tendency in these two types of economy.



The Survey states that the recent inflationary developments which aroused widespread anxiety in industrial countries were of relatively modest proportions in comparison with earlier periods of price increase. What made recent experience significant was the fact that the price advances were no longer the abnormal forces of war or of post-war readjustment but were associated instead with the normal forces of economic growth. Inflation, therefore, appears to be no longer a passing phase, but as a permanent threat to stability. The creeping inflation of recent years in industrial countries cannot be automatically equated with an excess of aggregate demand over supply. Prices and wages in the modern industrial economy are determined not only by demand and supply conditions, but also by such factors as conventional pricing formulae, collective wage bargaining, government regulations. The links between prices and wages forged by these arrangements may frequently be stronger than any indirect links *via* demand and supply. Because of these interlocking relationships, the Survey points out, any demand or supply factor tending to raise prices or wages in important markets, or any independent move by a major income-earning group to raise its earnings, may easily touch off a chain reaction leading to a cumulative wage-price spiral.

The Survey comes to the conclusion that since price increases have not been due to an overall excess of demand, generalised measures of restraint may succeed in securing price stability only at the expense of permanently curbing the rate of economic growth—indeed, even at the expense of introducing higher levels of unemployment that the economy is prepared to accept. Turning to the countries with centrally planned economies, the Survey notes that the problem of demand inflation in these economies stems from the same sources as everywhere else, namely, from an attempt to take out of the economy in consumption, investment and other uses more than it is capable of producing. The major factor accounting for the imbalance between demand and supply in the centrally-planned economies in the post-war years, is a deficiency in the proportion of output devoted to consumption. The output of food and of consumer goods dependent upon agricultural

raw materials generally fell short of planned levels, while production in heavy industry often exceeded plan targets.

Contrasting the inflationary experience of the underdeveloped countries with that of the industrial countries, the Survey emphasizes the much greater inflexibility in the supply of consumer goods present in the former countries. This has played a crucial role in their inflationary experience. Although there is sufficient man-power, materials and equipment to increase investment without reducing the supply of consumer goods, the increase in demand for consumer goods generated by the added output and income might not be matched by an increase in their supply. Intense inflationary pressure might accordingly be generated even in the midst of unemployed resources.

The Survey finds that the great inflations of the past do seem to have had one basic element in common: a shortage of consumer goods in relation to private income brought about by some upward shift in the appropriation of resources by one of the principal sectors of the economy—usually the government. The inflationary experience of the industrial countries in the past few years, however, did not exhibit this characteristic. In relatively few countries was an overall excess of demand the principal causal factor underlying the advances in prices during the 1950's. During recent inflationary boom in many countries, restrictive policies on consumption were adopted. The Survey, however, contends that this was a wrong policy because it retarded the long-term growth in economic activities. Since price increases during the recent boom were not due to an overall excess of demand, it could not be expected that they would be particularly sensitive to measures designed to restrain the growth of demand. Thus prices continued to rise when the rate of business expansion slowed down and even, in some cases, when production began to fall. Under such conditions attempts to secure price stability through curtailment of demand may not be able to stop short of bringing any advance in economic activity to a standstill if the objective is pursued vigorously.

Coming to the under-developed countries which are regarded as primary producing countries, the Survey states that prices have in

most cases advanced almost without interruption, ranging up to 10 per cent per annum since 1953. While the rate of increase has varied greatly among the primary producing countries, it is only in a few isolated instances that it has been lower than in most industrial countries. Unlike the industrial countries, excess demand has been a major force in the inflation occurring in primary producing countries. The widespread tendency for demand to exceed available supplies of goods and services has frequently reflected the deep-rooted aspirations of countries in the early stages of development to achieve higher living levels through capital formation. To this end, heavy reliance has often been placed upon governmental deficit financing.

The primary producing countries are generally prone to price inflation, not simply because of inflexibility in the supply of food. Food constitutes the major component of consumption in countries with low levels of living and output has often failed to keep pace with the growth in demand. Food prices have risen not only absolutely, but also more rapidly than the cost of living index. The problem of food shortages has formed a significant link in the inflationary process of many countries, since the decline in real income resulting from increased food prices has often provoked claims for higher wages. Rising wages in turn have led to permanent increases in the cost structure and the continuation of the upward spiral of prices.

The instability of foreign trade has been a factor of major consequence in the inflations of many primary producing countries, according to the Survey. The wide variations in export earnings have caused sharp fluctuations both in imported supplies of key commodities and in domestic demand pressure. In contrast to the industrial countries, where the balance of payments often acted as a safety-valve for internal inflationary pressure, in the primary producing countries the trade sector more often initiated pressures which then reacted on the internal economy. While principal reliance must be placed on domestic resources, foreign capital may considerably facilitate the process of stable growth, both by supplementing the supply of domestic savings and by financing imports of capital equipment. Governmental policies have

generally assumed a more restrictive character in recent years. In the field of monetary policy, the possible effectiveness of monetary restraints has commonly been vitiated by increases in the money supply generated by budget deficits or the deficits in foreign balance.

#### *The I.M.F. and the I.B.R.D.*

The meetings of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development held recently in Delhi will remain memorable for some important reasons. The sessions provided an opportunity to the leading financiers and other industrialists of the world to look for themselves the achievements made by India in the field of economic developments and it would enable them to appreciate the needs of the country for fulfilment of the targets that still lie ahead awaiting completion. The meetings will be regarded as important because at the New Delhi session the decision was taken to raise the resources of these two institutions by increasing the quotas of the member-countries. The decision to increase the quotas was in the form of a general directive to the Executive Directors and the ultimate decision would be taken by them in the near future.

Notwithstanding all their faults, the economic plannings in India are a pioneering effort to implement planned economy with all sorts of social justices, but without the central regimentation which is an essential feature of planned economy in Soviet Russia or China. Planned economy and regimentation go hand in hand and the planned economy of India makes a departure from that traditional path of planning. The tributes given by the President of the World Bank, Mr. Eugene Black, deserves mention here. He says: "India has become a symbol of mankind's hope in economic development—the hope that the material wealth necessary for human dignity and self-respect can be created without destroying individual freedom which is the foundation of human dignity and self-respect. . . . India is now taking economic development into the centre of her life, with all the radical changes that economic development inevitably entails. No one privileged to play even a small part in India's great adventure today can help but feel that the destiny of

humanity in the twentieth century will be profoundly influenced by the extent of India's success in absorbing these changes without sacrificing respect for individual liberty."

India expects that these are not mere vain compliments to the efforts of India. The country today is struggling hard to implement her scheme and she is faced with a shortage of funds necessary for the purpose. If the Western Powers have realised that India is struggling sincerely and that she and her economy must be saved from utter collapse, then they should come forward to provide help needed for financing the planned projects. The help must be rendered not in piece-meal way as it is now coming, but in a lump sum and absolute amount as was accorded to West Germany after the Second World War.

*The Plan and the Deficit Financing:* Over the deficit financing in India, Mr. Per Jacobsson, the Managing Director of the I.M.F. made some very pertinent remarks. He says that, "Deficit financing on such a large scale was inevitably accompanied by large fall in foreign exchange reserves." He points out that the amount extended to the Government as credit has its counterpart in the reduction of the Reserve Bank's sterling assets. In his view, deficit financing "is only another name for using up your monetary reserves. Deficit financing within a limit is, however, essential in a planned project particularly in an under-developed economy. But deficit financing carried too far recoils on the economy in the shape of excess purchasing power over the availability of consumer goods and thus resulting in inflationary spiral. But deficit financing does not necessarily uses up the foreign exchange reserves as is stated by Mr. Jacobsson. That was true when the system of note issue in India was based on the proportional reserve. Now that India has switched on from proportional reserve system to the minimum reserve system, deficit financing does not directly involve the drawing down of foreign exchange reserves. But indirectly it will affect the foreign exchange reserves in so far as larger foreign exchanges will be required for external payments on account of the depreciation of the home currency. The adverse effect of the deficit financing can to a great extent be neutralised with an

increase in the supply of consumer goods. But in that respect India is handicapped in her internal production and her imports are severely restricted for the shortage of foreign exchange reserves. In this connection comes the need for regimentation. Soviet Russia also faced the same problem of mounting deficit financing and the shortage of consumer goods as she diverted her resources mostly for the production of heavy and large-scale industries. But she faced the situation with strict regimentation of price and rationing and which can hardly be adopted in this country following the tenets of individual liberty and social justice.

*Operations of the I.B.R.D.:* The I.B.R.D. was originally set up as a purely financial institution. But now its sphere of operations is much enlarged and political disputes are now mediated by the I.B.R.D. It lent its good offices in settling the dispute between the United Arab Republic on the one hand, and Britain and France on the other with regard to compensation payable to the shareholders of the Suez Canal Company. It continued to render its mediation services over the canal water dispute between India and Pakistan. Now it is in negotiation with the Italian Government for a study of the commercial possibility of using atomic energy for the production of electric power.

Up to June 30, 1958, the total number of loans made by the Bank rose to 204 and the total amount provided stood at \$3,729 million net of cancellation and refundings. During 1957-58, Asia received the largest amount of loan disbursed by the Bank. Of the total loan made during this period (\$711 million), nearly more than half (\$379 million) went to Asia. Among other loans, \$121 million went to Latin America, \$112 million to Africa and \$99 million to Europe. Of the total loan amount of \$3,729 million, Africa received \$479 million, Asia \$948 million, Australia \$318 million, Europe \$1,186 million and Western Hemisphere \$798 million. Of the total loan amount, development loans amount to \$3,232 million and Reconstruction loans amount to \$497 million. Of the development loans, Electric power generation and distribution has received \$1,106 million, Transportation \$1,036 million, Communications \$24



million, Agriculture and Forestry \$315 million and Industry \$545 million.

During 1957-58, India received four loans for an aggregate amount of \$165.5 million. Since then India has received two more loans, one of \$25 million for the D.V.C. and the other of \$85 million for the development of railways. The total cumulative loans made to India so far thus amount to \$507 million. India now occupies the first position among the debtor countries as it has received the largest amount of loan. It has another distinction in being the largest single borrower in the private sector. The Tata Iron and Steel Industry has received an aggregate loan amount of \$107.5 million. Of the original principal amount of \$515.6 million granted to India (including the cancellations), the public sector received \$320 million and the balance of \$195 million went over to the private sector. The railways have received an aggregate amount of \$209 million, ports have received \$43 million, aviation \$5.6 million, power-supply (electricity) \$44.50 million. In India, the largest amount of loan has been accorded in favour of the development of the transport system, the iron and steel coming next and power is the third largest recipient of loan.

§ *The I.M.F. and Economic Depression:* It may be recalled that the I.M.F. was set up mainly with the object of eradicating the cyclical depression in world trade and industry. The I.M.F. in its latest annual report makes the observation that to check economic recessions, it is not enough to take measures for stimulation of effective demand for goods and services. It points out that boom is aggravated by over-concentration on the production of heavy industry which the economy at a certain stage is unable to absorb. A wide variety of measures would be required to deal effectively with a recession. Among the measures suggested, the following deserve mention: }

Continuous attention needs be devoted to strengthening the structure of the economy, so that any tensions that appear may be more readily withstood, and any tendency to self-perpetuating movements in one direction or another may be checked. In order to maintain an effective control of the flow of credit, it is of vital importance that there should exist a strong

and well-developed banking structure, including institutional arrangements. Sound practices are also required for financing stock exchange transactions, and even more important is an adequate system of mortgage financing. The importance of the role of consumer durable goods in a modern economy suggests the wisdom of moderation in the use of instalment credit for their acquisition as one means of avoiding abrupt oscillations. Caution in the use of sliding-scale clauses that link wages rigidly to changes in the cost of living, or associate other contractual obligations with cost changes, would generally facilitate the restoration and maintenance of a proper balance in the economy. During a recession, direct measures of credit control should be chosen in such a way as to ensure that demand is increased without at the same time raising the cost.

The I.M.F. notes that the industrial activity has slowed in some countries mainly because of a cyclical decline following a boom period. The volume of world trade did not rise in 1957 at the same rate as it was in previous years. The I.M.F. rightly points out that the Fund's resources, even when increased, cannot be regarded as the decisive factor in dealing with recession. All countries must resort to a concerted action to dispel a tendency of recession. The prevention and corrections of excessive fluctuations are the responsibility primarily of the large industrial countries—a task which they should undertake both in their own interest and in the interest of the rest of the world. The countries with balance of payments difficulties would certainly run a great risk in applying expansionary measures in such a condition.

### *World Demography*

The *Demographic Yearbook, 1957*, recently published by the United Nations, reveals that the population of the world is increasing at the startling rate of approximately 5,400 persons every hour, or 47 million each year. At the present pace, the world total population of 2,737 million people will be doubled before the end of the century. While it took 200,000 years for the world's human population to reach 2,500 million, it would now take a mere 30 years to add another 2,000 million. One of the prime

factors in population trends is the decreasing death rate over a large part of the world—18 per thousand. In many countries, the death rate has declined by 25 per cent. during the past twenty years and in some countries by as much as half. During this period the world population went up almost 25 per cent. While the birth rate is high in Asia and Africa, so is the mortality rate. Latin America with a high birth rate has a lower mortality rate, and consequently it has the fastest growing population in the world, 2.5 per cent annually, against a world average of 1.6 per cent. Asia with its huge numbers of people, contributes the largest number of new birth each year, about 24 million, and this is half of the total birth.

Life-expectancy for individuals in Asia and Latin America and also in Africa is relatively low. Children born in the Netherlands can expect to live longer than children born anywhere else in the world. The life-expectancy in that country is 71 years for males and 74 years for females. India has the lowest current expectancy of life with only 32 years.

Of the world total population of 2,737 million, Asia (excluding the U.S.S.R.) has 1,514 million; Europe, excluding the U.S.S.R., has 412 million, North and South America has 374 million, the U.S.S.R. 200 million and Oceania 15 million of population. Asia, excluding the U.S.S.R., is the continent with the largest population, rather more than half the world total. Europe, excluding the U.S.S.R., is the densely populated continent, with a density of 84 per square kilometer; and Oceania is the least densely populated with a density of 2 per square kilometer. Over the period, 1950-56, world population has increased at the annual rate of 1.6 per cent. The annual rate of increase was the highest in Oceania (2.3 per cent), and lowest in Europe (0.8 per cent). For Asia, the rate was the same as the world rate. East Germany has experienced a decline in population in recent years at an annual average rate of -0.8 per cent.

Among the leading killers of man, cancer leads among the five principal causes of death for both males and females aged between 35 to 44. Accidents take second place for males, followed by tuberculosis, while tuberculosis and complications of pregnancy take second and

third place for females. Heart diseases begins to appear among the five leading causes of death in the upper part of this group. But it is at ages 45 to 64 that cancer becomes indisputably the leading cause of death for both sexes, with vascular lesions affecting the nervous system and diseases of the heart following. Tuberculosis is among the five principal killers at this age. The same causes predominate at ages 65 and over for both males and females.

Fifteen per cent of the world's population live in urban areas of 100,000 or more inhabitants, or in the principal city of countries where cities of this size do not exist. More than a third of the 100,000 or more-population cities are located in Asia, but their inhabitants account for only 8 per cent of that continent's predominantly rural population. Another third of these cities is in Europe, with the rest scattered among the other continents and the U.S.S.R. Oceania, has the highest degree of urbanization, with 43 per cent of its population living in twenty cities. North America follows Oceania with 33 per cent of the population in cities of 100,000 or more; Europe with 27 per cent is third, followed by the U.S.S.R. and South America with 21 per cent. The largest city in the world is New York with a population of 7,795,471, Tokyo stands second with 7,161,513. Greater London comes third with a population of 8,270,430 and Paris is fourth with 6,436,296. However, if only the city proper is considered, the first five cities in order are: New York, Tokyo, Shanghai, Moscow and Buenos Aires.

#### *Victory for De Gaulle*

The French Constitutional referendum on September 28, resulted in a resounding victory for General Charles De Gaulle. The official result of the referendum for the whole of the Metropolitan France, including Corsica, was "yes" 17,666,828; "no" 4,624,475. Between 85 per cent and 90 per cent of the electorate voted and officials said that a record number of the 26,772,255 on the register went to the polls. Although De Gaulle was expected to win comfortably nobody could predict the unprecedentedly heavy poll and, what was more, the overwhelming volume of "yes" vote. De

Gaule's election as President in the General Elections scheduled for November next was now regarded as a certainty.

The new Constitution might be described as one belonging to the Presidential type. It curtailed much of the existing powers of the French Parliament and transferred those through the Government to the President. It also provided for a shorter Parliamentary Session (to be not more than five-and-a-half months) and also curtailed the legislative competence of the Parliament. It would henceforth not be easy to vote down a Government, or even Government proposals. For both, an absolute negative majority would be necessary. On the other hand the President would be able to dissolve the Parliament much more easily and even to appeal to the people over the head of Parliament—through a referendum. "The great loser in the new constitution," writes Mr. Sal Tas in the *New Leader*, "is clearly Parliament, but the Premier and his cabinet gain only partially. The real winner is the President of the Republic. And this powerful President is neither directly elected by the people nor responsible to the directly-elected National Assembly."

A remarkable provision of the Constitution was the provision which obliged a Cabinet Minister to give up his seat in Parliament. It would mean that party leaders would not like to participate in governments unless they were absolutely sure of their position inasmuch as if they should take part in a shaky government and if that government should fall party-leaders would face the danger of being excluded from Parliament (*i.e.*, from the main arena of politics) for the rest of the session. This unwillingness on the part of politicians to participate in forming governments might result in ministerial posts going to the bureaucrats. This might widen the gulf between Parliament and Government and could lead primarily to an increase in the power of the State bureaucracy—and the head of the State was the same President of the Republic whose powers were fortified in so many other ways.

Referring to the issues at stake in the Constitutional referendum, Shri K. S. Shelverker, London Correspondent of the *Hindu*, writes on the eve of the referendum:

"Three different sets of issues are involved, although they are all mixed in the Constitution which is being submitted to a popular vote throughout France and its overseas territories. In France itself the issue is whether the political institutions of the Fourth Republic should be superseded by a new and more stable Governmental system. In the colonies it is whether to opt for freedom or accept continued French rule in one form or another. And in Algeria, which is perhaps the root cause of the troubles through which France is passing, the real problem is one of national independence."

"The situation in the African colonies seems to be fairly clear. While there are strivings for independence in all of them, they are also acutely conscious of their dependence on France. The forecast, therefore, is that most of them will vote for the new Constitution, in the hope that they will be able eventually to come to some reasonable agreement with Paris about their status and rights as junior partners in the "French community." The outcome is considered to be in doubt only in French Guinea and one or two other West African colonies."

"It is in the crucial case of Algeria that the prospects are quite unpredictable. The army is taking an active part in the elections there, rounding up voters and "persuading" them to say "yes". It can no doubt ensure that there is majority in favour of the new Constitution but the vote, obtained in such conditions, will be meaningless. Moreover, De Gaulle's intentions are still wrapped in secrecy and no one knows whether a "yes" vote will be followed by closer integration with France or negotiations leading to independence. And even "integration" is a word which means different things to different people."

### *The French Referendum*

The following news report is given for record:

Paris, September 29.—In a landslide vote yesterday, France supported the Constitution proposed by Gen. de Gaulle, reports *Reuter*. The official result of the Constitution referendum for the whole of Metropolitan



France, including Corsica, announced this morning, was:

Yes—17,666,828;

No—4,624,475.

The vote augured badly for those politicians who had been advocating opposition to the de Gaulle Government and the Constitution.

The tremendous "yes" vote, the unprecedented number of votes and the loss of votes by the Communists make it virtually certain that Gen. de Gaulle will in due course be elected President of the Fifth Republic.

Gen. de Gaulle returned to Paris from his country home at Colombey-les-Deux-Eglises today. He is expected to preside over a Cabinet meeting tomorrow to discuss the referendum results and the form of voting in the general elections for a new Parliament due to be held in November now that the new Constitution has been approved.

The General said last night that he was "very contented." In his own village only one of the 196 who voted said "no" and General Gaulle commented: "It was not me."

Between 85 per cent and 90 per cent of the electorate voted and officials said that a record number of the 26,772,255 on the register went to the polls in Metropolitan France.

In Strasbourg, eastern France 80,930 voted 'yes' and 8,913 'no'.

Official results from 12 Departments with a total registered electorate of 2,668,219 showed that 1,803,996 voted in favour of the Constitution and 350,191 against.

These figures showed 83.7 per cent of those who voted said 'yes'.

At Lyons, south-eastern France, with half a million inhabitants, there were 185,209 votes for 'yes' to 39,891 for 'no'.

In the constituency of M. Mendes-France, principal leader of the anti-de Gaulle opposition, the 'no' vote amounted to less than half the total votes polled by M. Mendes-France in the general election held in 1956.

Another prominent opponent of the General, the Radical Party leader M. Jean Baylet, was repudiated in his own home village of Valence D'epsagen. He resigned as Mayor after the count.

Saint Cere, home town of the Right-wing

shop-keepers' leader, M. Pierre Poujade, who urged rejection of the Constitution, voted 'yes'.

In Louviers, northern France, 69 per cent of those who voted chose 'yes' even though their Mayor, the former Radical Premier, M. Pierre Mendes-France, has been campaigning against the Constitution.

At Montastruc, the home town of another former Prime Minister, M. Maurice Bourges-Maunoury, who also advocated 'no', 821 voters said 'yes' and 105 'no'.

The two chief Communist leaders in France failed to hold their traditional voting strength in their respective strongholds in the "red" suburbs of Paris.

In Ivry which Maurice Thorez represents in the outgoing Parliament and which is known as the "Communist town" of France, 13,039 people voted for de Gaulle and 12,171 against. In the 1956 elections, the Communists alone polled 14,584 votes.

In Montreuil, the stronghold of M. Jacques Duclos, chief of the Communist group in the National Assembly, 26,151 people voted 'yes' and 17,473 voted 'no'. The Communist vote in 1956 was 21,640.

Lessons of the referendum, as drawn by several political leaders last night, were:

1. France has shown that she is optimistic and enterprising about the future, said the Information Minister, M. Soustelle. This is proved by the disappearance of apathy among the electors.

2. France wants nothing more to do with the paralyzing system which produced a permanent Cabinet instability, said the ex-Prime Minister, M. Gaillard.

3. France is prepared to fight for the maintenance of Algeria inside the sovereignty of France, said M. Georges Bidault.

4. For the first time, serious inroads have been made on what for over ten years has been a solid Communist vote of more than five millions. Partial results last night indicated that a million people at least who have been voting the Communists this time switched over to de Gaulle.

Near final Algerian referendum results showed a tidal wave victory for General de

Gaulle's new Constitution and a crushing defeat

for the Algerian insurgent National Liberation Front.

Of 82 per cent of the electorate which voted in spite of insurgent threats of reprisals, 97 per cent votes in favour of the Constitution with the remaining 3 per cent made of "noes" and spoiled ballots.

The percentage is based on provisional official figures for 3,157,450 votes counted. The total Algerian electorate is 422,890.

Muslim voters in Algeria, including women voting for the first time, in spite of the warnings by the outlawed National Liberation Front, cast their ballots under the encouragement and protection of the French Army, according to U.P.I.-A.F.P.

The publication of the Constitution referendum results for certain regions of Algeria would be considerably delayed the Central Commission for Electoral Control indicated today.

A total of 96 per cent of the voters in Algeria answered 'yes', according to partial returns. The number of abstentions was given as 19 per cent of the electorate.

The highest number of abstentions was 42 per cent in the Setif Department in eastern Algeria.

The city of Algeria with 92 per cent recorded the lowest number of 'yes' votes, while the Department of Tiaret in the south had the highest with nearly 99 per cent.

The number of abstentions in Algeria was 25 per cent.

At Cherea, above Blida on the edge of the Kazyli mountains, 1,190 voted 'yes' in a total electorate of 1,200 people, *Reuter* adds.

At Misserghinenear, Oran, in the west, there were 2,177 'yeses', 50 'noes' and 25 invalid votes. The village is largely Moslem.

Ministry for the Sahara officials said there had been a massive vote in the desolate regions of southern Algeria, with 95 per cent poll in some places.

In French Somaliland 65 per cent of the voters voted 'yes' while the New Hebrides in the Pacific voted 'yes' by 536 to 23.

Dakar, capital of Senegal and the only French West African town where riots marked the referendum campaign, voted 'yes' by 51,680 votes to 46,920.

Senegal, Mauritania, Sudanniger, High Volta, Ivory Coast and Dahmoney in French West Africa on average polled 85 per cent in favour of the new Constitution and its offer of a community of self-governing States between France and her African territories, an official in Dakar announced.

In Martinique, incomplete results showed 90 per cent in favour of the new Constitution. Brazzaville, capital of French Equatorial Africa voted 'yes' by 31,842 to 579.

For Moslems a 'yes' vote is thought to mean they favour the continued presence and protection of France, both militarily and financially, rather than being left to the care of the insurgent leaders.

#### *President Mirza's Proclamation*

New Delhi, October 8.—The following is the text of President Mirza's proclamation of martial law in Pakistan and the abrogation of the country's Constitution, as available here:

[ "For the last two years I have been watching with the deepest anxiety the ruthless struggle for power, corruption, the shameful exploitation of our simple, honest, patriotic and industrious masses, the lack of decorum and the prostitution of Islam for political ends. There have been a few honourable exceptions. But, being in a minority they have not been able to assert their influence on the affairs of the country. ]

"These despicable activities have led to a dictatorship of the lowest order. Adventurers and exploiters have flourished to the detriment of the masses and are getting richer by their nefarious practices.

"Despite my repeated endeavours no serious attempt has been made to tackle the food crisis. Food has been a problem of life and death for us in a country which should be really surplus. Agriculture and land administration have been made a handmaiden of politics, so that in our present system of Government no political party will be able to take any positive action to increase production.

"In East Pakistan, on the other hand, there is well-organized smuggling of food, medicines and other necessities of life. The masses there suffer due to the shortages caused and the consequent high prices of these commodities.

Import of food has been a constant and serious drain on our foreign exchange earnings in the last few years, with the result that the Government is constrained to curtail the much-needed internal development projects.

"Some of our politicians have lately been talking of bloody revolution. Another type of adventurer among them think it fit to go to foreign countries and attempt to direct alignment with them, which can only be described as high treason.

"The disgraceful scene enacted recently in the East Pakistan Assembly is known to all. I am told that such episodes were common occurrence in pre-partition Bengal. Whether they were or not, it is certainly not a civilized mode of procedure. You do not raise the prestige of your country by beating the Speaker, killing the Deputy Speaker and desecrating the national flag.

"Recently we had elections for the Karachi Municipal Corporation in which 29 per cent of the electorate exercised their votes and of these about 50 per cent were bogus votes.

"We hear threats and cries of civil disobedience in order to retain private volunteer organizations and to break up the one unit. These disruptive tendencies are a good indication of their patriotism and the length to which politicians and adventurers are prepared to go to achieve their parochial aims.

"Our foreign policy is subjected to unintelligent and irresponsible criticism not for patriotic motives but from selfish viewpoints, often by the very people who were responsible for it. We desire to have friendly relations with all nations but political adventurers try their best to create bad blood and misunderstanding between us and countries like the U.S.S.R., U.A.R. and the People's Republic of China. Against India, of course, they scream for war, knowing full well that they will be nowhere near the firing line.

"In no country in the world, do political parties treat foreign policy in the manner it is done in Pakistan. To dispel the confusion as caused, I categorically reiterate that we shall continue to follow a policy which our interests and geography demand and that we shall honour all our international commitments which, as is well-known, we have undertaken to safeguard

the security of Pakistan and as a peace-loving nation, to play our part in averting the danger of war from this troubled world.

"For the last three years I have been doing my utmost to work the Constitution in a democratic way. I have laboured to bring about coalition after coalition hoping that it would stabilize the administration and that the affairs of the country would be run in the interests of the masses. My detractors in their dishonest ways have on every opportunity called these attempts as palace intrigues. It has become fashionable to put all the blame on the President. A wit said the other day, if it rains too much it is the fault of the President, and if it does not rain, it is the fault of the President. If only I alone was concerned I would go on taking these fulminations with the contempt they deserve. But the intention of these traitors and unpatriotic elements is to destroy the prestige of Pakistan and the Government by attacking the Head of the State. They have succeeded to a great extent and if this state of affairs is allowed to go on, they will achieve their ultimate purpose.

"My appraisal of the internal situation has led me to believe that a vast majority of the people no longer have any confidence in the present system of Government and are getting more and more disillusioned and disappointed and are becoming dangerously resentful of the manner in which they are exploited. Their resentment and bitterness are justifiable. The leaders have not been able to render them the service they deserve and have failed to prove themselves worthy of the confidence the masses had reposed in them.

"The Constitution, which was brought into being on March 23, 1956, after so many tribulations is unworkable. It is so full of dangerous compromises that Pakistan will soon disintegrate internally if the inherent malaise is not removed.

"To rectify them the country must first be taken to sanity by a peaceful revolution. Then, it is my intention to collect a number of patriotic persons to examine our problems in the political field and devise a Constitution more suitable to the genius of the Muslim people. When it is ready and at the appropriate time, it will be submitted to the referendum of the people.



"It is said that the Constitution is sacred. But more sacred than the Constitution or anything else is the country and the happiness of its people. As Head of the State, my foremost duty before my God and the people is the integrity of Pakistan. It is seriously threatened by the ruthlessness of traitors and political adventurers, whose selfishness, thirst for power and unpatriotic conduct cannot be restrained by a Government set up under the present system. Nor can I any longer remain a spectator of the activities designed to destroy the country.

"After deep and anxious thought, I have come to the regrettable conclusion that I would be failing in my duty, if I did not take steps which, in my opinion, are inescapable in the present conditions to save Pakistan from complete disruption.

"I have therefore decided that:

1. The Constitution of March 23, 1956, will be abrogated;
2. The Central and Provincial Governments will be dismissed with immediate effect;
3. The National Parliament and Provincial Assemblies will be dissolved;
4. All political parties will be abolished; and ..
5. Until alternative arrangements are made, Pakistan will come under martial law.

"I hereby appoint General Mohammed Ayub Khan, Commander-in-Chief, Pakistan Army, as the Chief Martial Law Administrator and place all armed forces of Pakistan under his command.

"To the valiant Armed Forces of Pakistan, I have to say that having been closely associated with them since the very inception of Pakistan, I have learnt to admire their patriotism and loyalty. I am putting a great strain on them. I fully realize this but I ask you, officers and men of the Armed Forces, on your service depends the future existence of Pakistan as an independent nation and a bastion in these parts of the free world.

"Do your job without fear or favour and may God help you.

"To the people of Pakistan, I talk as a brother and fellow compatriot. The present action has been taken with the utmost regret

but I have had to do it in the interests of the country and the masses, finer men than whom it is difficult to imagine. To the patriots and the law-abiding, I promise you will be happier and freer. The political adventurers, the smugglers, the blackmarketers, the hoarders will be unhappy and their activities will be severely restricted. As for the traitors, they had better flee the country if they can and while the going is good."

### *Passing of Pope Pius XII*

We append below this sketch from the *Statesman*:

Eugenio Pacelli, elected Pope Pius XII on March 2, 1939, the 262nd successor to the Chair of Peter, was born Eugenio Maria Giuseppe Giovanni Pacelli, the third child of Filippo Pacelli and Virginia Graziosi, on March 2, 1876, at the Palazzo Taverna in the very heart of Papal Rome. His father was the doyen of the Vatican Consistorial College. His brother, Francesco, also became a lawyer and played a major role in the conclusion of the Lateran Treaty which, in 1929, established Vatican City and allowed the Popes to come out of the voluntary imprisonment they had chosen since the Italian seizure of the Papal States in 1870. His grandfather, Marcantonio Pacelli, founded the semi-official Vatican newspaper, *Osservatore Romano*, 96 years ago.

In 1894, Pacelli entered the College of Capranica on declaring his intention to enter Holy Orders. When he graduated from this college his marks were said to have been so brilliant that Pope Leo XIII sent for him and congratulated him personally. After further studies at the Gregorian University and the Pontifical Seminary of Apollinare, where he specialized in theology and philosophy, he was ordained priest at the age of 23 in the Basilica of St. Mary Major at Rome.

From the start Pius XII hoped for a pastoral life, but Leo XIII saw in him a potential diplomat and in 1901 asked Monsignor Pietro Gasparri, later Cardinal and who became a renowned Papal Secretary of State, to make Don Pacelli work in the Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs. The same year Father Pacelli went with Monsignor Merry del Val, also to become a Cardinal, to London

to convey the Pope's condolences on Queen Victoria's death. Monsignor Pacelli returned to England for the Eucharistic Congress (1908) and for the Coronation of George V.

The next 20 years gave the future Pope many opportunities to watch the practical working of church and State. In April, 1917, he was created a titular Archbishop; the same year saw the beginnings of his diplomatic career when Pope Benedict XV sent him as Apostolic Nuncio to Munich. Shortly afterwards Monsignor Pacelli was received by the Kaiser and gave him a letter from the Pope which urged him to do everything possible to restore peace. In 1924, after negotiating a Concordat (a Church-State agreement) with Bavaria he took up his residence in Berlin. He had four years earlier been accredited as Nuncio to the new German Republic. His chief work in that country was the Concordat he brought about between the Vatican and the Lutheran State of Prussia. The agreement aroused some comment because of the concessions given the Catholics.

In the Consistory of December, 1929, he was created a Cardinal and left Germany for Rome. Two months later he succeeded Cardinal Gasparri as Papal Secretary of State, the appointment falling to the youngest member of the College of Cardinals. He was Secretary of State, a position exceeded in importance only by that of the Holy See itself, for nine years till his election as Pope.

In place of Cardinal Merry del Val, who had died, the Pope made Cardinal Pacelli Archpriest of St. Peter's. He and Von Papen concluded the Concordat between Nazi Germany and the Vatican in 1933, but it was not ratified by Hitler and persecution of the Church continued.

In 1939, on the death of Pius XI, Cardinal Pacelli was elected to succeed him. He chose as his coat of arms a dove bearing an olive branch with the motto *Opus Justitiae Pax*—Peace is the Work of Justice.

### *New State of Guinea* ✓

The French referendum gave birth to a new State—Guinea, the only French overseas territory to vote against the Gaullist Constitution. There was a provision in the referendum

that territories voting against the Constitution would immediately be asked to secede from the French Union and would no longer be entitled to receive financial or administrative aid from France.

### *Governmental Extravagance*

An index of governmental extravagance was provided by the figures, recently released, about the cost incurred by different Government Departments in sending delegations to foreign countries in 1958-59. This involved the spending of much valuable foreign exchange which could be utilised to finance urgent imports. Since independence with widening international contact Indian intercourse with other nations was understandably increasing. Nobody could justifiably call into question the wisdom of incurring expenditure for this purpose. It was, however, open to argument whether the numerous delegations yearly sent abroad were all really necessary and productive of any benefits to the country.

There were frequent complaints about the performance of official Indian representatives abroad. Part of this failure might be ascribed to inexperience but much of it was undoubtedly due to defective selection and unnecessary addition of members. In the same category might be placed the expenditure incurred by various officials for periodical visits to hill stations in summer.

We append the press summary of the report on delegations as published in the *Statesman*:

"New Delhi, Sept. 30.—Altogether 488 people went abroad at Government expense in 1958-59 as members of 122 Ministerial delegations to foreign countries. They spent more than Rs. 25 lakhs, most of it in foreign exchange.

"Inquiries reveal that the Ministry of External Affairs sponsored the largest number of delegations—24. Other Ministries which sent more than 10 delegations abroad in the last financial year were: Commerce and Industry—19; Finance—14; Defence—13; Transport and Communications—12.

"In terms of personnel, however, Defence leads, having sent 128 persons abroad. External Affairs and Commerce and Industry were

also responsible for sending more than 100 officials abroad each.

"External Affairs spent the most money on delegations—Rs. 789,706. Commerce and Industry spent Rs. 525,577.

"Although it sent only nine delegations (comprising 17 members) abroad, Irrigation and Power comes next, having spent Rs. 336,863—most of it presumably on negotiations in Washington with the World Bank on the canal waters dispute.

"Other Ministries which spent more than Rs. 1 lakh are Finance—Rs. 273,465; Transport and Communications—Rs. 237,452; and Defence—Rs. 236,400.

"The Planning Commission and Ministries of Information and Broadcasting and Law refrained from sending any delegation abroad in this period."

#### *Enquiry into Rajasthan Affairs*

The rift in Congress circles in Rajasthan, to which reference was made in these columns last month, would be inquired into by the Congress High Command. Mr. Jaynarain Vyas and other dissident leaders were understood to have been asked to furnish explanations for their conduct. Meanwhile, Shri T. M. Jain, General-Secretary of the A.I.C.C., was sent to Jaipur presumably to study the situation for himself and, if possible, to avert an open trial of strength between the rival sections at the ensuing session of the State Assembly.

Reports were also coming of the recrudescence of internal rivalries in the Congress Party in the Punjab.

#### *Introduction of Metric Weights*

The metric system of weights would be introduced in the municipal areas of Calcutta and Howrah in West Bengal and in selected areas in other parts of India on and from October 1. By virtue of an ordinance promulgated by the West Bengal Government, the new system would be applicable to Government departments, the Indian Airlines Corporation and such other industrial undertakings as cotton mills, iron and steel, engineering, cement, sugar, paper, refractories, non-ferrous metal, rubber and coffee industries. For two years—

i.e., up to the 30th of September, 1960—people could use either the new weights or the existing weights. The system was introduced in the jute industry earlier—from July 1, of this year.

Retail sales would not be affected for the present. After the people grew familiar with the system it would be extended to cover retail sales and also to measurement of length and volume.

After the introduction of decimal coinage the introduction of metric measures was, perhaps, unavoidable. The system had its obvious advantages and once the initial difficulties were overcome it might prove a great boon to the people. Much would, however, depend upon the manner in which the system was sought to be popularized.

#### *Banaras Hindu University*

The decision to close down the Banaras Hindu University, one of the country's premier seat of learning, would be widely regretted. The decision was reportedly taken to overcome "indiscipline and lawlessness" among students.

The Mudaliar Committee's report disclosed a distressing state of affairs in the University. Some unpleasantness was, therefore, to be expected but nobody did expect that the university would be closed down. In the Banaras Hindu University we find expression, in a particularly acute form, of the malaise affecting many of our universities. Group rivalries among managers and the utilisation of genuine student-discontent for narrow sectarian ends by members of the Managing Committee were recently evident in at least one other Central University. It was, therefore, no surprise that the chief object of the University education of students—became the chief casualty.

The closure of a University in normal times could by no means be taken as a natural development. When recourse had to be taken to such an extreme step, the most searching enquiry was called for as were the most radical cures. One could not be blamed perhaps if one should say that no such enquiry or cure was being sought in the particular case with the required degree of zeal and imagination. Little of value would be achieved if all the blame should be ascribed to student indiscipline. Student indiscipline, it would be well to remember, was



also an indication of the failure of administration. More often than not its root could be traced to some genuine grievances of the students. That undesirable elements exploited such discontent for their own sectarian interests was another matter. The experience in many Indian and Foreign Colleges and Universities would show that given proper imagination and sympathy on the part of educational authorities management of students should not prove a particularly difficult task.

The interest of education and the youths demanded that the University should be reopened at the earliest possible date. While the most stringent measures would be justified in the case of the intriguing elements no efforts should be spared to remove the genuine grievances of the students. By all indications this might require the reconstitution of the present management of the University.

#### *Our Universities*

In a most searching article the *Vigil*, the Calcutta weekly, writes editorially on September 27:

"When Lord Haldane was made Minister of Defence during the First World War, he set about doing some clear thinking. An army was for combat. It was to be posted according to the needs of either offence or defence. A place was not to be chosen for stationing a section of the army because it had other advantages.

"In similar terms, a university is for education. It is intended to bring together the best available knowledge, and also promote the acquisition of further knowledge so that man's life may be made richer and better. There are undoubtedly certain minimum requirements for teachers and research workers in a university. But in themselves they do not automatically produce research-mindedness.

"As Einstein once said, organisation or institutions are helpful; but they in themselves do not produce research. A scientist must have the 'spark'; and if he has it, it should be the duty of the organization to give him all the facilities of work which he needs. It is by this kind of fostering care that an organization can really promote research.

"The universities of India today seem to be working under a double handicap. New needs have arisen in the nation's life; while the structure of many of our older universities has remained so inelastic that, perhaps in desperation, the Government of India have been forced to set up institution after institution for research on a national scale. The lack of trust, or absence of confidence in our own universities, coupled with an extraordinary regard for research degrees from universities overseas, without due regard to what kind of university it is, or whether that university is really competent to guide research in a particular subject, has very nearly succeeded in loading many departments of the government (and let us say, also, of universities) with people who do not know how to adopt their methods to conditions prevalent in India. Special skills are often acquired with no chance of their utilization at home. The result is deplorable so far as our intellectual standards are concerned. The official and non-official organization seem to have been caught in a vicious circle of their own making; just because the purpose of research or of organization was not as clearly kept in view as Lord Haldane kept the purpose of an army clear before himself for guidance."

Pleading for a change of outlook the weekly concludes:

"Lord Cromer, while trying to reorganize Egyptian agriculture, laid down the rule for his administrative staff: 'Find out what the fellahin wants, and give it to him.' In parallel terms we might perhaps say in modern India, 'Find out the true teacher and research worker in the universities, and give them what they want.' If there is this confidence in teacher and research worker alike, in spite of some possible wastage, we can perhaps build our intellectual life anew. For although their number may not be very great under the immoral conditions of today, yet they are the people who will count in the new India of tomorrow."

#### *India and Japan*

President Rajendra Prasad's recent visit to Japan has undoubtedly gone a long way in

creating an atmosphere of increased good-will and better understanding between these two ancient states of Asia. Observers have legitimately pointed to the significance of the fact that the Indian President chose Japan as the first foreign land to visit in his career.

Japan's role in the regeneration of Asia and the promotion of Asian nationalism is an historical fact of great significance. The defeat Japan inflicted upon the Czarist armies of Russia undoubtedly rekindled the spark of Asian self-confidence. Similarly her role in defeating the Western armies in Asia during the Second World War and the support, however, half-hearted, she accorded to the native governments in more than one country of East and South-East Asia at that time, increased their self-confidence to that degree where the continuation of western colonialism in the areas became no longer possible.

Indians have always had the feeling of the greatest friendship and respect for the Japanese people whose capacity, industry, perseverance and self-sacrifice have always earned the admiration of all. In the present international context in particular, Indo-Japanese co-operation can be productive of the highest benefits to both the countries in the economic and cultural fields.

### *Tragedy in East Pakistan*

East Pakistan witnessed an unprecedented scene when legislators began to fight one another within the Assembly Hall on September 20, and the Speaker was declared "insane." In a resumed session of the Assembly on September 23, the legislators also resumed their fight and following injuries received during that scuffle the Deputy Speaker of the Assembly, Mr. Shahed Ali, died in a hospital in Dacca. An Indian doctor was specially taken there but nothing was of any avail. President Mirza said that such occurrences had taken place before in undivided Bengal. We do not know from where he had received his information but no such incident comes to our memory. Be that as it may democrats cannot but be distressed by the show put up by some of the East Pakistani legislators.

Describing the shocking events on the first day the *Statesman's* staff correspondent says:

"Prior to the melee, which lasted almost an hour, the Speaker, Mr. Abdul Hakim, had, while giving a ruling on a Government party-sponsored no-confidence motion against him, named several members of the Awami League for disorderly conduct to the House. The latter retaliated by forcing the Deputy Speaker, in the Speaker's absence, to put to vote and pass an impromptu motion declaring the Speaker "insane" and demanding the appointment of a committee of inquiry to determine his sanity.

"But, by far the most disgraceful feature of the whole day's events was the fact that participating in the melee on the side of the Government party were two outsiders who were easily recognized by many in the Press gallery. While commenting on this, the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Abu Hossain Sarkar, with distress writ large on his face, observed that it was regrettable that "goondas" were allowed to enter the "sacred precincts" of the Legislature. He added: 'It is for the country to judge in which direction our province is being led by Awami League—to democracy or to totalitarianism.'

"At the end of the session, the Inspector-General of Police, it is understood, furnished a strong police guard to escort the Speaker to his house which was also protected by police. It is gathered that he will again be escorted to the Assembly tomorrow evening when it meets again. The Awami League Secretary, Sheikh Mujibar Rahman, had, however, been quoted as stating that Mr. Hakim will not be allowed to preside as he is "insane."

"During the fight in the Chamber today, the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police came to the lobbies reportedly at the summons of the Chief Minister. The latter was seen discussing with Secretariat officials the allegations about the presence of outsiders in the House. Shortly after this, there was strong rumours in the lobbies that some M.L.A.s were likely to be arrested late tonight.

"Today's disorders in the Chamber started suddenly after an unexpectedly quiet start. Government bench spokesmen, led by the

Awami League Secretary, Sheikh Mujibar Rahman, and a former Minister, Mr. Masiur Rahman, frequently mentioned here as a likely successor to the Speaker's post, vehemently protested at the protracted debate on a point of order raised by Mr. Hashimuddin Ahmed of the Muslim League.

"The latter had protested against the presence of the six Awami Leaguers who had been disqualified by the Election Commission and whom he described as outsiders. He said, the Speaker must first restore the House to order by removing outsiders before they could conduct any business..

"He argued that the President's Ordinance of yesterday making the recent National Assembly legislation removing the disqualification provisions retrospectively could not supersede the Election Commission's disqualification orders issued prior to the Ordinance. He added that if the representations of his contention were true it would mean that the legislation could be disqualified by an Ordinance, and, in short, 'we' might as well turn the Assembly into an ordinance factory.'

"The Finance Minister, Mr. Monoranjan Dhar, argued that it was permissible to legislate retrospectively and that Article 169 of the Constitution permitted the President to promulgate an Ordinance. He, however, did not clearly counter Mr. Hashimuddin Ahmed's claim that a subsequent promulgation of an Ordinance could not nullify a previous decision of the Election Commission.

"It was when Mr. Farid Ahmed at the request of the Speaker was giving the viewpoint on the matter that the trouble began.

"Sheikh Mujibar Rahman and Mr. Masiur Rahman persisting in their protests argued that the legality of the Presidential Ordinance vis-a-vis the Election Commission's decision could be settled in a court of law. They insisted that the Speaker should proceed with the rest of the business which included the no-confidence motion against the Speaker."

Describing the second day's incidents within the Assembly Chamber the *Press Trust of India* says:

"According to eye-witness accounts, the Speaker's Chamber was cordoned off by the

police making it impossible for him (speaker) to enter there or the Assembly Hall. When the Speaker's entrance to the House was opened, the sergeant-at-arms took position near the Speaker's rostrum. The Speaker's chair remaining vacant after the Assembly had met, the Deputy Speaker, Mr. Shahed Ali went and occupied the chair, which evoked strong protests from the Opposition members and certain objects (believed to be one of the collapsible rests for writing attached to the members' desk) were thrown at the Deputy Speaker, hitting him on the face and causing bleeding injuries. This was followed by steel-helmeted police entering the Chamber along with the District Magistrate.

"At this stage, the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Abu Hossain Sarkar, stood up and asked the Deputy Speaker to vacate the chair.

"Meanwhile, the Deputy Speaker left the House, and then Syed Zaul Ashan, a member of the panel of chairmen, went and occupied the chair amidst protests from Syed Azizul Huq whose name was first on the panel.

"Syed Azizul Huq proceeded to occupy the chair. A scuffle ensued thereafter between the Opposition members and policemen who had entered the Chamber earlier.

"There were further protests from Opposition members and eventually the Inspector-General of Police entered the Chamber. Noisy scenes followed and the police, while cordoning off the Speaker's rostrum with chairs to protect the chairman from being hit by missiles thrown at him by Opposition members, advanced towards the latter (Opposition members). There was a melee during which a number of Opposition members were pushed out.

"More incidents followed outside the Assembly Chamber where Syed Azizul Huq was alleged to have been beaten up by the police, as also Mr. Yusuf Ali Choudhury and two other Opposition members."

*U.P.I.* adds: "Opposition M.L.A.s today were bodily removed from the House by sergeants-at-arm, assisted by steel-helmeted police for rioting inside the House.

"Later Haji Mohammad Danesh, leader of National Awami Party, moved a motion ex-



pressing confidence in the present Cabinet. The motion was adopted by 157 votes. After the voting the Chief Minister claimed that nine members of his party were absent at the time of voting."

### *Democracy Breaks down in Burma*

The President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, had to cancel the scheduled programme of his visit to Burma on account of the dramatic political changes in that country. Just as the President was on his way to Japan, Prime Minister U. Nu announced the resignation of his Cabinet and the nomination of General Ne Win, Commander-in-Chief of the Burmese armed forces, as the Prime Minister. General Ne Win's Cabinet would take oath on October 28, and would continue to administer the country till a new Parliament was elected by the voters in the General Elections due to be held in April 1959. General Ne Win, the Premier-designate, has since announced the names of the members of his Cabinet which does not have even a single member formally drawn from any political party.

It is too early to say how U. Nu's efforts to stabilise conditions in Burma through the transfer of effective political power to the Army bear fruit. For several months he had been in trouble with his colleagues in the A.F.P.F.L., who did not favour his conciliatory attitude towards the rebel Communists. Earlier this year the split became formal with the formation of a separate party by the dissident wing. U. Nu's latest act would seem show that he is in a very precarious position.

### *The Algerian Government*

The formation of a "Free Algerian Government" was announced from Cairo on September 19, with Mr. Farhat Abbas as the Prime Minister. The timing of this announcement came just on the eve of the French Constitutional referendum was significant and indicated the attitude of the F.L.N. (the Algerian National Liberation Front) towards the new

Constitution. It showed that the Algerian national leaders were not at all interested in the new Constitution and that they were determined to carry on their struggle for independence.

The new Government has already been recognised by some of the principal Asian and African States—notable among them being United Arab Republic, Iraq, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia and Indonesia. France has declared that recognition of the new Government would be treated as a hostile act and the British Government has withheld recognition on the plea that the new Government has no territory under its control. The argument that a government having no control over its territory cannot be recognised might have its validity but the British or the French Government is least entitled to put forward such an argument. For many years after the Russian revolution, the Western Powers had accorded the exiled white-guards the status and dignity of a government, denying the same to the Bolshevik Government which was all along in effective control of the greater portion of the territory of the then Russia. During the Second World War Britain was host to many "governments-in-exile." Even now the People's Republic of China is being denied her rightful place in the UN through the Western policy of treating the rump government of Chiang Kai-shek, which did not exercise even the slightest trace of authority over the mainland of China during the last nine years, as the "legal government" of China.

### NOTICE

*On account of the Durga Puja Holidays, 'The Modern Review' Office and the 'Prabasi' Press will remain closed from Monday, 20th October to 2nd November, 1958, both days included. All business accumulating during the period will be transacted after the holidays.*

KEDARNATH CHATTERJI,  
Editor.

# EVOLUTION OF THE OFFICE OF THE SPEAKER IN INDIA

Sir Frederick Whyte and Shri V. J. Patel

By PROF. DR. RAMESH NARAIN MATHUR, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.

## I

IN Parliamentary Democracy the office of the Speaker is held in high esteem. He regulates the deliberations of the House and interprets the rules of procedure correctly. Through his fairmindedness, impartiality and judicious exercise of his power of recognition of parties and groups in Parliament the Speaker can build up the best traditions of Parliamentary democracy.

The title of the Speaker was assumed in India only in 1947 but the institution of the Speaker is a good deal older and dates from 1921. The Joint Select Committee of the British Parliament on the Government of India Bill, 1919, had recommended that the first President of the Indian Legislative Assembly, who should hold office for four years, should be a person possessing experience of the working of the House of Commons. Accordingly the Governor-General nominated Sir Frederick Whyte as the first President of the Central Legislative Assembly set up under the Government of India Act, 1919, for a period of four years.<sup>1</sup> He was a Member of the House of Commons and was chosen for his special knowledge of parliamentary procedure.

In England the functions of the Speaker of the House of Commons are three-fold: (i) as spokesman and representative of the House in all communications made in its collective capacity to the Crown; (ii) as Chairman of the sittings of the House and (iii) as custodian of the rights and privileges of the House and of

their extension. However, in the peculiar conditions prevailing in India it was not possible to observe in all cases the precedents worked out in the House of Commons. It was considered necessary that the Indian Legislative Assembly should evolve its own practice and establish its own conventions for the discharge of its duties as a legislative body. The Indian Central Assembly was peculiarly constituted. It was hedged in all sides by restrictions and could hardly bear comparison with the English House of Commons, which was a sovereign body. The Executive in India was irremovable and was not responsible to the Legislature. A large portion of the Indian budget consisted of non-votable items over which the legislature had no control. Under these circumstances it was natural that a good deal of hostility should develop between the Government and the Opposition. As a matter of fact when Sir Frederick Whyte was appointed, the Indian National Congress had decided to boycott the Assembly and it was not till the last year of his office that the Swarajist Members<sup>2</sup> decided to attend meetings of the Assembly. However, Sir Frederick Whyte fully understood the peculiar conditions under which he was called upon to discharge the responsibilities of his high office and he conducted his work as a President in such a manner that he elicited praise from all sections of the Assembly.

As Chairman of the House Sir Frederick Whyte was a great success. He was an able controller and guide of the Assembly and was strictly impartial in the discharge of his duties. He gave a liberal interpretation to the rules and always endeavoured to observe the spirit and not merely the letter of the rules and standing orders. He kept speakers strictly to the subject under discussion and did not allow points of order to be confused with points of

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1. *The Central Legislative Assembly* consisted of 145 members out of whom 104 members were elected and the rest nominated. Among the nominated members 26 were officials and the rest non-officials. *The Indian Legislative Assembly* was a non-sovereign law-making body but it was expected that it will develop into a true legislature in course of time and so it was to model its procedure on the procedure of the English *House of Commons* and to exercise greater influence on the Government of India than was done by the old *Legislative Council*.

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2. They were opposed to the reforms of 1919 and wanted to enter the councils, not to co-operate in the working of the reforms, but to non-co-operate from within and bring about a breakdown of the Constitution.

information. He was always ready to assist members in doubt or difficulty. He was fair in his rulings and displayed great solicitude for the rights of minorities to whom he allowed considerable latitude in the matter of discussion.<sup>3</sup> During his period of office Sir Frederick Whyte refrained from taking part in politics. On September 27th, 1921 when a reference was made to an opinion he had expressed in a private letter which had been published in an English paper by inadvertence Sir Frederick Whyte remarked that the letter was a private one and not meant for publication and that his private opinions should not be brought into debate, since so far as the House was concerned the Chair had no opinion. His conception of the Chair can be gathered from his memorable speech delivered on the occasion of the appointment of Deputy-Speaker in which he enjoined upon him to exercise complete impartiality in the discharge of his official duties and not to take part in debates or contest elections.<sup>4</sup>

Sir Frederick Whyte's main contribution was the establishment of certain conventions and practices in regard to financial procedure. The first thing that Sir Frederick Whyte did was that he developed the convention of an Annual Finance Bill, so that the Assembly may have the power to review the whole of the Finance Bill every year, to see that its financial arrangements are justified or need modifications. The Government of India Act of 1919 did not require the Government of India to discuss the annual financial statement but it was Sir Frederick Whyte who helped materially in persuading the Government in establishing a convention according to which the Finance Member reviews general economic conditions of the year and states important variations between the budget and revised estimates of revenue and expenditure of the year about to close. Sir Frederick Whyte also displayed liberality of spirit in the interpretation of the scope of the Finance Bill by not circumscribing the discussion to narrow sphere of each individual Act.<sup>5</sup> He also helped in the establishment of the convention of the

separation of Railway from General Finance. This was introduced from the budget of 1925 and rests upon no statutory foundation.

Sir Frederick Whyte was also responsible for establishing the important convention of allowing free discussion on the non-votable items, although motions of reduction on non-votable items were not in order.

Sir Frederick Whyte is also credited with the establishment of the Committee on Public Accounts which was constituted at the commencement of each financial year to deal with the audit and appropriation accounts of the Governor-General-in-Council. In the beginning only the accounts of the voted expenditure of the Government of India were brought to the notice of the committee, but through the growth of a convention military expenditure, a non-voted item, was brought within the scrutiny of the committee. This helped to enlarge the authority of the Assembly.

Although Sir Frederick Whyte succeeded in conducting the deliberations of the House as an impartial Chairman, he could not discharge his other duties as spokesman and representative of the House and as custodian and protector of the rights and privileges of the members of the House. He disallowed the most essential discussion on fundamental issues connected with the administration of the Government by ruling out a cut motion sought to be moved by Mr. P. P. Ginwala proposing a reduction in the Travelling Expenses and Miscellaneous contingencies of the Executive Councillors and remarked that on such a matter a Resolution should be moved.<sup>6</sup> Again the President failed to carry out the suggestion made by the non-official members of the House in 1922, 1923, 1924 and 1925 for the separation of the Secretariate of the Assembly from the Legislative Department of the Government of India, although in principle he agreed with members as to the desirability of the separation.<sup>7</sup>

5. *L.A.D.* 22-3-1922, p. 3605.

6. *L.A.D.* 13th and 14th March, 1922 pp. 3372-3375. The President rules that general questions relating to non-votable expenditure could be discussed as nominal reductions under votable expenditure.

7. *L.A.D.* 16-3-1922, p. 2155.

3. *L.A.D.* 18th March 1921, p. 1276.

4. *L.A.D.* 1.9.1921, p. 34.



However, undue importance should not be attached to these instances and the fact that Sir Frederick Whyte was a nominated President and a member of the ruling race must not be lost sight of. It would have been unnatural for Sir Frederick Whyte to play the role of a popularly-elected Speaker of the Assembly and to protect and extend the rights and privileges of the members of the Assembly and it must be ungrudgingly acknowledged that Sir Frederick Whyte carried out successfully the purpose for which he was appointed, *viz.*, that of establishing sound parliamentary traditions in the procedure of the House. In spite of the fact that he was a nominated President, he gave equal satisfaction to all and earned congratulations from every section of the House at the end of the term of his office for the work done by him.<sup>8</sup>

## II

### THE HON'BLE MR. V. J. PATEL—THE FIRST ELECTED PRESIDENT

At the end of the term of office of Sir Frederick Whyte in 1925 the Legislative Assembly in pursuance of the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1919, was called upon to elect their first non-official President in August 1925. The Swarajist Party put up Mr. Vithalbhai Patel as their candidate for election to the office of the President. Mr. Patel defeated his rival candidate Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar, who enjoyed official support, by a narrow margin of votes, 58 votes to 56. His election was approved by His Excellency Lord Reading on 24th August, 1925, and he held office from 1925 to 1930. He was fully conscious of his role as the first elected non-official President of the Assembly. Notwithstanding the fact that the Indian Legislative Assembly constituted under the Government of India Act, 1919, did not possess vital powers enjoyed by Legislative Chambers in democratic countries, he was determined to discharge his duties not merely as a Chairman but also as a custodian of the rights and privileges of the Members of the House and as its accredited representative. Mr. V. J. Patel interpreted the rules and standing orders of the Assembly liberally in order to safeguard the rights of non-official members of

the House. In regard to right of questions he was careful to see that legitimate use was made of this right by the members and that the Executive also gave satisfactory replies to questions and not simply tried to evade them.<sup>9</sup> He permitted amendment of certain standing orders for the smooth and efficient despatch of official and non-official business. He discouraged government members from transacting official business on non-official days.<sup>10</sup> He allowed members to table adjournment motions liberally for censuring the Government for its acts and omissions irrespective of the wishes of the Treasury Benches. He did not allow the Government to force legislative measures on the Assembly against the wishes of the members or to curtail debate in the House on Government Bills and tried to safeguard the rights of the Members against official encroachments.

A serious conflict took place between the Government and the President on the question whether reasonable debate was possible over the Public Safety Bill while the Meerut conspiracy case was still pending. The Government had earlier introduced the Bill in Assembly in September 1928, with a view to vest the Government with the power to deport foreigners from India whose stay was regarded as dangerous or undesirable. The Bill was ostensibly directed against the foreigners, but it could also be used against nationalist Indians. The Bill was strongly opposed by non-official members and the proposal to postpone its consideration was carried with the casting vote of the President. However, the Government reintroduced the Bill with additional clauses in January, 1929 and succeeded in getting the measure referred to a Select Committee and by the time the report of the Select Committee came up before the House the Government had launched the Meerut Conspiracy Case in which certain persons alleged to be Communists were tried for conspiring against the Government established by law. President Patel took the view that the subject-matter of the Public Safety Bill and the Meerut Conspiracy Case was identical and it would not be possible to discuss the Bill without referring to the proceedings in the case

8. *L.A.D.*, 24th August, 1925, pp. 26-28.

9. *L.A.D.*, 27-1-1926, pp. 335-337.

10. *L.A.D.*, 9-2-1926.

which was *sub-judice*. He, therefore, withheld the consideration of the Public Safety Bill. The Government did not accept the ruling of the Chair and made it an occasion to deprive the Speaker of the power to give such a ruling in the future by enacting Rule 17A that the President could not, except in virtue of express powers, prevent in future the progress of legislation.

President Patel also came into conflict with the Viceroy who criticized his ruling in the Assembly. President Patel wrote to the Viceroy protesting against the action of His Excellency in criticizing the Chair's ruling which was 'not only unprecedented and calculated to affect both the dignity of the House and the authority of the Chair, but also constitutes, in my opinion, a departure from constitutional usages and traditions'.<sup>11</sup> The Viceroy disclaimed any intention to criticize his ruling and assured the President 'that he fully shares your anxiety to maintain the dignity of the House and the authority of the Chair.'

President Patel found himself in complete disagreement with the Government in regard to the interpretation of the Fiscal Autonomy Convention in the debate on the Cotton Tariff Bill, 1923. The Government of India forced on the Assembly against its will the principle of Imperial preference and violated the Fiscal Autonomy Convention. The Government came before the Assembly with the proposed tariff Bill in which a small measure of protection was being given to the Indian industry, while British manufacturers were granted equal protection. The Government stated openly that they would accept no other amendment except that of Mr. Chetty which imposed 15 per cent tariff in case of British manufacturers and 20 per cent on non-British manufacturers to help Lancashire interests and if the Assembly did not accept their proposal, they would not proceed with the Bill. President Patel expressed the view that the statement of the Government that they would not proceed with the Bill if Mr. Chetty's amendment was not accepted was calculated to seriously interfere with the free vote of the House. He suggested that official members should not exercise their right of vote

to work the Fiscal Convention in the spirit of the Joint Parliamentary Committee. The Government did not accept the suggestion made by the Chair and succeeded in passing the tariff bill embodying Mr. Chetty's amendments.

President Patel followed Sir Frederick Whyte in regulating the financial procedure in the House. He followed the convention established by his predecessor Sir Frederick Whyte that on Finance Bill the whole of the administration of the Government of India could be reviewed and interpreted it in a liberal spirit. He also insisted that the report of the Public Accounts Committee should be discussed fully in the House and not ignored by the Government.<sup>12</sup>

Apart from interpreting rules of procedure liberally to safeguard the interests of elected Members of the Assembly, President Patel strove hard to enhance the authority of the House and to assert and consolidate the independence of the Chair. As soon as he was elected President, Mr. Patel took up the question of the separation of the office of the Assembly from the Legislative Department of the Government of India. He convened the Speakers' Conference to consider the question and the latter unanimously adopted his viewpoint. He took up the matter immediately with the Government in 1926, but progress was very slow. In 1927, President Patel was re-elected to the Chair with the unanimous support of both official and non-official members. Soon after he took up the question again with the Government of India. The latter did not accept the views of President Patel in certain matters which he considered vital. The President, therefore, submitted his proposals direct to the Legislative Assembly and made the emphatic declaration that 'as the President, elected by the Assembly, I am responsible to the Assembly and to no other authority.' On 22nd September, 1928, the House carried a motion moved by Pandit Moti Lal Nehru for a separate Legislative Assembly Department under the President, and after reference to London a compromise was arrived at creating the Department legally in the portfolio of the Governor-General but retaining *de facto* control of the President.<sup>13</sup>

11. *L.A.D.*, 2nd Sept., 1929, pp. 109-112.

12. *L.A.D.*, 18th Feb., 1929, p. 1901.

13. *L.A.D.*, 28th Jan., 1929, p. 2.

Another reform carried out by President Patel to assert the authority of the Chair was the maintenance of his authority and control over the precincts of the Assembly. The Government of India and the Chief Commissioner maintained that they were the sole judge of the adequacy of the protective measures in the House. The President did not accept this view and ordered the galleries to be closed till such time as a settlement was arrived at. After negotiations an agreement was reached. Government control of the outer precincts were unchanged but the inner precincts were placed in charge of a Watch and Ward staff who would be responsible to the President.<sup>14</sup>

These two reforms considerably enhanced the prestige of the Chair and secured efficiency in the administration.

President Patel, so long as he was in the Chair, tried to uphold the traditions of impartiality and party neutrality involved in England in the discharge of his duties. On being elected to office he dissociated himself from the Swarajist Party of which he was an active member prior to his elections and endeavoured to consult the best interests of the Assembly.<sup>15</sup> During his term of office, President Patel kept himself aloof from party interest. In the election of 1926, he refused to stand on the Congress ticket but stood as an independent candidate from his old constituency and was re-elected President unanimously on 20th July, 1927.

During his tenure of office President Patel tried to follow in the footsteps of the notable Speakers of the House of Commons in England. Just as the Speakers of the House of Commons had succeeded in ridding the office of regal influence and in raising the prestige and dignity of the Chair, similarly, President Patel freed the high office of Speakership from the tutelage of the Executive in India. The first step in this direction was the separation of the office of the Assembly from the Legislative Department of the Government of India and the next was the vesting of the control over the precincts of the Assembly in the President. This was secured not without conflict. Like Speaker Onslow, he

enforced the rules strictly and prevented an abuse of the procedure of the House 'as nothing tended more to throw power into the hands of the administration' than a neglect of or departure from these rules.<sup>16</sup> President Patel, however, found that it was not always practicable to follow strictly the British model in view of the peculiarities of the Indian situation. The Speaker of the House of Commons of the United Kingdom helped to facilitate the Government business as the Government there was popular and possessed the confidence of the House. In India, the Executive was neither representative nor was it responsible to the House or removable by it. Under the circumstances, the role of an elected President was not to facilitate the Government business but to safeguard and protect the rights, interests and privileges of the Members of the House from official encroachment. In doing so he had to depart from the stricter limits of Speakership of the English model and had to assume a role which was best suited to the peculiar circumstances of the country.

President Patel's conception of office of Speaker was realistic and appropriate to the political situation. He occupied the Chair as a true servant of the people, zealous in behalf of their liberties and prerogatives and as one who represented their feelings firmly, zealously and openly without fear of offending, or a wish to conciliate the powerful bureaucracy. His tenure of office had throughout been a period of one continuous struggle between the Chair and the Assembly on the one hand, and the Government on the other, and in spite of the money limitations imposed upon the Assembly by the Constitution he always 'endeavoured to uphold the authority of the Chair and the dignity, rights and privileges of the House against the powerful bureaucracy'.<sup>17</sup> President Patel regarded the constitutional machinery provided by the Government of India Act as a stepping-stone to reach the ultimate goal of India's independence and he helped to facilitate the march of the people of this country towards the achievement

14. L.A.D., 20th Feb., 1930, p. 845.

15. L.A.D., 29th Aug., 1925, pp. 36-37.

16. Porrit: *Unreformed House of Commons*, Vol. I, p. 450.

17. L.A.D., 25th April, 1930.



of political emancipation. After serving for a number of years he found that despite his efforts he could not adequately safeguard the dignity, rights and privileges of the House against the bureaucracy. After the Government of India had forced down the throats of an unwilling Assembly the principle of Imperial preference and as a protest against which Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and other patriots tendered their resignations, he felt convinced that it was useless for him to preside over an Assembly which existed merely to register the decrees of the Executive and where it was not possible for

him to safeguard even the freedom of vote and freedom of expression. On 25th April, 1930, the Hon'ble Mr. V. J. Patel tendered his resignation to take his proper place in the struggle for freedom initiated by the Indian National Congress under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi as he failed in all his efforts to explore avenues of British Government's honourable settlement with the Congress. In carrying on the struggle with the British bureaucracy President Patel acted in the best traditions of Speakership established in pre-revolutionary England and in the British Dominions and Colonies.

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## INDIA'S ACHIEVEMENT OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

By RAJANI KANTA DAS AND SONYA RUTH DAS

### II

#### 2. INDO-BRITISH NEGOTIATIONS

IN response to India's rising demand for self-government and independence, there were important changes in the British policy towards India from the vague promise of Dominion Status in 1917 to the definite offer of independence in 1947, involving a long series of negotiations.

#### THE WAR AND INDIAN POLITICS

World War II brought a new aspect to India's political movement. Immediately on the outbreak of the war, India was declared a belligerent nation by the British Government without the consent of, or consultation with, Indian political leaders, and the provincial autonomy provisions inaugurated by the 1935 Constitution were immediately suspended. On September 3, 1939, the British Government passed measures empowering the Viceroy to rule by decree, to prohibit meetings or other forms of propaganda, and to arrest without warrant. On September 14, 1939, the Congress Working Committee, while condemning German aggression in unequivocal terms, invited the British Government to define its war aims with special reference to

India. About the same time, the Moslem League assured the Government of India of its co-operation in the war efforts on condition that Moslem interests were protected by the government against the Hindu majority. On October 17, 1939, the Government of India issued a White Paper, implicitly accepting the Moslem League's claim to speak for the Moslems of India, whereupon the Congress gave up the hope of any British concession and called upon the Congress provincial ministers to resign.

The recognition by the British government of the Moslem League as the spokesman for the Indian Moslem community encouraged the League to put forward the demand for Pakistan, or a "pure Moslem State," as its goal and for dividing the country into Hindu and Moslem States in 1940. It was, however, immediately condemned by the nationalist Moslems, including many League members, and the All-India Azad Conference, supported by nine Moslem religious organizations, passed a resolution on April 1, 1940, declaring that "India with its geographical and political boundaries is an individual whole and as such it is the common homeland of all citizens, irrespective of race and religion."

The All-India Congress Committee declared in March, 1940, that India's freedom cannot exist within the orbit of British imperialism, but in July it re-opened the question and offered active co-operation with the British Government in the defense of India, demanding, however, immediate recognition of India's independence to be effected on a certain fixed date. On August 8, 1940, the British Government reiterated its famous offer of free and equal partnership for India in the British Commonwealth under a Constitution framed by the Indians, subject to a provision for protection of the minorities and to the fulfilment of the Government's obligations to the Indian States but without any constitutional change during the war; at the same time an expansion of the Executive Council was promised. Because this offer was not immediately satisfactory, the All-India Congress Committee thereupon withdrew its offer and on October 20, 1940, Gandhi took the leadership and started what he called 'individual' or 'limited' civil disobedience. Some 25,000 Congress leaders and workers, including Abul Kalam Azad and Nehru, as well as 398 members of the Provincial legislatures, 31 ex-ministers, and 22 members of the Central legislature were arrested. Moreover, Mr. Churchill's refusal to apply to India the principles of the Atlantic Charter, which he himself together with President Roosevelt, drew up at sea in August, 1941, pledging to respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they would like to live, dashed to pieces all hopes raised among the Indian people. In the meantime, the war situation in Europe became more serious and on December 4, Nehru, Azad, and several other Congress leaders were released from jail.

On December 7, 1941, the Japanese attacked the American military and naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, and won a great victory, and on December 9, 1941, the United States declared war on Japan. Japanese entry into the war and their rapid victories in Hong Kong, Malaya, and Dutch East Indies enormously intensified the strategic importance of India in the Allied Nations' war effort. On January 15, 1942, Gandhi resigned his leadership of the Congress movement in favor of Nehru, apparently paving the way for active co-operation of India

with Britain against the Axis powers, if a solution of the political situation could be found. Singapore fell on February 15, and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek visited India, and urged, in a statement on February 21, 1942, the British Government to grant real political power to India and to make her a strong military force among the Allied Nations.

#### BRITISH WAR CABINET'S OFFER

A great achievement of the political movement in India was, in fact, the War Cabinet's offer, which was announced by Prime Minister Churchill on March 11, 1942, *i.e.*, three days after the fall of Rangoon, and which Sir Stafford Cripps, the Lord Privy Council, took to India and presented to the leaders of different political parties at New Delhi on March 29, 1942. The chief provisions of the offer were as follows: First, the creation of a new Indian Union soon after the war with its right of withdrawal from the Commonwealth, if it so desired; second, the setting up of a Constituent Assembly, immediately upon the cessation of hostilities, to be chosen by a system of proportional representation from the newly-elected Lower Houses of provincial legislature sitting as an electoral college, and the acceptance by the British Government of the Constitution so framed on two conditions: (a) The right of a British province to retain its present constitutional position with the right of subsequent accession to the Union, and the recognition by the British Government of a non-acceding province as a separate dominion; and, (b) the conclusion of a treaty with the constitution-making body covering the transfer of responsibility and the protection of national and religious minorities; and third, the retention by the British Government of the responsibility of national defense during the war period.

The offer was rejected by all political parties in India, though for different reasons. The proposal for the division of India into two or more independent States or Dominions was rejected by the Hindu Maha Sabha, National Liberal Federation, All-Party Committee of the Sikhs, the All-India States People's Conference, and the Independent Moslem Conference, as well as by other religious communities. The

Moslem League was satisfied at the implied recognition of its claim for Pakistan, but regretted that the offer did not definitely provide for Pakistan. The League Committee under the leadership of Jinnah rejected the offer of the British Government as it was not open to any modifications.

The Congress Working Committee under the chairmanship of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and the leadership of Nehru, who undertook the negotiation, rejected the offer on the following grounds: (1) The principle of non-accession applied to British provinces might prove destructive to Indian unity; (2) the lack of any provision for 93 million people of the Indian States to voice their opinion in framing a Constitution under which they were going to live; and (3) the lack of any provision for the Indian people to have any part in national defense, which during the war was practically the whole government. But the Congress was willing to compromise, and a formula was arrived at providing for the appointment of an Indian Defense Minister in the interim national government and the retention of the Commander-in-Chief as a War Member of the Government of India. As described by Maulana Azad, the Congress Working Committee had no desire to upset, in the midst of the war, the present military organization and arrangement made by the British Government. The Committee demanded, however, that the interim government should be a truly national government in all civil affairs with full power and not a subordinate advisory body in the Executive Council of the Viceroy. Sir Stafford refused to take this demand into consideration and the negotiation broke down, and the British Cabinet offer was withdrawn on April 11, 1942.

Both the merits and the defects of the offer were apparent. The offer was a precise and definite promise of Dominion Status under the Westminster Statute of 1926, with the right of Indians to formulate their own Constitution and to secede from the British Empire if they so desired. The offer had, however, also serious defects, such as the concentration of the real power of the State, *e.g.*, finance, defense, and foreign affairs, in the hands of the Viceroy during the war, and the lack of any provision for immediate participation by India in the civil

and military defense of their own country. The real causes of the breakdown of the Indo-British negotiations were, however, the reluctance of the British to part with power, their refusal to allow the Indian leaders to form an interim national government functioning as a cabinet, and the lack of confidence in the British promise on the part of Indian leaders.

The breakdown of the Indo-British negotiations was a great loss to India's national cause. India was deprived of a great opportunity in taking a leading part in the struggle of the democracies against nazism, fascism, and dictatorship, in uniting and co-ordinating different factions, racial and communal, into one component national whole, and in associating herself as equal partner with the progressive and independent nations in winning the war and maintaining the peace of the world.

A most serious effect of the breakdown was the declaration by the All-India Congress Committee of the non-co-operation and non-violence and "quit India" movements on August 8, 1942, for which Gandhi was directly responsible. Although great disappointment at the breakdown of the negotiation, nationwide resentment, and anti-British feeling led Gandhi, whose proposal for an interview with the Viceroy for a compromise was turned down, to propose such a measure, it had serious effects both in India and abroad. First, it led to the wholesale arrest of Gandhi himself and other Congress leaders and workers; second, such arrests were followed by almost spontaneous outburst of anti-British feeling in most parts of the country, as indicated by strikes and lockouts and riots and sabotage of railways and of postal and telegraph offices; and third, it gave the British the justification for withholding the transfer of power from England to India.\*

The failure of the Cripps' Mission and the imprisonment of Congress leaders left India without any political activities for over two years. In June, 1945, the political deadlock was,

\* The results of the arrests and riots and sabotages are indicated by the following facts covering August, 1942 to January, 1943: 60,000 persons were arrested, 26,000 condemned, 18,000 convicted, 18,000 detained without trial, 2,630 injured, 940 killed, and as many flogged.



however, broken by Lord Wavell, the Viceroy, who developed a scheme for the solution of the problem. The scheme consisted of: (1) The reorganization of the Viceroy's Executive Council representing all the political parties; (2) distribution of all the memberships of the Council to Indians except that of defense, the Viceroy retaining, as before, the veto power of all the Council's decisions and legislative measures; (3) the establishment of responsible governments in all the provinces; and (4) appointment of accredited agents for representing India abroad. It was presumed that all the members of the Council should co-operate wholeheartedly in carrying out the war against Japan. A conference of all political leaders was convened under the chairmanship of the Viceroy at Simla on June 25, 1945. The conference agreed to appoint fifteen members in the Viceroy's Executive Council, consisting of five caste Hindus, five Moslems, and five from other communities, thus establishing a Hindu-Moslem parity. But a difference soon arose on Jinnah's claim that he was the only authority to appoint all the Moslems as Congress representatives. Both the Viceroy and the Congress party objected to Jinnah's demand and the conference ended in failure on July 14, 1945.

#### BRITISH CABINET MISSION PLAN

The victory of World War II was followed by important changes in the relative position of the British political parties. The Conservative Party lost its power and the British Labor Party, which won the political victory in the election of July, 1945, realized the necessity of changing British policy towards the colonies and dependencies and adopted a liberal policy towards India, as indicated by the King's speech at the opening of Parliament, when he said: "My government will do the utmost to promote in concurrence with the leaders of Indian opinion, an early realization of self-government in India." The Labor Government decided to send three top-ranking Cabinet Ministers, Lord Pethic Lawrence, Secretary of State for India; Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade; and A. V. Alexander, First Lord of Admiralty, on a mission to India to help in framing her Constitution and in

establishing a Coalition Government. On the occasion of their departure for India, the Prime Minister made a speech in Parliament on March 15, 1946, and said: "India must choose as to what will be her future constitution and what will be her position in the world."

After its arrival in India, the British Cabinet Mission arranged a round-table conference of the Congress Party, the Moslem League, and the British Government at Simla on May 5, 1946, and laid down a five-point program for discussion: Defense, foreign affairs, communications, the creation of two groups of provinces, one predominantly Hindu and the other predominantly Moslem, and the delegation of the maximum authority to provincial units. On the settlement of these questions, there would be a union of India with authority on these points. Each party was represented by four members and two of the Congress representatives were Moslems. Jinnah again denied the right of the Congress party to appoint any Moslem as its representative and the Conference ended in failure on May 12, 1946.

On May 16, 1946, the Mission issued a White Paper in New Delhi and outlined its plan for a Union of India and an Indian Constituent Assembly. The Union Government would comprise an executive and a legislature and have authority only to deal with foreign affairs, defense, and communication together with power to raise the necessary funds for this purpose. All other subjects and residual powers should be vested in the provinces, which would be free to form groups with executives and legislatures. The pivotal point of the plan was the creation of a group of Hindu-majority provinces in a section and a group of Moslem-majority provinces in two sections, thus: Section A, comprising six provinces of Bombay, Madras, Bihar, Orissa, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, and Berar, which Jinnah wanted to include in "Hindustan"; Section B, comprising Sind, British Baluchistan, N.W.F. Province, and the Punjab; and Section C, comprising Bengal and Assam; the last two sections being the Moslem-majority provinces of Pakistan, which Jinnah would like to separate from India.

The Mission rejected the League's demand

to divide India on three grounds: First, the areas claimed for a larger sovereign Pakistan would contain 37.93 per cent non-Moslems in the north-west and 48.31 per cent non-Moslems in the north-east, and would still leave 20 million Moslems in non-Moslem India, thus leaving the communal problem still unsolved. Second, the setting up of a smaller sovereign Pakistan confined to the Moslem-majority areas would require the exclusion of (a) the whole of Ambala and Jellunder divisions in the Punjab; (b) the whole of Assam except the District of Sylhet; and (c) a large part of Western Bengal including Calcutta, and such a Plan would be unacceptable to the Moslems. Third, transportation, communication, and other defense schemes had been set-up on a United India basis and the separation of these areas for Pakistan would entail great danger. Moreover, the two Pakistans separated from each other by 700 miles would depend on Hindustan's good-will both in war and peace. The Mission also rejected the Congress scheme of a complete unitary India on the ground that in spite of safeguards it did not give the Moslems the necessary feeling of security for their cultural, political, and social life. The minority communities should have legislative protection and an advisory committee on their rights as well as on those of the tribal excluded areas.

#### INDIA'S INTERIM GOVERNMENT

In the meantime, steps were also being taken for the establishment of an interim government in India as a preliminary measure for the development of a dominion Government. As a war measure some changes had already been made in the Government of India. On July 3, 1942, the Viceroy's Executive Council was enlarged to fifteen members, eleven of whom were Indians. The principal posts; *e.g.*, of defense, finance, and home affairs, remained with the British members, and the Viceroy retained his special responsibility and discretionary powers as before. As noted above, it was on the question of the Viceroy's position *vis-a-vis* the power of the proposed Council or Cabinet that the Cripps Mission broke down. On March 15, 1946, an India Bill was passed

by the British Parliament repealing the emergency powers of the British Government in India and providing for an All-India Advisory Council to the Viceroy.

On the cessation of the war, Viscount Wavell, the Viceroy, took steps toward India's constitutional development and, in consultation with the British Government, laid down the following procedure: (1) The election of the Central and Provincial legislatures which had been postponed during the war; (2) the setting up of a Constituent Assembly of elected Indian representatives charged with the task of framing a new constitution; (3) the formation of an interim executive council consisting only of Indians; and (4) the negotiation of a treaty between the British Government and the constitution-making body.

The elections were largely held in the first three months of 1946. They became of unusual importance for two reasons: (1) The decision on the Moslem League's demand for Pakistan; and (2) the formation of a Constituent Assembly from the members of the provincial legislatures, in view of the fact that they were elected under the Constitution of 1935 and represented 13 per cent of the population in contrast to the members of the Central Legislature, who were elected under the Constitution of 1919 and represented only 2 per cent of the population.

On May 16, 1946, the British Cabinet Mission also proposed the setting up of an interim government composed entirely of Indians drawn from the major political parties. This government was later created within the legal framework of the Viceroy's Legislative Council but with the Viceroy's veto power reduced to a minimum. Its formation was delayed, however, first, because of the disagreement between the Congress Party and the Moslem League as to the number of representatives from each party and, second, because of Jinnah's denial of the right of the Congress Party to appoint any Moslem as its representative.

September 2, 1946, was indeed a great day for India for a two-fold reason: First, the inauguration of an interim government composed of all Indians for the first time, with six members from the Congress Party, five members

from the Moslem League, and three members from the minority groups, with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as Vice-Chairman of the Legislative Council. The Moslem representatives refused to participate in the government, but their seats were distributed among the Congressmen. Secondly, it was indeed a great day for India to have an Indian at the head of her government after several centuries of foreign rule. As the power of the Governor-General as the Chairman of the Legislative Council was reduced to the minimum, Pandit Nehru was practically the head of the Government; greetings and good wishes poured from all over India and abroad, and on September 7, 1946, Pandit Nehru, the Vice-President, acknowledged them and promised that India would co-operate with free peoples to build "one world."

On October 25, 1946, the League representatives joined the Interim Government, but refused to participate in the Constituent Assembly, which by the terms of the agreement, they were supposed to do. Moreover, instead of co-operating with Congress representatives, they formed a "King's Party" with the active support of the anti-Congress British officials. The most important question was, however, the interpretation of the British Cabinet Mission's statement on the groupings of the provinces. The Congress Party maintained that the provinces in the sections should be permitted to opt out at the very outset of the Constituent Assembly discussion, while the League insisted that the decision of these sections should be taken by the simple majority vote of the whole section. On December 6, 1946, at a special conference with the League and Congress representatives in London, the British Government supported the League's interpretation.\*

### 3. PARTITION OF BRITISH INDIA

On February 20, 1947, the British Government issued a White Paper announcing its decision to transfer the responsibility of Indian Government not later than June, 1947. This announcement had a profound, though diver-

gent, effect on India. While the Congress Party acclaimed it as the fulfillment of its "Quit India" movement of 1942, the League intensified its drive for Paksitan in order to capture those provinces which it would like to include in it. The League forced out the coalition government in the Punjab, although it failed to establish its own government. The chaos and confusion following from the "Direct Action" of the League convinced the non-Moslem population of the necessity of dividing Bengal and the Punjab into Moslem and non-Moslem provinces.

On June 3, 1947, the British Government issued another White Paper to supercede the statement of May 16, 1946, and proposed the division of British India into the dominions of India and Pakistan, releasing the princely states to join either dominion or to remain independent. The new dominions were to be governed by their respective constituent assemblies, which would perform the function of legislating and constitution-making. During the period of transition, the Government of India Act of 1935 would continue to apply with due omissions, adaptations, and modifications to be made by the Governor-General or the dominion's legislatures. There would be a Governor-General in each dominion and his power would terminate on March 31, 1948, or at an earlier date at the discretion of the dominion legislatures.

The Moslem League violently opposed the scheme of dividing Bengal and the Punjab, but on June 9, 1947, accepted the plan as a compromise. The Sikhs opposed it strongly as it broke up their territorial integrity. The Congress Party had always stood for a United India but, on June 14, 1947, accepted the British plan. A brief Bill was introduced into Parliament and passed as Indian Independence Act on July 18, 1947. On August 15, 1947 the two dominions of India and Pakistan were established with their area and population, respectively, of 1,220,099 square miles and 337 million, and 361,311 square miles and 70 million.

The partition raised several problems: First, the fixation of boundaries between East and West Punjab and East and West Bengal, which was immediately accomplished by a cabinet boundary committee with the help of

\* Based mostly on the material collected by the writer from official reports of the Indian and British Governments during the period concerned.



various local sub-committees. Second, the transfer of the population from one area to the other, which was the most complicated and tragic. During the first two and a half years of national independence, the number of people who migrated either way have been estimated from 13 to 15 million, i.e., about 6.5 or 7.5 million Hindus and Sikhs from West Punjab, Sind, and North-West Frontier Province migrated to India and a similar number of Moslems migrated from East Punjab and other parts of India to West Pakistan. Moreover, it has been estimated that about one million lives were lost in the violence and riots arising out of population exchange. A dislocation of people has also taken place between Bengal and East Pakistan, as will be discussed later. Finally, the division of money and material between the two provinces, such as the cash balance of the former United India, public debt, sterling pounds due from Britain (amounting to about five billion dollars), military supply and ordnance factories were practically settled within the first three months of the establishment of the two dominions.

The immediate effects of the partition were the communal riots and disturbances which took place especially in Bengal and the Punjab. The first large-scale riot broke out in Calcutta on August 16, 1946, as a result of "Direct Action" of the League, even before the actual partition, leading to the death of 270 persons, injuries to 1600, the burning of 900 houses. "Pro-Pakistan elements started this Direct Action from Noakhali and inflicted untold sufferings on non-Moslem inhabitants. This was followed by revenge in Bihar. Later Hindus and Sikhs were killed in the Frontier Province and West Punjab and these were followed by the killings of the Moslems in East Punjab and Delhi," as described by Sheikh Abdullah, Prime Minister of Kashmir. The announcement by the Boundary Committee on August 17, 1947, allotting Lahore and Amritsar to Moslems and non-Moslems, respectively, intensified riots and disturbances and about one million persons were driven out of their homes and many of them were killed. By August 29, the situation became still more serious and the government had to take drastic action. Loot and larceny, rape and abduction,

and arson and massacre became the order of the day. At last, on September 20, the governments of the two dominions pledged to remove the causes of the conflict and to facilitate the movements of the refugees, including (1) a joint organization to bring about the return of the abducted women; (2) the return to the refugees of their money in banks and safety deposits; (3) compensation to the displaced persons for their property.

The fundamental causes of these communal riots and disturbances are deep-rooted and will be discussed later. The immediate and main causes of the riots and disturbances were, however, Jinnah's two-nation theory, demand for division of India into Hindu and Moslem states, Direct Action of the League to achieve its goal, desire for parity with the Hindus who were twice as many as the Moslems, and the exchange of populations, involving the uprooting of the people from their century-old homes to unknown and unfamiliar regions. The contributory causes, such as direct help by the League, including the distribution of arms and lorries and the employment of professional goondas (gunmen). No special inquiry into the real causes of these riots and disturbances has yet been made; but the *Calcutta Statesman*, an English daily paper, condemned unsparingly the Bengal (Moslem League) Government for "lamentable failure in judgment and executive ability" (August 18, 1946) in the case of Calcutta's worst communal riot.

The greatest tragedy resulting from the partition of India was the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi by a Hindu fanatic on January 30, 1948. It was the earnest desire of the Mahatma to secure independence for a United India. But the partition of India, especially the exchange of populations, involving riots and disturbances, created bitterness and animosity between the Hindus and the Moslems. In order to create unity and peace between the two communities, Mahatma Gandhi undertook a fast on January 13 and ended it on January 18 on the promise of Hindu and Moslem leaders that they would carry out his peace program, such as safe return of the Moslems to Delhi, lifting of the boycott against them, and restoration of their mosques. These

concessions were regarded as appeasements to Moslems and a group of reactionary and fanatical Hindus plotted against Mahatma Gandhi and he was shot to death. Like Abraham Lincoln giving his life in extending the freedom of the American people to the Negro slaves, Mahatma Gandhi died a martyr in his attempt to establish peace between the Hindus and the Moslems of India.<sup>1</sup>

#### 4. PAKISTAN BECOMES SEPARATE STATE

Pakistan<sup>2</sup>, the largest Moslem state, was inaugurated at Karachi on October 15, 1947, and Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the founding father, became its Governor-General. This moment was the climax of Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah's career. Pakistan as a separate dominion parceled out of India owes its origin to two distinct factors: First, the single-minded devotion, personal pride, extraordinary zeal, and master strategy of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah, who was supported by the land-holding and other privileged classes of the Moslems claiming their descent from old Moslem conquerors and rulers of India as well as by anti-Congress British officials still in the service of British India; second, the age-long imperial policy of 'divide and rule,' which was the basic policy of British rule in India, and which was actively carried on by the Government of India and the British Government and the Conservative Party in Britain.

From the very beginning of its origin in 1906 until the partition of India in 1947, the Moslem League received direct and indirect encouragement and assistance from the Government of India in its endeavour to advance communal interests. Moreover, the British accepted Jinnah as the sole spokesman of all the Moslems, gave him dictatorial power in all the tripartite conferences, and accepted the League's scheme of grouping the provinces into Hindu-Moslem-majority provinces and the League's interpretation of its White Paper

recommendation of May 16, 1946, that the single majority vote of each section of provinces would determine the allocation of territories, which finally broke down the Congress opposition to partition and facilitated the establishment of independent Pakistan.

The League's claims upon a separate Moslem state were challenged from both inside and outside. First, the League wanted Pakistan for the preservation of its cultural interests, but such Moslem communities as the Ulemas (divines), Momins (weavers), Sheas (the second largest Moslem sect), and many prominent Moslems were opposed to the Pakistan scheme. Second, the six provinces originally demanded by the League for Pakistan contained 109 million population, of which 48 million, or 44 per cent, were non-Moslem. While refusing the domination of 24 per cent Moslem by the 76 per cent non-Moslem population in a democratic state, the League at the same time demanded the domination of 44 per cent non-Moslem by the 56 per cent Moslem population in a state which they wanted to make Islamic. Third, the League's contention that the Moslems were a separate nation was not in harmony with the fact that from 80 to 85 per cent of Indian Moslems were estimated to be racially the same as the Hindus and formed a part of the linguistic and cultural group of the provinces where they lived. Finally, the League's demand for Assam with its two-thirds non-Moslem population, and a newly-elected Congress Government, as well as for Bengal, as a part of East Pakistan, in spite of the fact that it would have 48 per cent non-Moslem population, was guided not by cultural affinity but by economic consideration, inasmuch as most of the British-owned industries and investments, *e.g.*, jute mills, coal mines, and tea-gardens, as well as joint-stock companies, were located in the provinces of Bengal and Assam.

As to the future of Pakistan, it must be remembered that it consists of two parts, the West and the East, which are different from each other in race, language, and cultural history, *i.e.*, in everything except religion. The importance of religion, especially Islam, which is not only a religion but also a civilization, cannot be minimized. But social, political, and

(1) The same as the foot-note for Section 2 (p. 31).

(2) The total population was 75.6 million comprising 33.5 in West Pakistan and 42.1 million in East Pakistan in 1951 (Census of Population, 1951).

economic activities have immensely increased becoming in a new and progressive state in the in modern times and dominate a modern state. modern democratic age.\*

West Pakistan is geographically, ethnologically, and culturally closely related to the neighboring states of Afghanistan, Iran and even Arabia. A common religion has brought them into a still closer association. West Pakistan has already allied itself with the Middle East; the Arab League has found in West Pakistan a valuable ally, and power politics has also extended its scope to include the dominion of Pakistan in its sphere of influence. Recently Pakistan has entered into a military alliance with the United States and Turkey. By restricting and selecting immigration, only the people of the same or similar racial origins have been grouped together in the new State and 4.9 million non-Moslems have left or been forced to leave West Pakistan. West Pakistan has also been created and baptized in blood and violence, loot and arson, rape and abduction, involving a great loss of lives in exchange of population. It would not be easy for the people displaced by partition to forget these tragedies and sufferings. Moreover, with an abundant supply of fertile land and irrigation potentialities for the production of wheat for food and cotton for commerce, and with a considerable proportion of her population more or less homogeneous in race and especially in religion, West Pakistan has emerged as a permanent Moslem State. Furthermore, under the recent decision of February 1955, steps have been taken for the merger of four provinces, ten princely states, and some tribal areas into a single province of West Pakistan.

East Pakistan is, however, different from West Pakistan in several aspects: First, the formation of a single state out of two regions 1,000 miles apart is regarded in certain quarters as "geographical monstrosity." Secondly, in physiography, ethnology, language and several other cultural aspects, East Pakistan or East Bengal as it used to be called before partition, resembles more West Bengal than West Pakistan. Finally, while all the population of West Pakistan are Moslems, about one-fourth of the population in East Pakistan are Hindus. By declaring Pakistan an Islamic State, there has been created a feeling of second race citizenship among its Hindu Population, a situation scarcely

## 5. INDIA'S EMERGENCE AS DOMINION

With the declaration of India's independence as provided by the Indian Independence Act of 1947 and the establishment of India as a Dominion, which was virtually an independent state under the Westminster Statute of 1926, all the earlier frame-work of the Indian Constitution was swept away. The Governor-General became a constitutional ruler functioning with the advice and consent of the Council of Ministers responsible to the Constituent Assembly in which the sovereignty of India rested. The Government of India Act of 1935, as amended, came into force on August 15, 1947, and remained so until the acceptance of the new Constitution by the Indian Parliament and the declaration of India as a sovereign independent republic on January 26, 1950.

August 15, 1947, when India became independent, was a most glorious day in the annals of Indian history. It was on that day that India regained the mastery of her own destiny after several centuries of foreign rule and after several decades of silent revolution. The Indian people began to celebrate it at midnight, August 14, when British rule ended and Indian rule began. While Mahatma Gandhi, the chief architect of Indian independence, was occupied in a Hindu-Moslem Peace Mission in Calcutta, the Constituent Assembly of the Union of India convened at Constitution Hall at New Delhi, and, after the singing of *Bandemataram*, the national anthem, observed two minutes of silence "in memory of those who died in the struggle for freedom in India and abroad," and then at the stroke of midnight took the oath administered by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, its President. The national flag was unfurled atop Constitution Hall. The Assembly assumed the governance of India and appointed Lord Mountbatten as its Governor-General. On August 15, he took his office and administered the oath to

\* *India—A Reference Annual—1953-57*, Government of India, Delhi. *India—Annual Review—1953-57*, Information Service of India, India House, London.



the first Cabinet of the Union of India composed of fourteen members with Pandit Nehru as its Prime Minister.

The emergence of India as an independent state brought great rejoicing all over the country. But the partition of British India into India and Pakistan Dominions created profound sorrow and indignation among all classes of people, and Congress leaders were taken to task for yielding to the Moslem League and for not accepting the Dominion Status for a limited period, thus avoiding the partition scheme. It was the general belief that if the British knew that the Congress Party would accept Dominion Status, they would not have yielded to Jinnah's demand for partition. That the Congress leaders had often dealt with the League rather leniently and had even shown their weakness and spirit of appeasement cannot be doubted. But they were more convinced that they could not have any real settlement of the Indian question while the British were there, and so they were willing to concede everything to the Moslem League in order to have its co-operation in settling Indian affairs with the British. Moreover, a study of the events leading to the partition of India shows that it was the best possible way to get out of the difficulty in which the Congress Party found itself at the end of various negotiations with the British and with the League.

In spite of a reduction in size and population, India has acquired a much greater opportunity of building a strong consolidated democratic and progressive nation: First, she has won a double victory of national independence

by overthrowing the two-century-old British domination and by getting rid of those communally-conscious Moslems who prided themselves on being the rescendants of old Moslem invaders, conquerors, and rulers, and who therefore, claimed separate nationhood and parity with over twice as many Hindus, and demanded the partition of the country. Second, the division of the Punjab and Bengal into Moslem and non-Moslem provinces has saved the Sikhs and the Hindus from the domination of the communally-minded Moslems. The sacrifice of the Sikhs was immense, but instead of being a minority group in the old Punjab, they have obtained Patiala and East Punjab as a major State in the Indian Union, where they are the majority, and they have thus improved their position. The social and political position of the Hindus has also improved in West Bengal. Finally, the confederation of the various States of India only on the basis of foreign affairs, defense, and communication would have prevented India from becoming a solid and consolidated nation. Moreover, the acceptance of the Moslem League's demand of weightage to the minorities, and especially to the Moslems, would have interfered with the development of a true democracy which grants one vote to each person regardless of race, caste, or creed.\*

(Concluded)

\* *India—A Reference Annual*—since 1953, Government of India. *Indian—Annual Review*—since 1953, Information Service of India, India House, Aldwych, London.



# BASIC EDUCATION IN INDIA

## An Appraisal

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### WHAT IS BASIC EDUCATION?

BASIC education is in essence an adaptation to Indian conditions of the methods of the activity school practised in Western countries for a long time by Mahatma Gandhi more than 20 years ago. It is activity-centered. This activity is to be in the form of crafts and centres round the physical and social environments of the child, for education to be effective and meaningful must be based on the life-activities of the community which it is meant to serve and the environment for which the child is to be prepared. Teaching in the Basic school must be co-ordinated by means of correlation technique with some purposeful and socially useful craft activity which must be productive in character, *e.g.*, spinning and weaving, agriculture and gardening besides wood and metal work so that the education may in the main be self-supporting. In the elementary stage it should offer 8 years integrated education (7-14) through the mother tongue. Its ideological aspect rests on its aims and objectives which, according to Gandhiji and the sponsors of the orthodox Wardha type of Basic education, consist in the creation of a new social order (Sarvodaya Society) in the country based on non-violence, non-exploitation and social justice. Some of its sponsors are even now so enthusiastic about it that they say that the time has come when it should be introduced at all stages—elementary, secondary and University, as it has been actually done in Sevagram, Bihar, and the sporadic experiments in several other states.

### PATTERN OF NATIONAL EDUCATION

Like every other idea associated with Mahatma Gandhi it was surrounded by a sort of halo which accounted for its acceptance in many provinces soon after the first tentative syllabi for Basic Schools and Basic Training Schools were framed by the committee appointed under the Chairmanship of Dr. Zafir Hussain till recently the Government of India declared it to be the pattern of

national education both for rural and urban areas. The Avadi Session of the Indian National Congress passed a resolution which called upon all State Governments "to further as early as possible the policy of spreading Basic education so as to implement it fully both in rural and urban areas in a systematic and planned manner within a period of 10 years." On account of the association of the scheme for Basic education with the Congress Governments in the provinces it is true that a certain amount of extraneous and even spurious prestige clung to it for a time.

### WARDHA VS. ACTIVITY TYPE OF BASIC EDUCATION

But even from the very inception an important and responsible school of thought and educational opinion in India differed from the original Basic idea of craft-centred and self-supporting type of elementary education, although its educational implications were admitted by educationists as thoroughly sound. These criticisms centred round two of the essential characteristics of Basic education, *viz.*, the imparting of education through productive craft-work and its self-supporting character. Attempts have, therefore, been made by the sponsors of Basic education even from its very inception to meet these criticisms in annual conferences on Basic education. In spite of this, two types of Basic education ultimately crystallised, *viz.*, the orthodox Wardha type of 8 years' craft-centred Basic schools and the more liberal craft-biased but activity-type of Basic schools in 2 stages, *viz.*, Junior Basic stage of 6 to 11 plus and Senior Basic stage up to 14 plus with the result that at the moment we find two types sponsored by the different States. It may be stated that the Central Advisory Board has also advocated the latter type of Junior and Senior Basic schools mainly for financial reasons. This is the type followed in West Bengal as against the Wardha type sponsored by Bihar, Orissa and other States.

### ASSESSING THE RESULTS OF BASIC SCHOOLS OF THE ACTIVITY-TYPE IN WEST BENGAL

Let us, first of all, try to understand the *Educational Implications and Actual Achievements* of these two newer types of Basic education in West Bengal. These two types of schools are virtually a *Reaction Against the Old Regime of 'Board-Chalk-and-Talk' through Formal Methods and The 'Conception of Massed Teaching*.

The Junior Basic schools offer 2000 sq. ft. of teaching and 2500 sq. ft. of residential accommodation where the building is put up *de novo*. West Bengal started with 36 such Basic schools in 1950-51, with 8,803 pupils and a total expenditure of Rs. 1,67,572 was incurred for their running costs besides Rs. 7,70,000 for buildings. Since then a minimum of about 100 such schools is either being set up *de novo* or reconditioned every year. Besides, during the First Five-Year Plan period some 200 more Primary schools were reconditioned. Besides the Junior Basic schools, Senior Basic schools which constitute an entirely new organizational type of secondary education, are also being set up in advanced areas in West Bengal as in other States.

### EDUCATIONAL CRAFT-WORK IN JUNIOR AND ARTISAN CRAFT-WORK IN SENIOR BASIC SCHOOLS

The Junior Basic schools in West Bengal follow the syllabus prepared by the School Education Committee appointed by the Government in 1948. In preparing the syllabus the Committee kept in view the principle of learning through creative activities of a varied character to suit the aptitudes of children, leading to a Basic Craft or Crafts according to local conditions, regard being had to the fact that *on no account should educational consideration be subordinated to those of 'production.'* The following are some of the typical creative activities of these schools, turned out by the children as parts of the educative process—leather goods, clay-models, cane and bamboo-work, coir-work, weaving, wood-work, needle-work, card-board-work, toys, and teaching equipment.

It is true that in some States a part of the running cost of maintenance of Basic schools has been met out of the sale proceeds of these

articles. But in West Bengal this economic aspect of crafts in a Junior Basic school has never been seriously explored for the simple reason that educational craft-work in which certain articles of everyday use just get turned out by the children as a by-product of the educative process and, as such, they can never compete with the standard of craftsmanship and finish of similar articles sold in the market as the latter are manufactured by adult craftsmen. No one expects the products turned out by little children to be ordinarily saleable in the open market and 'that at a competitive price'. Actual production in a spirit of joyous spontaneity is the characteristic of educational craftwork in a Junior Basic school while *Artisan Craftwork* conforming to the tradition and standard of craftsmanship demanded from adult craftsmen so that such crafts can be readily saleable in the open market, is what we aim at in our own Senior Basic schools.

With the latter object in view government have been sponsoring Senior Basic schools in advanced areas where there is a demand. So far back as in 1951, Government-sponsored a Senior Basic school with Agriculture as a Basic craft besides Weaving and Dyeing as subsidiary crafts at the extended Middle School with agricultural continuation classes at Raipur in the district of Birbhum, as a logical sequence to the establishment of a Junior Basic school in this State with the object of developing it eventually into a full-fledged Senior Basic school on the lines contemplated by the Central Advisory Board. Since then Senior Basic schools have been multiplying. Thus when a network of such schools will have been established in West Bengal, the time will come to think of an alternative educational ladder leading from Senior Basic school, Technical High school, college, to the Technical University.

### EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY THROUGH

In all these new types of Basic schools emphasis is laid upon the personal and social development of the child in the setting and atmosphere of a democratic society, free from academic prohibitions, peculiar to the old types of formal schools. Consequently an important part of the work of the Junior Basic schools is



to give opportunity and encouragement to the child for freedom of expression and creative play. Much of this play is dramatic in essence and, as such, dramatic activity plays a very important part in an Activity school.

Thus the disciplinary organisation of the Basic school carries within itself the possibility of the child creating for itself a measure of self-discipline without which there can be no real and enduring state of society, if the school is at all to function as a democratic community. The child is accordingly left free to make his own decisions on his own initiative but with the advice of his teachers. Brought up under such conditions, the children of Basic schools develop a right confidence in themselves and the ability to manage their own lives, founded on their personal experience, especially the experience of failures.

Children are taken out on school journeys which are not just a random series of visits which would in themselves make a rather un-integrated impression on their minds but which are invariably followed up by creative works, such as, personal scrap book, creative writing in the form of 'projects', letters to pen-friends based on actual life-situations, etc. The object of such journeys, nature rambles, excursions, etc., is to open windows on to the other world to enable children to understand some of its wonder and magnificence in order that school studies based on actual experience may become more alive and meaningful.

#### ACHIEVEMENTS OF BASIC SCHOOLS IN WEST BENGAL

Assessing the results achieved so far and comparing the same with those of the orthodox Primary or Middle school, it would seem that Basic school children are admittedly healthier, stronger and more supple in body, more alert intellectually and more aware socially. Moreover, their appreciation of the beautiful is certainly greater as is their power to create it and their knowledge wider, more ordered, more integrated and their grasp of subjects more strongly grounded on the solid bed-rock of actual experience in solving day-to-day life-problems. There is not the least shadow of a doubt that the Basic schools are making a serious attempt at establishing certain habits

and attitudes towards life in the nation's children on the socio-moral plane, leading to higher behaviour standards, such as, promptness, orderliness, obedience, social-mindedness, self-control, self-confidence, truthfulness, good manners, power of taking responsibility, etc., qualities which the traditional schools have so far failed to develop.

#### THE DEBIT SIDE OF THE EDUCATIONAL LEDGER IN BASIC EDUCATION

Turning from the credit to the debit side of the educational ledger, however, we do find some loss in mechanical arithmetic and spelling in which the formal school excels because it can provide intensive and repetitive drill in these subjects but surely there is hardly any loss in the mastery of fundamental knowledge—a fact the truth of which has now been amply borne out and established as a result of a series of experiments conducted under standardised conditions at the Basic Post-Graduate Training College at Banipur.

#### UNIFORMED ADVERSE CRITICISM OF BASIC EDUCATION IN WEST BENGAL

It is true that Basic schools in West Bengal, as elsewhere, have had to face a serious challenge from its critics—not to speak of parents and lay public only, but even from teachers trained under the traditional lines and supporters of the Wardha School of Basic education. Such criticisms of activity-methods in education invariably spring from ignorant conservatism, failure to understand the implications of educational craftwork as distinguished from Artisan craftwork, and resistance to novelty. This is very often the case in all other countries where a new organisational pattern in education, embodying an altogether new concept, is placed before the public for the first time. It should be remembered that no new movement—and the movement toward activity methods is powerfully under way in West Bengal—is the better for being allowed to escape public criticism.

#### THE FUTURE OF BASIC EDUCATION IN INDIA

The future of Basic national education is now engaging seriously the attention of educa-

tionists all over India for understandable reasons. It is true that things have not moved with the expected speed, that Basic education has not had a fair trial in some of the States even in the context of freedom and the number of Basic schools also started has not been up to expectations in some States. But mere numbers cannot be the only consideration, for in a recent conference of Basic education at Madras, Sri Ramchandran, one of its sponsors, who has had a long-standing experience of the two types opined that the work in many of these schools has been unsatisfactory when compared with the traditional elementary schools. So the most important thing is the question of efficiency which can only be tested as a result of a series of experiments under standardised conditions.

The report of the Expert Committee (Lakhani-Pires Committee) appointed by the Central Board of Education has definitely expressed the opinion that although the Basic schools do not fetch more than 8 to 12 per cent of the total cost of education they have undoubtedly introduced altogether a new atmosphere of freedom, creativity and initiative and are bringing up a new race of children independent, self-reliant, hopeful, resourceful and hard-working. These are undoubtedly valuable gains for a growing democracy. If the Basic schools did not do anything else this alone would have secured for them a place of honour in the educational system. It is claimed by another expert committee, appointed later by the Central Government that the Lakhani-Pires Committee had definitely underestimated the financial contributions of the Basic schools to the total cost of education. Bengal and U.P. have never bothered very much about the productive aspect of Basic schools but have concentrated on creative activities in turning out happy, self-reliant and responsible individuals. The extension of this Basic spirit has also infiltrated into some of their craft-biased Secondary schools, as recently reported by their Post-Graduate Basic Training colleges where researches and experiments under standardized conditions are now being carried on.

Let us now turn to the complete picture of the latest assessment of Basic education in India by another Expert Committee appointed

by the Government of India in 1956. This Committee submitted its report in August, 1956. Here is a summary of the Committee's assessment with its definite recommendations: In the first place the method of developing Basic education through compact areas or pockets or in patches attempted mainly in Bombay, Mysore, Bihar, Orissa, Andhra, Assam and West Bengal has failed altogether. Instead of expanding Basic Education in ever-widening circles from these pockets, compact area schools have tended to create rather artificial conditions, which retard real growth along natural lines of development. In certain States educational authorities have understandably looked upon Basic schools and Basic Training schools as institutions kept in a kind of "quarantine" lest they should infect the non-Basic schools. Secondly, fanciful interpretations of Basic Education by educational authorities in certain States, notably in U.P., and West Bengal, have led Basic education along a blind lane, leading nowhere. For instance, in U.P., all elementary schools are called Basic, in West Bengal "productive" work which is of the very essence of Basic education, is either discounted or discarded in favour of "creative" work. It is conveniently forgotten that productivity and correlated teaching are fundamental to Basic Education. So what is being attempted in these States is nothing but a caricature of Basic education which is masquerading for "activity" schools. Thus there is mis-direction and mis-interpretation of Basic education at the highest administrative level. Thirdly, there is a dearth of really competent teachers of Basic education because short course training and re-training courses are considered effective instruments of training in Basic education. Some of the principal defects of Basic Training schools and colleges in almost all the States are: Understressing of productive work, too much of text-book teaching, too little correlated teaching, little attempt made to correlate with the natural and social environments of pupils, defective study of child psychology and lack of proper understanding of the concept that learning can only take place through pupil-activity in real life-situations, no integration of subjects of study, no research worth the name

in Basic Training colleges, etc. Fourthly, there are some good Basic schools in the different States but many bad ones, e.g., in the compact areas of Bombay, Mysore, Kerala, West Bengal, etc., Basic schools in Bihar, Orissa, Madras and Basic Training schools in Bombay are generally better. It is a patent fact that the all-round development of personality and general mental equipment and tastes, aptitudes, etc., as a result of 8 years' integrated Basic education in these States, have been manifestly superior to those of an equal period of schooling in the traditional type of schools. It is also true that in these States Basic schools have really been transferred into community centres with the result that the usual attitude of hostility or indifference of the public has changed into one of active sympathy, support and co-operation. It has also been seen that Basic schools in some areas of these three States have led to the revival and re-orientation of local culture. Whenever a Basic school has been started, it has brought about a change for the better. Children have been found to be more alert, practical, inquisitive and resourceful; their character and habits have changed. Basic teachers properly trained, invariably make better teachers who are more imaginative and resourceful and more ready to keep pace with the fresh demands of a new situation. Fifthly, Basic education has not been dovetailed, co-ordinated and integrated with higher education. Senior Basic school leavers are consequently uncertain about their future career. Integration has not been attempted in the lower stages. In some States, e.g., in West Bengal and U.P. it is still confined to 5 years (Junior Basic). In one State complete 8-graded elementary schools exist with only 5-grades converted into Basic. There must be continuous education for 8 years without a break for Basic schools to be of any lasting benefit to the nation. There must be post-Basic schools as the next step to Senior Basic schools in the educational ladder leading up to the rural University. It is true that post-Basic schools have been

started in Bihar, Orissa, etc., but no decision has been taken yet to permit the post-Basic school-leaver to enter appropriate courses of study in the Universities.

The Government of India Assessment Committee Report is a timely pointer to the present inadequacies, defects, mis-conceptions and plague-spots of Basic education in India. It is time all State Governments at the highest administrative level realised the true implications of Basic education and implemented effective measures for reform. It is time also to think of some alternative crafts as educational media for Basic schools in towns to fit them into the structure of the industrialized communities, now being evolved as a direct result of the implementation of India's Five-Year Plans. It has to be recognised that correlation with the natural and social environments of pupils will vary according to changes in the social milieu and, as such, schemes of correlation as between the craft and subject-matter should be worked out by different State Governments somewhat on the lines indicated by Bombay Government in the little pamphlet issued by its Education Directorate for official use. If the Basic system is at all to be universalised as the accepted pattern of future elementary education in India it is time Government of India dovetailed Basic education with higher education throughout India.

In spite of obvious defects Basic education in India has justified its worth and existence as a suitable pattern of education for democracy. In this changing world of today where a thinking and educated democracy is essential, people with initiative, self-reliance, creativity and the power of self-discipline are required more than ever and the nation's Basic schools—Junior and Senior—must, therefore, develop a new sense of values involved in the exercise of all those valuable qualities which they are developing in the nation's children and pursue them relentlessly and with vision and courage in spite of uniformed adverse criticisms, advanced from time to time by reactionaries and die-hards.





# THE CRISIS IN ARAB LAND

By PROF. S. C. JAIN,

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THE Arab land is in turmoil. The myth of the sleeping East has been exploded by a series of current events succeeding one another with lightning rapidity—the Egyptian revolution, the Persian oil question, the Syrian-Egyptian federation, the military coup in Iraq and more recently the events in Lebanon and Jordan. Although the immediate issues at stake might be the withdrawal of foreign troops from the soil of Lebanon and Jordan, the recognition of Arab nationalism by Western powers, the settlement of oil question, and a satisfactory conclusion of Palestine issue, yet a deeper analysis reveals that the causes of these tensions are rooted in the historical experiences of the Arab people, their own diagnosis and outlook about their problems, and the great crisis of the civilization itself which has led to the polarisation of world into ideologically hostile camps. It might be in the interest of a stable, secure and prosperous peace in the Arab land that the truer causes of tensions and instabilities are recognised and acted upon to mitigate the threat of a global conflagration.

## THE CRADLE OF CIVILIZATION

The Arab land has been the home of the civilizations of the fertile crescent which gave the world the rudiments of language, the science of Astronomy, a rich tradition of primal democracy and a heritage of cosmological legends enshrining in a symbolic form the philosophy of basic relationship of man with the larger collectivity and the Universe itself. The cultural heritage passed through the Judaeco-Christian civilization and contributed to the emergence of the Greek civilization both of which were to leave an indelible mark upon the Western thought and culture.

## ISLAM EXPANSIVE, ADOPTIVE AND DEFENSIVE

After a few centuries of oblivion, the basic elements of the old civilizations were revived by the birth of Islam. The affirmation of social solidarity and brotherhood under the common paternity of God who was declared One and

Self-same, the endorsement of faith in his Prophet, the cosmological theory and details represented the revision of ancient heritage in the light of the contemporary pressures and character of Arab Society. To secure the unity amongst the Arab people such elements as idolatry, polytheism, etc., were rejected. The arousal of communal soul gave unprecedented strength to the people and released an irresistible energy for expansion. Islam became militant, aggressive and intolerant. Its authoritarian, puritan and fanatical mood might have caused sharper counter-reactions of the cultures threatened with the challenge of self-preservation had it not been checkmated by the contributions of such creative thinkers of the Arab world like Avicenna, Averroes who tried to reformulate the doctrine and the tradition through the Aristotelian tools of rationality. Once again, the Arabs showed marked open-mindedness and adoptability which qualified them for handling the delicate commerce of ideas, arts, sciences and philosophies between the East and West.

However, by fifteenth century the vitality and adoptability had markedly shrunk. The force of tradition was becoming the chief form of securing conformity and preserving the original cultural forms when a wave of reversal had begun. The decay had broken the resistance to withstand the counter-pressures of a civilisation which was recovering its vitality and gathering the elements of its strength to meet the challenge against the right of self-existence.

## CULTURAL STRESSES UNDER THE PERIOD OF WESTERN MANDATE

The Turkish domination of the Arab world for a period of four centuries had not forced radical changes in the traditional pattern of Arab life except quite indirectly through the creation of a privileged class of Sheikhs closely allied to and identified with the interests of the Constantinople government. However, the collapse of Ottoman Empire after the conclusion of First World War brought the pres-

asures of a rapidly-growing technocratic civilization close to the doors of the Arabs. The scramble for the booties of War which resulted in the establishment of French mandate over Syria and Palestine and British mandate over Iraq and Egypt did not signify merely a political storm which was to have passed away as rapidly as it came. Nor were the objectives of newly-entrenched powers—of course, in the name of Democracy and a Civilizing mission—merely the pursuit of glory which shines in the extended limits of an Empire and the flow of revenues from a vanquished state. It was the impact of a civilization which was becoming increasingly self-conscious of its powers and was growing enormously greedy and acquisitive having learnt the techniques of organised exploitation of wealth and human resources. A parochial, secular nationalism blatantly irresponsible to the moral principles, and bolstered by a high degree of economic selfishness and technocratic achievements stared in the face of an old oriental civilization on its defensive and growing grim with the dreadful prospects of extinction.

The first tragic blow to the staggering people was delivered by the mandatory powers when they chose to freeze the administrative divisions of Iraq, Syria, Saudi Arabia and subdivisions of Lebanon and Jerusalem (called Vilayat and Sanjaq respectively under the Turkish rule) into permanent political divisions, working under different political systems. To pacify the expansive designs of Abdullah with his eyes upon Syria and designs of an Arabia united under a single crown, the British created a further puppet state of Trans-Jordania. The Arabs expected independence after the conclusion of the First World War as a mark of the recognition of their efforts for the cause of the Allies but received mandatory status, the division of Arab land and seeds of discord and disunity in return. The foreign rule again succeeded in creating a privileged class, closely identified with the interests of the foreign rulers and trained after the manners of their overlord. This widened the gulf of estrangement between the Arab people themselves.

After the successful prospecting of petroleum by the thirties, the exploitation of the oil

resources brought an undreamt amount of wealth and led to a marked improvement of the means of communication, building of new schools and hospitals and provision of other material facilities, the characteristic gifts of the Western civilization in which it still prides itself. English and French education created a band of impatient young men, imbued with Western ideals and dazzled with its progress. They felt suffocated under the closed rigid and unprogressive social system with which they had to work while the acceptance of inferiority status in relation to the class of foreigners and privileged ones in their own land hurt their self-pride deeply.

#### GROWTH OF NATIONALISM, REFORMISM AND XENOPHOBIA

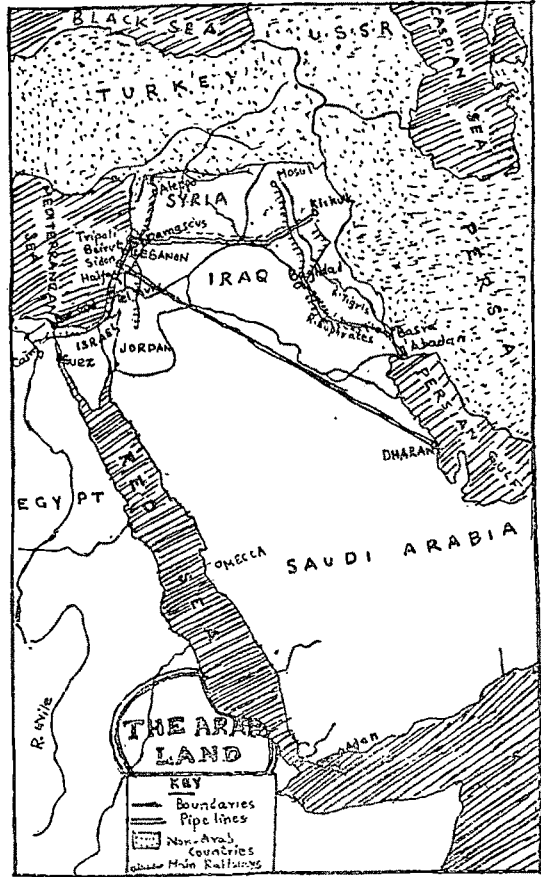
This so-called effendi class was the chief vehicle of the new outlook. While the exploitation of petroleum brought unprecedented amount of wealth in the land, it tended to increase the gulf between the rich and the poor by placing at the disposal of the former the highly organised and much thorougher means of amassing wealth. The attitudes of the privileged class in arrogantly denouncing the native capacity and talent and giving discriminative treatment in sharing the fruits of civilization stung the growing consciousness of self-respect and rudely shocked its faith in the foreign powers in ultimately granting the Arabs the right of national self-determination. This coupled with the handling of the Palestine issue roused in it a furious rage against the domination of foreign powers. It was no difficult to convince the common masses that all their difficulties, poverty and backward conditions flowed from the alien interests in their land, interests which had carefully nurtured divisions amongst the people to prevent and weaken their united resistance and had ruthlessly exploited its natural resources, draining the wealth away to the shores of imperial countries. While the masses suffered from abject poverty and hunger, palaces were being raised and while a few rolled in luxuries the common man sweated and toiled under the scorching heat of the sun.

This sense of inadequacy and frustration had its internal targets—an unprogressive so

cial structure which enchained a whole people with Tradition, divided it into exclusive communities, opiated it with false and perverted notions and tolerated the crushing poverty and abominably inferior status of women amidst the pretensions of a high-flown philosophy of life. To assimilate the progressive elements of modern civilization, its technology, its free institutions, its philosophy and practice of individual liberty and equality and unite the country from exclusive divisions a complete overhaul of the existing society and break-off from the past appeared necessary. A new society based on the principles of secular nationalism, adopting the democratic structure and values and raising the standard of living by the judicious use of western science appeared to be the natural way, the way Turkey and Japan had gone.

Another form of response to meet the new challenge came in the form of reconstruction and readoption of the Tradition in the light of the needs of the new age. Conceding to the superiority of the western culture so far as the technology and science was concerned the new movement soon detected its virus—the luxuriant living, exhibitionist tendencies, moral irresponsibility and so on. In the beginning, the new form consisted in the defence of the old system. Through a superb effort at torturing the texts and a series of brilliant generalisations, it directed its energies in proving that the newly-valued forms were contained in the original Islam. Gradually, it became assertive and chauvinistic till it took the extreme course of propounding old puritan ideals and traditions as basis for social reconstruction. The atavistic reversion was not an unexpected form of response. It was the mechanism of self-defence of a culture which had been threatened with the extinction and obliteration by the onslaught of new forms and ideals. It was an unhealthy response, nevertheless, because it had obstinately refused to accept what was valuable in the new culture and assimilate the same in the growing vigour of its health.

Under both the circumstances, hatred against the foreigner and his way of life, suspicion and xenophobia were the natural outcome. The policy of double-dealing in good



many cases confirmed the Arab fears rather too hastily, that the Western powers were bent upon the perennial subjection, dismemberment, impoverishment and even obliteration of the Arab race. The large-scale distribution of arms, and incitement to the activities of sabotage during the War period had paved way for the growth of a terroristic movement which was carefully manipulated and displayed against foreign imperialism, when it appeared to delay the process of Arab liberation as a part of its solemn promises given during the course of war for siding with the Allied efforts. Strong campaigns of hatred, huge demonstration and the retaliative fury born of repressive measures shook the Arabland. The French had to depart from Lebanon and Syria under humiliating conditions for which the role of British Embassy in Egypt and Iraq was not less responsible. The British followed the French.

The departure of the last battalion of the



foreign troops, however, did not bring about the abatement of hatred against the Western powers. The Western powers had committed themselves for a Jewish homeland in Palestine, of course without prejudicing the rights of the local people. The Balfour declaration, under which this guarantee was given, came to be interpreted as the Western support for a separate State of Israel to be carved out of the home of the Arabs. As the war receded, the Zionist terrorist organisations became active till their sabotaging zeal found enough scope for wrecking the land synchronous with the withdrawal of the last regiment of foreign troops from Palestine. The American support and sympathies were openly for the Jews. British neutrality only weakened the Arab cause inasmuch as it stopped the supply of machinery and weapons needed to keep the British-model war-machinery into gear. Lack of organisation and co-ordination was keenly felt as a shortcoming against the Zionist resistance which was highly organised, well-planned and ingeniously directed. Joint action under Arab League was planned, but due to lack of full co-ordination, ill-prepared character of steps, self-seeking role of politicians, British neutrality and similar other reasons, the joint resistance to the Zionist movement grievously failed. As the frustration mounted, mutual recrimination between the military and the political leaders began. In part it was deflected upon the foreigners who were believed to have connived and aided the ruin of Arab resistance. The anti-West feeling was at its climax.

#### THE DECADE OF COUPS AND REVOLUTIONS

The new wave swept aside the religious control. An alternative bond of national solidarity was slow to emerge. Self-seeking, corruption, nepotism, and sectional outlook ran high amongst the politicians and amongst the power-ridden class which seriously damaged the prestige of newly-installed democratic institutions. The new Constitutions themselves were a mixture of secular institutions and traditional practices placed in juxtaposition to each other. One could witness the phenomena of a Shariat Law existing side by side with the national secular law, the former being reformed

and revised and the jurisdiction divided between the two, the national courts existing side by side with the religious councils, a theocratic declaration co-existing with the enunciation of the principles of secular democracy and a number of other distinctive features. Given the proper appreciation of the spirit of the new institutions and a sense of fair-play, the new Constitutions might have succeeded in meeting the aspirations of the Arab people. However, the hopes of bringing about social changes through the new Constitutional means receded further, as the Opposition lost hopes for a fair chance because the party in power shunned fair play, manipulated the election-machine and took to other dubious devices to keep it saddled in power. The peasantry being illiterate, unconcerned about the working of the new power-machine and passivised through regular subjections under threats and pressures was unable to apply the self-corrections in a peaceful constitutional manner which Democratic order implied. The disarmed and emaciated mass could hardly bring about the revolution in the power-structure so long as the military continued to give solid support to the entrenched regime. The middle-class effendi, or the semi-skilled labour could foment discontent and formulate it but the odds of an organised military force, well-served with the blessings of technology, were heavily against the virtually unarmed and defenceless uprisings. Only the alienation of the military class from the fold of the ruling aristocracy could bring about the change.

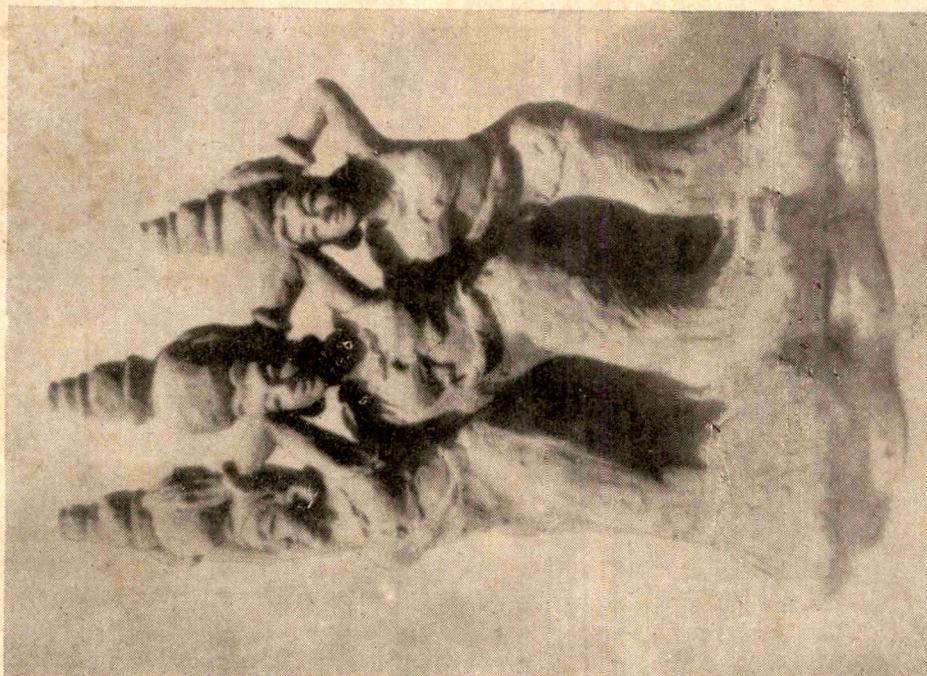
The young military leader, drawn from the educated middle class like lawyers, teachers, dissatisfied with their own professions, was ambitious and had sympathies with the people of his land. In his clubs, he discussed the luxurious living of the ruling aristocracy, the plight of the people, the incompetent and rotten leadership at the top and the difference, a clean, honest and people-oriented administration might make. He was being approached for leading the country which would hail him as the liberator and saviour. He was not aloof from politics inasmuch as he was courted by the rival claimants to the power. The precipitating hour came when the politicians tried to escape the stigma of public opinion caused by the fiasco of joint Arab resistance against Zionist terrorism by



ORIGINALITY IN ART

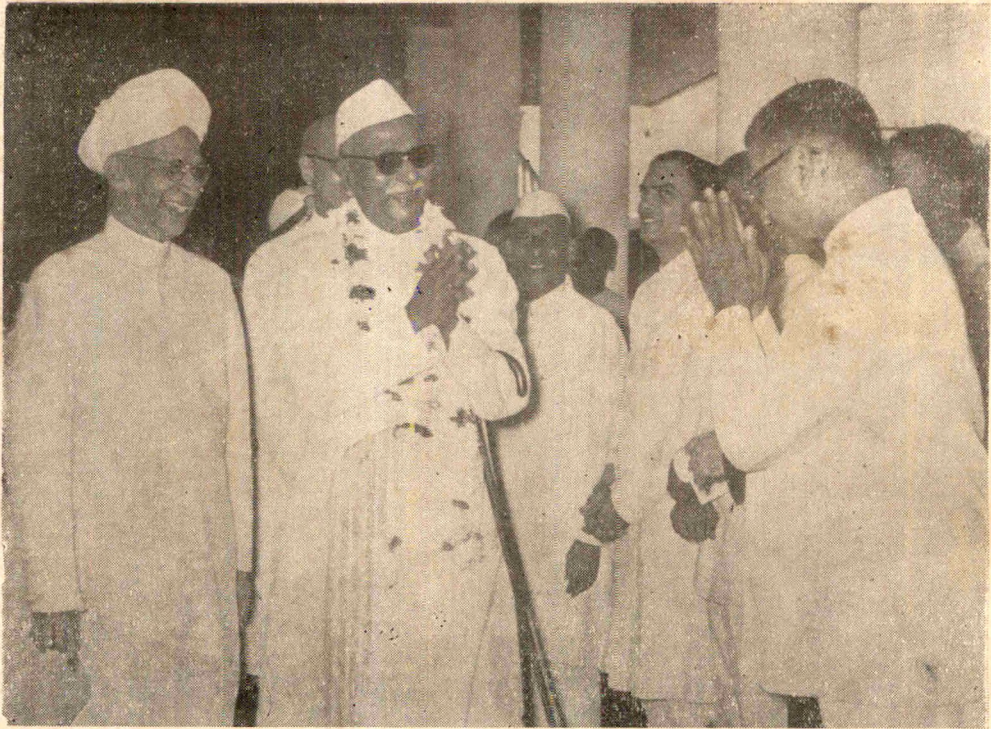


Buddha  
By Sudhir Khastgir

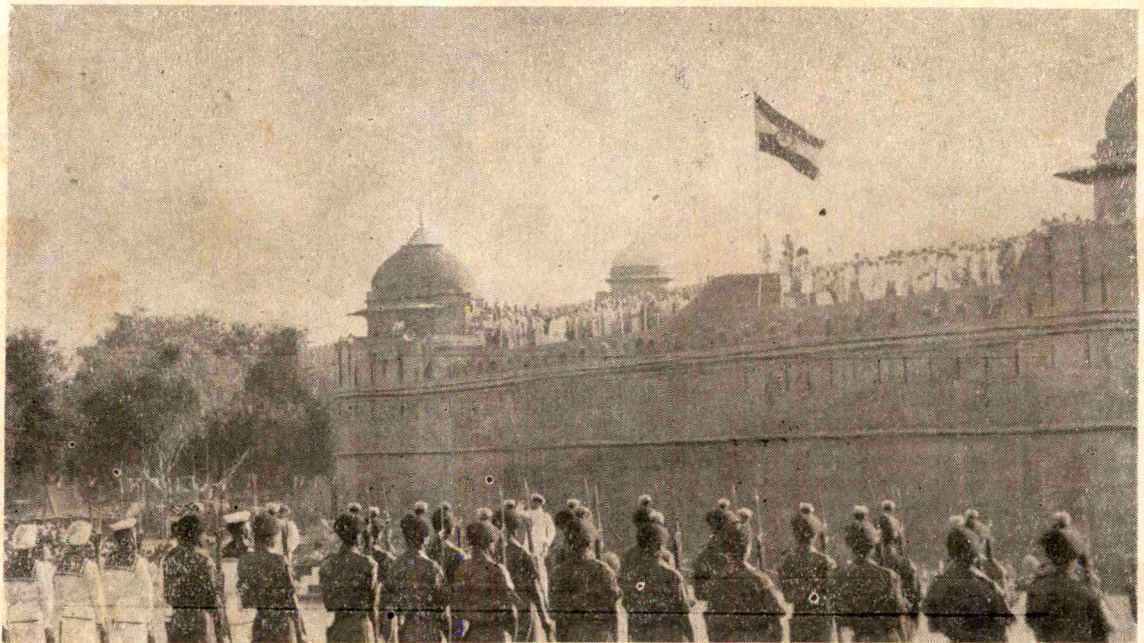


Milk Maids (*terra-cotta*)  
By Sudhir Khastgir





Members of Parliament wishing bon voyage to the President before his departure to Japan



The Prime Minister unfurls the National Flag on the ramparts of the historic Red Fort in the capital on August 15, 1958



shifting the blame upon the military leaders who realised that the self-seeking role of politicians in the mishandling of strategy had brought utter disgrace to the Arab cause and its people.

A series of military coups and revolutions gave the indications of the events to follow. After a series of military coups Shisakli was brought into power in Syria, to be succeeded by Kuwatly after four years of absolutism. On the morn of 23rd July, 1952, Egypt awoke to find itself under the tutelege of the military revolutionary council led by Gen. Naguib. With the deposition of King Farouk, an era of monarchy came to a close with virtually very little hopes of its revival. Mussadique's bold attempt at the nationalisation of Iranian oil and stubborn resistance by the affected foreign interests sent a wave of anti-imperialist agitation amongst the Arabs. Another wave brought Zahidi and Nasser into power in Persia and Egypt respectively. The success of the daring attempt made by Nasser to nationalise Suez Canal even in the teeth of armed opposition from some Great Powers—although a sharply reacting world opinion in favour of Egypt had substantially contributed to the withdrawal of British, French and Israel forces—sent a crescendo of approbation for his bold anti-West action. His leadership was generally looked upon with optimism in the cause of Arab unity which became much more real with the Union of Syria with Egypt in the form of a new State 'United Arab Republic'. A sudden revolution in Iraq which brought into power a regime sympathetic to the Nasserite doctrine and the ensuing gravity of troubles all over the Arab world showed the direction of the new wind. The Lebanon trouble results from the resistance of a non-Arab majority, created artificially through political manipulation on the part of mandate-holding powers, from being swept aside by the Pan-Arabic movement. Not only the power-structure in Jordan and other Arab countries has been deeply shaken but the defence pacts like MEDO have been subjected to tremendous pressure by the growing feeling of Arab unity and the Nasserite doctrine of positive neutralism which seeks to carve out an independent place for itself as distinguished from an alignment with either of the power-blocs.

#### THE PETROL-POLITICS, MID-LAND, MID-AIR STRATEGY AND IDEOLOGICAL PRESSURES

The discovery of petroleum reserves and its importance in running the peace-time industry and war-time machinery immensely increased the importance of the area and invited some more foreign interests including the U.S.A. The Middle East produces as much as 18 per cent of the total world output of petroleum and is known to contain over 50 per cent reserves. Western Europe, Africa, and South Asia draw 85 per cent of their requirements from this source. The world consumption has expanded 8 times the level of 30 years ago. The per-gallon cost in the Middle East is much less than that in U.S.A.; because the per-well output in the Middle East is 500 times the corresponding per-well output of U.S.A. It was, therefore, natural that Great Powers should be interested in maintaining their hold upon an area of such a strategic and economic importance.

The smooth running of the Petroleum supplies involves co-operation among the 5 Arab countries through which the pipe-line passes and a number of foreign companies. The political pressures and the financial exigencies of these countries play a considerable part in the oil-politics of the Middle East. The Muscovite pressure from the North, the rise of nationalism in Arab countries, the Palestine issue have further complicated the matters culminating in the repudiation of the agreements, confiscations, breakdown of normal work and severe damage to machinery forcing down closure many times. The West has big stakes in a continued supply of oil for obvious reasons. Besides, its capital investments in oil run in billions of dollars and its profits millions of dollars per day.

U.S.A. is, however, chiefly interested in the Middle East for strategic reasons. With the stopping of the Russian advance in Western Europe, U.S.A. fears the Soviet expansionist designs in Middle and South-East Asia. The Soviet intentions could be gleaned from the demands made by Molotov in 1940 and the common objectives of Russian foreign policy since the days of Ivan the terrible. Molotov had asked for the concessions of Dardenelles, Constantinople, the oil fields south of Baku and an outlet in the Persian Gulf from Hitler. The

Russian influence in the Middle East may set heavy odds for the defence of South-East Asia and Africa. It may even strangle the Western Europe of its strategic materials in the case of the assumption of hostilities by cutting off oil and supplies from the South-East. Even for the purpose of self-defence the existence of a hostile influence in Arab land is a threat to the security of U.S.S.R. for the Russian oil region, the Caucasus sites of atomic bombs production, important hydro-electric power stations and the Ukrainian coal and steel complex are all within the hitting distance for a would-be aggressor. From the view-point of land strategy the Middle East provides excellent positions for amphibious landing in order to attack the Soviet mainland through a thrust in Bulgaria. Besides the Middle East air-space being centrally located is in a controlling position for air-routes between Europe, Africa, South Asia and powers north of the Middle East. It is an all-weather year-round air-route. To thwart the Russian designs for a sphere of influence in the Middle East, to which the weak, strife-torn and virtually defenceless Arab nations are vulnerable, the U.S.A. has forged out collective security arrangements like MEDO and SEATO and linking the same with NATO through common membership and other bilateral arrangements. To prop up the defensive capacities of the MEDO members and other partners in the defensive alliances sponsored by U.S.A., the latter country has extended enormous dollar aid and technical assistance to modernise the defence equipment and save the staggering economies from collapse.

The threat of military encirclement grew serious as U.S.A. secured military bases from some of the MEDO countries. The U.S.S.R. engaged itself in a series of cold-war moves to counter-act the position of advantage gained by the U.S.A. It sought to achieve this by bolstering a feeling of strong antipathy against the Western powers through an alliance with the nationalist cause, by encouraging the cause of positive neutralism and by fomenting the discontent against the pro-Western rulers by using as a tool a fanatic, leftist labour-effendi movement. It had its tools ready at hand—the jobless unsettled refugees for whom any change could be for better only, the educated women

who found it impossible for themselves to reconcile their status with the medieval social structure, the educated students who had really no productive opportunity in an economically static society, the half-educated, semi-skilled labour that was allured by the promises of a much better deal in the Communist regime than it could expect within the existing socio-economic structure of the society. The peasant, however, was still loyal to the traditional social values and its institutions despite volatile leftist propaganda to sever him. Besides, the Soviet diplomacy tried to overcome the resistance of a suspicious attitude against Communism by sending cultural missions and groups of Muslim pilgrims carefully selected from its Muslim republics. These behaved ostensibly like devout Muslims, attending their prayers and religious functions and trying to convince their Arab brethren, that the Communist U.S.S.R. provided full liberty in religious matters. The objectives of moves like this, attended by a loud fanfare of publicity, were usually to allay the fear that the materialistic and atheistic approach was inconsistent with the Arab way of life for which the faith in one God was the central theme. The Soviet indirect offensive also took advantage of financial crises by constantly playing the theme of the inequity of social order and appalling poverty in the Arab land through its own press and radio, through the aid and advice to the local Communist parties led by Moscow-trained leaders.

The arousal of xenophobic nationalism was bound to undermine the Western influence while the fomentation of discontent was designed to produce serious crevices in the existing social structure. A nation looking for stability, security and new values of social order outside both these approaches was more likely to see in Communism an effective alternate for rebuilding the structure of human relationship. Besides the careful infiltration of the Communists in the nationalistic movements and taking over the nucleus of its terroristic cells could deflect the same towards the desired purposes at the opportune moment.

The Soviet policy also allied itself—and still continues to do so—with neutralist leaders who fear the dreadful consequences of the pos-

sibility of a conflict between the two power-blocs and seek an independent line without alignment with any of the power-blocs. The position has its risks and advantages. The risk is that they may be left without any powerful friends and the advantages are those concessions which a marginal position like this is likely to bring. The refusal of Egypt to join MEDO, the union with Syria, the possibilities of reversal in the policy of Iraq with the revolutionary change in the government and the favourable Saudi Arabian attitude has resulted in carving out of the Middle East a sizeable neutralist area which seeks to pursue an independent line. The U.S.S.R. has precipitated the matter further by supplying modern arms and jet planes to the Egypt which has caused an arms-race between Egypt-led countries and Israel, Lebanon and other MEDO countries—all at high tension with the former. Once again the Arabs are finding themselves being handled like pawns on the chess-board of global strategy in the power-game between the two giant systems.

#### THE CHOICE OF THE PATH

The causes of instability and turmoil in the Middle East have been traced to the several contributory causes—the meddling in Arab affairs on the part of some Western powers in the balance of power struggle, the impact of Western technological civilization with its induced thirst for industrialisation, the upsurge of Arab nationalism, the impact of libertarian civilization with its forms but without its norms, the pressure from the egalitarian Communist outlook, the arrest of cultural growth for the last four centuries, etc. It depends upon the Arab people themselves and the consent of the world opinion as to the choice of a suitable path to ensure a peaceful, prosperous and progressive civilization in the Arab land—once a cradle of civilizations.

The fundamental problem for Arabs—and for other people too—is to gather the technological elements of the civilization into a meaningful whole and base the same upon the foundations of a correct view of relationship between the individual, the collectivity and the universe. The democratic solution with its emphasis upon the right of self-determination

for the individual and the collectivity and the assurance of the right to cultivate individual differences has been deflected towards an atomistic egoism of persons, parties and nations, clamorous of rights upon each other, but failing to cultivate consciously and adequately the obligations and sense of responsibility for mutual fulfillment. The process may head towards endless squabbling, mutual acrimony and blaming till society realises the danger of disintegration under the pressure of self-seeking individuals and their selfish collectivities which are largely based upon the programmes of common economic interests and fed and sustained by a threat to overthrow and be overthrown by rival parties and powers. The totalitarian solution, whether of Communist or Fascist type, with its affirmation of the solidarity of the individual with the collectivity, class or nation, may enforce so strict a conformity as to muzzle the play of the forces leading to progressive reconstruction through the law of individual variation which Nature intends to use for the realisation of the deeper purposes behind the evolution of the species of *Homo Sapiens*. The cult of nationalism, the way which Turkey and Japan chose and the one which is attracting the other Arab countries too may tempt the Arab leaders sever their emotional attachment from the past in their youthful ardour for building a new people out of the foundations of a new culture, more progressive and more adoptive. This task, on consideration, must be found infested with insuperable difficulties for the factors that go into the making of the community-language, common experiences of historical comradeship, traditions, a distinctive way of living, feeling and acting in some characteristic situations and so on must make it impossible to insulate the past from wielding its influence over the neo-cultural foundations. If this process is pushed too further, a chronic amount of insecurity and a feeling of meaninglessness which too sharp a break from continuity involves may haunt the people unless they choose to depend too much upon the experiences of the people who have already learnt to live in accordance with the postulates of the new culture. A process of imitation, even blind aping, may ensue giving a momentary satisfaction to the initiated few till something deep within the thinker himself



calls aloud in a rebellious note: "Are we intended to be a carbon copy of this or that culture?"

The way which the reformist movement has gone does not seem to give a satisfying solution to the problem till it gathers the elements of individuality in the culture and integrates the technological elements of the twentieth century civilization and the new norms within its outlook. A religion arrested in growth for centuries cannot hold together the society through the simple force of traditional inertia and conservatism against the powerful onslaughts of the progress-hungry forces, unless it is renovated to assimilate the new gains which the human race has achieved in its march through the centuries.

A neutralism motivated by the negative fears of being crushed under the weight of power-blocs, or the selfish motives of seeking concessions through the careful manipulation of its position and avoid all risks and responsibilities attendant upon such gains may hardly survive the force of world opinion unless it justifies itself by the necessity of preserving and promoting a way of living which if allowed to flower would make useful contribution in solving the riddle of existence.

The bolstering of an egoistic, negative and xenophobe nationalism may serve its original purpose of uniting the people under the stress of a common external threat and displacing the aggression born of frustration though only inadequately, but in the long run it must generate tensions and conflicts. By evading the real issues it may only postpone the day of severe catastrophe and by an obstinate refusal to accept what is new and fresh in the civilization it may only invite the days of anxieties when the past stocks of cultural experiences have run out or are inadequate to meet the current requirements without an open-minded commerce or borrowing.

The Arabs have been caught up by the acquisitive and mechanical outlook of the West expressed in that alluring phrase 'standard of living' and 'scientific planning for the use of resources and man-power.'

The religion of human brotherhood and

solidarity has to be based not upon a dogma—libertarian or egalitarian—supported precariously by the expansive and aggressive ego-forces but upon the deeper truths of human existence.

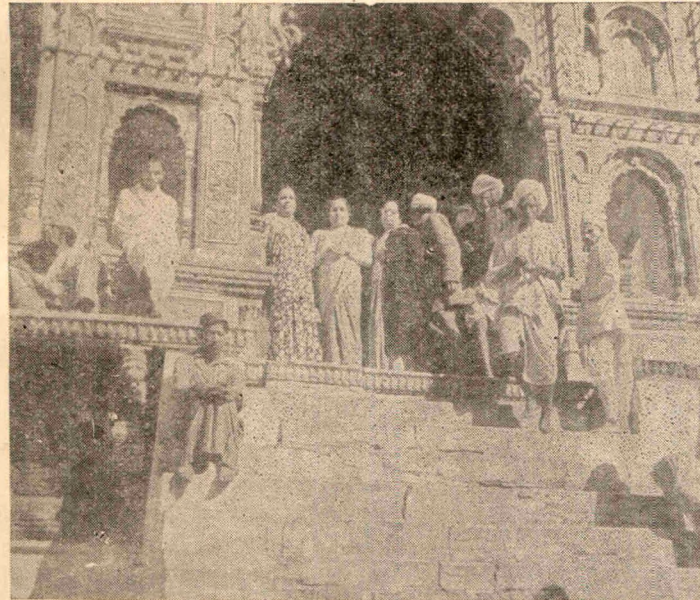
If this were an acceptable approach, the central problem for the Arab people—or for that reason other peoples too—is to identify its own individuality expressed in its millenium-old culture and develop the same as its own contribution to the secret strivings of the humanity and for that matter the Cosmic Nature. If that were accepted as a long-term task for a people, its energies have to be devoted to its achievements, avoiding alluring bye-paths and lanes and evaluating the situations in terms of the over-all objective accepting or rejecting this or that alternative with a more or less degree of emphasis but with eyes fixed upon the chief aim. The political bubbles or even financial exigencies may not be insuperable obstacles, provided a proper perspective is taken of the situation and the elements for emphasis are selected after careful evaluation. The establishment of free institutions may be found desirable to liberate thought without which the task of discovery is rendered futile and some form of economic planning and effective organisation may be needed to gather the material elements of the culture and release energies for dealing with more subtle problems. But they need not be regarded as ends in themselves, with an air of sanctity attached to them. There has to be modifications and recastings in the vehicles of the civilization to accommodate the growth of its spirit. It would be repeating the mistakes of the old—exchanging the shackles of tradition with those of meaningless conformity to modernity. Even the presence of Israel need not cause consternation for the Arab land is replete with the tales of the genii who have shown marked ability to integrate the elements of a novel culture and establish the liberal traditions of cultural exchange. Let us hope that Arab culture would recognise the central problem of gathering the elements of its cultural health and solve the problem of living with their human and material environment more successfully.



## TRIP TO BADRINATH

By D. V. REGE, i.c.s. (Retd.)

BADRINATH is one of the four holiest places in India, the other three being Rameshwar, Dwaraka and Jagannath Puri. It is situated in Uttarkhand, i.e., the Garhwal portion of the



Badrinath Temple

Himalayas which is considered as the Tapobhumi of India. This holy land has been hallowed with the association of numerous sages in the past who had their hermitages here and practised austerities to attain divine knowledge. Some of the later Vedic hymns and major portions of the Upanishadas were composed in this land. In his *gupha*, i.e., cave at Mana, near Badrinath the great sage Vyas divided the Vedas into four parts and compiled the various Puranas including the Mahabharata. It is, therefore, naturally the ambition of every devout Hindu to visit the place described in the scriptures as heaven on earth once in his life to escape from the recurring cycle of births and deaths.

Our party of nine including two children and two servants left Indore on the 15th June and reached Rishikesh on the 17th. Next morning, we left for Shrinagar (66 miles) by bus and halted there for the night in the Kali Kamliwala *dharmshala* which is a commodious double-storied building on the bank of the Alaknanda. Unlike other *dharmshalas* or *chattis*, it has a bath-room and lavatories. On the way is Devaprayag on the confluence of the Alaknanda and Bhagirathi and the united stream is henceforth known as the Ganga. Here Shri Ramachandra is said to have practised penance for a thousand years to get rid of the sin of killing Ravan, a Brahman. Shrinagar was the old capital of Tehri State till 1803 when it was ceded to the British along with the eastern half of the State for their help in driving back the Gurkhas. The famous



Nilkantha



Kamaleshwar temple dedicated to Shiva is here. Pindar which comes from the Pindar glacier. It is said that while worshipping Shiva with a Here famous Karna of the Mahabharata is said thousand blue lotuses, Vishnu found one lotus to have performed austerities in honour of the missing which the god had secretly removed to sun god. Then comes Nandprayag where the



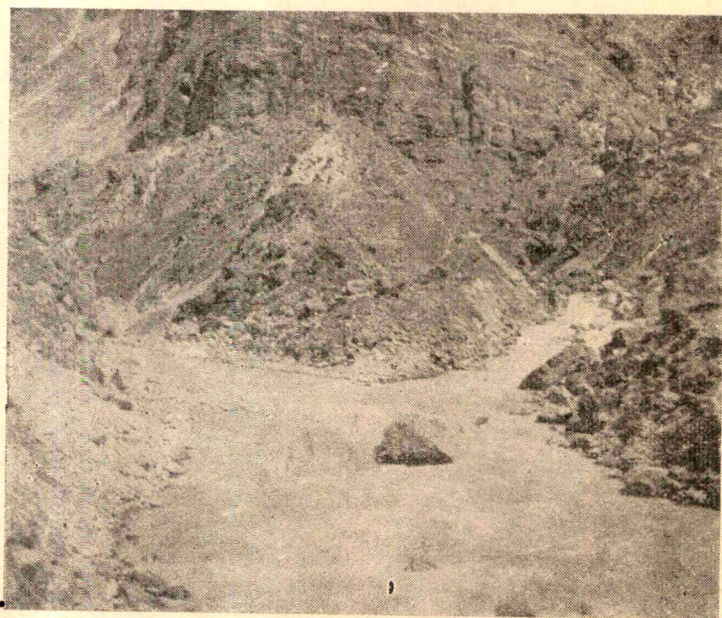
Badrinath Puri

test his devotee. Vishnu supplied the missing lotus by offering one of his own lotus-like eyes and received the Sudarshan Chakra in appreciation of his devotion. Here we engaged for our luggage four Nepali porters who were proved to be troublesome. It is always better to engage porters at the bus terminus. We left Shrinagar at 5 A.M. next day and reached Pipalkoti (69 miles) by noon.

On the way is Rudraprayag on the junction of the Mandakini and Alaknanda. The road to Kedarnath (48 miles) branches from here and runs along the bank of the Mandakini. Fifteen miles from Rudraprayag is Gauchar which was the landing ground for the now-defunct 'Himalaya Airways Ltd.' Six miles beyond is Karnaprayag situated at the meeting place of the Alaknanda and Karnaganga or

Mandakini joins Alaknanda. The place is locally known as 'Kanasu', i.e., Kanvashrama and is associated with the romance of Dushyanta and Shākuntala.

We hired dandies for ladies and ponies for children at Pipalkoti through the Registration office and started our trek to Badrinath, a distance of 37 miles, in the afternoon. The road is motorable for 18 miles more, i.e., up to Joshimath, but the rickety bridge on the Alaknanda at Belakuchi, six miles from Pipalkoti, is good enough for jeeps and small cars but not for buses. Buses ply up to Belakuchi, but on that day the road was blocked by a landslide due to rains. We, therefore, had to follow the



Keshavprayag

footpath and reached Garudganga in the evening where we stayed in the fairly good Kali Kamliwala Dharmshala. We started early



next morning and reached the dreaded Patalganga in a couple of hours. For a mile and a half the path runs over a huge landslide and the boulders above appear to be so perilously placed as if they would fall down if one just 'coughed a little.' The rivulet meanders about a thousand feet below, justifying its name. This was the most thrilling and dangerous part of our journey and we heaved a sigh of relief when we successfully negotiated it. The road *via* Belakuchi bypasses Patalganga. After halting for lunch at the Gulabkoti Inspection House, we pushed along and reached Joshimath at about 9 P.M. after covering a distance of 15 miles during the day. It was raining and we had some difficulty in finding the Inspection House.

Joshimath or Jyotirmath, 6,105 feet high, is one of the four monasteries established by the great Shankaracharya who revived Hinduism in India and died at Kedarnath at the early age of 32 in the eighth century. When the temple at Badrinath is closed during the winter, the festival image of the god is brought here for worship. Joshimath has several temples including the famous Narsimha temple. The image of Narsimha is of black marble and the left hand is withered. It is said that when the hand will be broken due to accumulation of sins, the Nara and Narayan mountains which flank the Badrinath temple will meet blocking the way to the temple and that the new place of worship will be Bhavishya Badri, about eight miles to the north-east of Joshimath. We left next morning at 10 after a light meal for Pandukeshwar (9 miles). The usual rule in the Himalayas is to start in the small hours of the morning before sunrise and to reach the destination by about 10 to avoid the scorching sun. But we could not follow the wholesome rule as the ladies and the children in the party could not just manage to get up very early in the morning. Fortunately we were not much troubled by the sun as the weather was generally cloudy and the altitude beyond Joshimath is high. There is a steep descent for about a mile and half from Joshimath to Vishnuprayag, where the Alaknanda and Dhauli meet in a boisterous embrace, causing the waters to boil and fume on the rocky bed. Pandukeshwar is

associated with King Pandu who stayed here with his two wives and it was here that the five Pandavas were born. It has two very old temples said to have been built by them. One of them contained four valuable copper plates which are now kept in the Badrinath temple. We left for Badrinath (10 miles) on the 22nd morning and halted at Hanuman Chatti for rest. There is a fairly steep ascent of nearly 4,000 feet from here to Badrinath which is 10,244 feet high and it is advisable to hire ponies here to climb the ascent. About a mile before Badrinath, when the ascent is over, one gets a view of the temple from a spot called 'Devadarshini dwar'. We stayed in Badrinath for three nights as enjoined in the scriptures. The Inspection House overlooks the town and temple of Badrinath and commands a glorious view of the peak of Nilkantha, 21,640 feet high, which looks like 'a magnificent pyramid of frozen silver against the limpid blue sky'.

The present temple is 'painfully' modern and has been recently electrified. In the *sanc-tum sanctorum*, along with the principal image, are the images of the two brothers, Nara and Narayan, Narad, Ganesh, Kuber and Uddhava. The golden canopy of the temple was given by Maharani Ahalya Bai Holkar of Indore. The Rawal or priest is always a Nambudri Brahman appointed by the Ruler of Tehri State. He alone can touch the image, unlike in Kedarnath where the pilgrims traditionally embrace the *Linga*. Below the temple, about 75 feet away, are the three *kunds* or cisterns, *viz.*, Taptakund, Naradkund and Suryakund. The Taptakund which is served by a sulphur spring has a temperature of 129° F and is close to the icy waters of the Alaknanda. It is surrounded by the five *shilas* or rocks named after Narad, Varash, Narsimha, Garud and Markandeya. About a furlong from the temple is Brahmakapal where the fifth head of Brahma cut off by Shiva is said to have fallen. Here, if oblations are offered to the manes, there is no need to give them again.

Unlike Kedarnath, Badri Narayana is a creation of Shri Shankaracharya. It is said that when he visited the place, he had a vision in his dream that an idol was lying immersed in the Naradkund. He took it out and installed



it as Badri Narayana, i.e., Vishnu. As it was under water for years, it has lost its features, as can be seen when it is bathed in the morning before being clothed in ceremonial dress. It is in the *padmasana* pose and is unlike the usual Vishnu image; it looks more like an image of Buddha or Shiva. The name of the place is Badrinath while the deity is called Badri Narayana. In this part of the Himalayas, a place is invariably named after its deity, e.g., Kedarnath, Tunganath, Gopeshwar, etc. It is, therefore, clear that originally this was a Shaivite place of worship with Badrinath as the deity. The Bhagwat. Purana states that while shuffling his mortal coil, Shri Krishna told Uddhava to go to his Badarikashram,\* which was like the eighth heaven in this world.† The Lord of Badri, i.e., Badrinath is also described as having his seat amidst the five *shilas* mentioned above.\*\* There are no ber trees in Badrinath and they could not have been there before also as they cannot grow at this altitude. In a niche in the Taptakund which is situated amidst the five *shilas* is seen even today a cluster of 200-300 stone bers oozing water on a stone-*linga* below. There is, therefore, no doubt that the real Badrinath is in this niche in the Taptakund. Being in the Taptakund, the *abhisheka* on the *linga* is ensured even in winter when no worship of Badri Narayana is possible at Badrinath. During the heyday of Buddhism, there must have been a temple here dedicated to Lord Buddha and when that religion declined in India, the idol was apparently thrown in the neighbouring Naradkund by the Hindus. Later it was rescued by Shankaracharya and installed as Badri Narayana. It may be asked why Shankaracharya installed the image as Badri Narayana instead of Badrinath. Apart from the fact that Shiva was originally a non-Aryan god, he clearly wanted to create a centre of worship which would bring the Hindus and Buddhists together and named the Buddha image as Badri Narayana, i.e., Vishnu, who is supposed to have been born as Buddha in his ninth incarnation. That this image was origin-

ally of Buddha is also shown by the fact that when the idol is bathed in the morning, it is called *Nirvana Darshan*, as the word *Nirvana* is particularly associated with the Buddhist faith. Further, it is a place of pilgrimage for Tibetan Lamas and certain Tibetan monasteries pay it tribute even today. The Jains, too, think that this idol in Yogic pose is of Parshwanath, one of their Tirthankars. In fact, it is only this idol of Badri Narayana in the whole of India which fully illustrates the idea contained in the famous Sanskrit verse:

"May that Hari, the Lord of the Universe, grant us our desires; he who is worshipped as Shiva by the Shaivites, as Brahma by the Vedantists, as Buddha by the Buddhists, as Supreme Spirit by the logicians who are adept in the means of arriving at correct knowledge, as Superior Divinity by the Jains and as religious rite by the followers of the Mimansa philosophy!"\*

A mile beyond Badrinath is Mana (old Manibhadrashrama), our last village on the Tibetan border. Here is Keshavprayag formed by the meeting of the Alaknanda with Saraswati. Close by are Vyas Gupha and Ganesh Gupha where Vyas and Ganesh, scribe of the Mahabharata, are alleged to have lived. Vyas Gupha is about 25 ft. × 12 ft. at its widest and has an image of Hanuman in its enclosure. Ganesh Gupha is smaller still and has an idol of Ganesh in it. Two miles away is Vasudhara, a lofty waterfall over 400 feet in height. With the sun's rays 'playing on these waters like dancing rainbows' Vasudhara is a most enchanting sight. About five miles beyond is the peak of Alakapuri, the abode of Kuber, the god of wealth, from where the Alaknanda which is a constant companion of the pilgrims from Devaprayag to Badrinath takes its origin. Further, about 15 miles from Badrinath is Satyapath or Satopanth lake at an altitude of 14,400 feet. A little beyond, the Himalayan peaks rising one above the other appear like a flight of steps which is called Swargarohan,

\* गच्छोद्धव मयादिष्टो बदर्याख्यं समाश्रमम् ।

† वैकुण्ठो ह्यष्टमो लोके साक्षात् बदरिकाश्रम ।

\*\* ह्येतत् पंचशिलामध्ये आसनं बदरीप्रभो ।

\* यं शैवाः समुपासते शिव इति ब्रह्मेति वेदान्तिकः ।

बौद्धा बुद्ध इति प्रमाणपटवः कर्तन्ति नैयायिकाः ॥

अहंन्निति जिनामुशासनरताः कर्मन्ति मीमांसकाः ।

सोऽयं नो विदधानु बांक्षितफलं त्रैलोक्यनाथो हरिः ॥

i.e., ladder of heaven. Though the Pandavas are sometimes said to have followed this path on their way to heaven, they actually took the great snowy road of the 'Maha Prasthan' at Kedarnath.

From Ghat Chatti, a mile before Pandukeshwar from Joshimath side, branches the bridle path to the world-famous valley of flowers and to Hemakund or Lokapal. The valley, locally known as the Bhuindar valley after the name of the last village in it, was discovered and so named by Mr. F. S. Smythe, leader of the Kamet expedition in 1931. It has a profusion of variety of flowers some of which are rarely seen elsewhere in the world. Lady Jane, sister-in-law of Lord Halifax, who was collecting some rare specimens for the Kew garden slipped and was killed here. Guru Govind Singh is said to have practised penance at Hemakund in one of his former births and received divine command to be reborn for the preservation of religion. The place was discovered in 1936 and the Sikhs have built a big shrine and Gurudwara there. Here at an altitude of 14,250 feet, is a lake of crystal clear water which is indeed a beauty spot in this part of the Himalayas and lies amidst eternal snows. From Ghat, there is a common path up to Ghangariya (7 miles), which has a Forest Rest House. From here the valley of flowers is three miles to the north-west while Hemakund is two miles to the north-east. There is a Government guide, Monah Singh, at the village Punn, two miles from Ghat. Ponies are available at Ghat for Rs. 24 at the rate of rupee one per mile, and it is advisable to have them as the trip, especially to Hemakund, is very strenuous. The best time to see the valley is from mid-July to the end of August when it is in full bloom.

Badrinath is the easiest of all the four *dhams* or holy places in Garhwal Himalayas and it will be still easier when a *pucca* bridge is built on the Alaknanda at Belakuchi. It will then mean only a walk of 19 miles from Joshimath. It is hoped that the motor road will not be taken still further, as it will spoil the charm and sanctity of Badrinath. The best time to do the pilgrimage is about the beginning of September when everything is clean and green and there are very few pilgrims and almost no

flies which are a great nuisance in summer. The Inspection Houses on the road which are provided with flush are a veritable blessing for those who require a little privacy for bathing and answering calls of nature. They should be reserved by writing to the Executive Engineer, Garhwal Provincial Division (Buildings and Roads), Pauri, District Garhwal, in good time. The motor road cut out of rocks is very narrow at several places, has numerous hairpin bends and is more hazardous than the road in the Banihal Pass. It is only the skill and strong nerves of the drivers which saves many an accident. The words 'God, you are our only help'† painted on the back of several buses correctly depict the attitude of the drivers as well as of the passengers. It would be better if the State Transport Corporation were to take up the pilgrimage route, as the private buses are rickety and the drivers are often rude and unhelpful.

Though the Badri Narayana temple is rich and receives large sums from thousands of pilgrims who visit it every year, little has been done by the Temple Committee for the comforts of the pilgrims or for improving the sanitation of the town. In the reading room attached to the temple, only one- or two-week-old issues of the *Hindu* were available. There does not seem to be any proper check on the income and expenditure of the temple, and a judicial inquiry is said to be in progress into the alleged embezzlement of the temple funds. Badrinath Puri is liable to damage by avalanches and houses and even the temple building have been damaged in the past. The proposal to erect a township on the other side of the river appears to have been shelved. The Pandas are not allowed to enter the temple with their clients and seem to be less rapacious than their confreres elsewhere. It would be worthwhile to have a legislation on the lines of the one in the Madras State to control temple funds and regulate religious observances in Badrinath and other holy places in Uttar Pradesh.

If a few precautions are taken, pilgrims will not suffer from any bad effects on their health. It is essential to have inoculation

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† 'ईश्वर तेरा ही सहारा है'



against cholera and to preserve the certificate for inspection. Tap water is available everywhere and should be boiled or treated with potassium permanganate. River water should not be used on any account. Fresh and light food should be taken and trekking should start before sunrise and end by about 10 or 11 at the latest. A few essential medicines, an iron-tapped stick, torch and a rain coat will be very useful. Milk, rice and potatoes are easily available on the road.

Old persons and their grandchildren form a goodly proportion of the pilgrims. They come from all parts of India and emphasise the potency of the Hindu faith and the fundamental unity of the country. The area from Nandprayag to Keshavprayag is called Badri Vishal. In this holy region, 'none of the stiffness of a meaner world prevails' and the usual cheerful and fraternal salutation of the pilgrims to one another on the road is 'Jai Badri Vishal'.

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## ORIGINALITY IN ART—ARTIST'S VIEW

BY SUDHIR KHASTGIR,

*Principal, Govt. College of Arts and Crafts, Lucknow*

A NEW interpretation in artistic creation is very difficult indeed. It is only a few highly imaginative persons, who have experienced and drunk the nectar of God's innumerable forms of creation, can produce something original. Not only by true and life-like interpretation but sometimes by sublimating

the ideas and forms entirely in a different way depending mainly on unconscious and imaginative expression.

Yet, it is rather difficult to find anything truly original, when you compare the creation of man with the Master-creator's eternal and infinite chain of creation. Repetition is going on everywhere, in every life—human, animal, insect or plant. This cycle has been moving with the eternal changes for centuries after centuries, birth followed by death, day followed by night, happiness by sorrow. We are born to die: fully knowing and experiencing this fact one cannot possibly do original and creative work. Yet we do, we do enjoy a glorious sunrise, we enjoy and appreciate all the beautiful things God has given us and around us and we sing and dance in ecstasy to express our feelings. God's greatest gift to human beings is to bless mankind with the sensitivity and capacity to love. One cannot weigh love. It is unfathomable as well. The depth of it depends on the capacity of each individual being. The creative urge in a man is the outcome of this great gift. From this fountain of love, we are inspired to express our feelings of gratitude in various different and original forms. It is not sheer duty, it is the idle enchanting discovery of the viewless



At Play (terra-cotta)  
By Sudhir Khastgir





Old Tree (oils)  
By Sudhir Khastgir

winged inspiration of new ideas and forms in Nature. We are kindled by the overwhelming inspiration conveyed to us by God's innumerable creations and we want to interpret eternity in our own way. This is keeping up of the tradition, connecting the link with the great and ever-changing evolution.

Repetition is the keynote of all designs in Nature, we find by proper repetition dynamic force can be achieved. Yet too much of it may be taken as the sign of weakness and stagnation. The more the artists see and deeply study Nature the more are they near to the beauties of various forms and figures, which can be found in it. They are thrilled to become one with it, their hearts vibrate being in tune with the ever-lasting celestial music. It is with the help of that vibration that artists create works of originality.

Yet is there any other way to express one's own originality? Yes, but one has to be a master-artist with varied experiences and above all with a sympathetic soul and understanding power to divulge in such methods of expression. Purush—the Almighty Creator—surely never believes in only stiff rules and regulations. Indian philosophy says, Purush the eternal reflects himself in the ever-

moving Prakriti, hence the ever-changing world is created. To achieve something great



Illusion (oils)  
By Sudhir Khastgir



and original one has surely to reflect oneself in nature and then to get the power to defy the laws of nature. That is why I think Poet Tagore admired God and said in one of his writings, "I love my God, because He has given me the freedom and power to defy Him." Experienced artists only with great imagination possess such dynamic power to defy the laws of nature. They acquire this power to distort by their vast experiences.



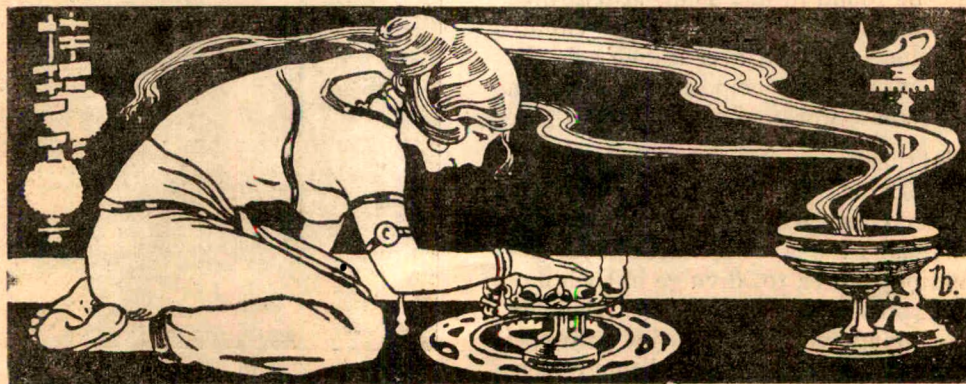
To the Market  
By Sudhir Khastgir

Distortion by them become things of beauty and joy for ever, and a thing of great originality receives the touch of eternity there.

But this sort of distortion in art should not be made a formula for the inexperienced artists to copy. The individual style and technique of an experienced artist is his own personal achievement. By copying or imitating the style and technique of a great artist, one cannot get a recognition or prove his identity. In reality, there is one master hand, Abanindra Nath Tagore, but there are hundreds to follow his dynamic brush. There is one Nandalal Bose but a number to be kindled by his great work. It is neither of any use blaming the mediocres who cannot show their originality nor it is right to blame the great artists because mediocres copy them. Artists with originality do and should adore and respect each other and try to understand each other. If they don't they are jealous and not worthy to be called artists with originality. To be jealous is to reveal your own weakness. You accept the superiority of the other. That is not the end. To be an artist is to be a worshipper of Eternity. To be jealous, in other words, is to have the feelings of self. You should remember you are to have the touch of the bliss, \* to be anointed by the grace of eternity. One has to rise above it to touch the greatness. †

\* अमृतस्य पुत्राः

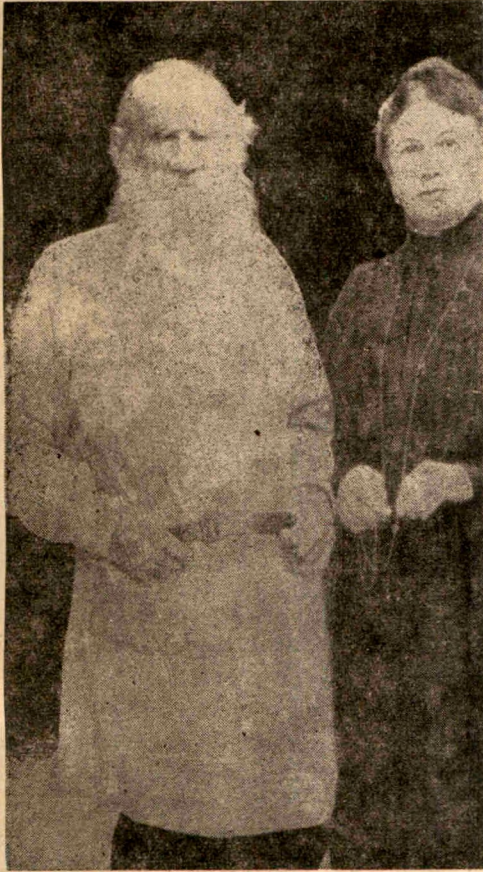
† अमृतमय ब्रह्म





## LEO TOLSTOY'S INDIAN CORRESPONDENTS

We stood inside the famous "steel" room of the Leo Tolstoy archives in Moscow. It looks like a huge safe, with its walls, floor and ceiling made of steel. The manuscripts, diaries and letters of the great writer are carefully preserved here.



Leo Tolstoy and his wife Sophia Tolstoy

One of the armoured safes in the room was opened for us to see. In it there were letters from lands of the East, from India, China, Japan, Egypt, Syria, Iran, Turkey and other countries. The great artist and humanist had friends and admirers all over the world.

Copies of letters which Tolstoy sent in reply, were kept in the adjoining safes. Some of them were 30-40 pages long, in fine, closely written hand.

I was shown a thick packet with "India" written on it. Sheets of paper and envelopes, yellowing with age, have been carefully smoothened out and wrapped in special paper to protect them from dust and moisture. The postmarks read Madras, Calcutta, Bombay, Gurdaspur, Moradabad, Bangalore, Gurukul Kangri. Some of the letters had come from villages and even small hamlets of India.

I looked through some of the letters from the Indian correspondents. There was one letter, written by G. D. Kumar, a young teacher, who had emigrated to Canada. The author of the letter wrote about the cruel persecution of Indian patriots, the dire conditions of the people, and about the 20 million people who had died of hunger and disease.

Tolstoy was especially touched by the letters of ordinary people. Almost each of them bears his note:

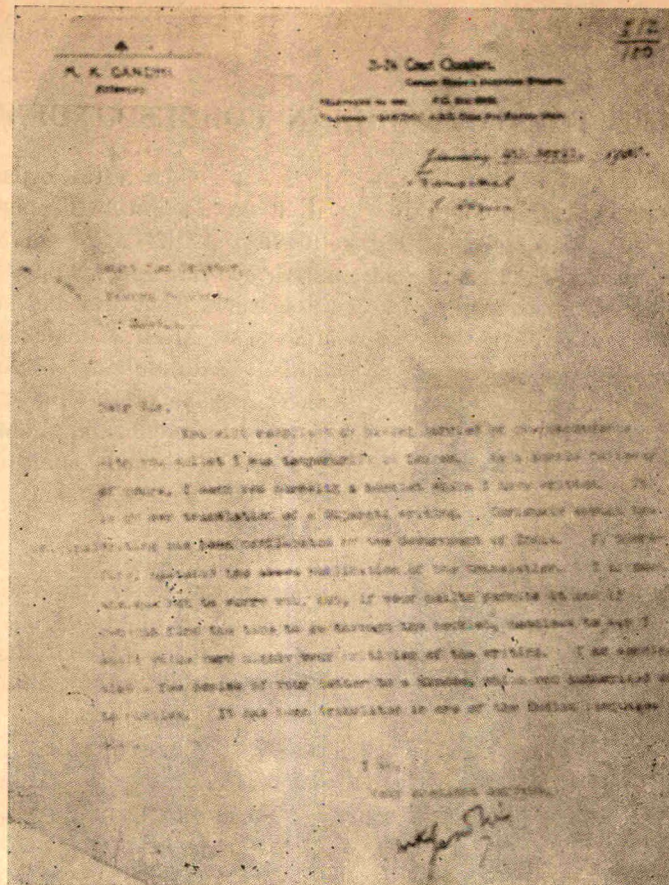
"Very important", "Must be answered."

Editors of newspapers and magazines, publishers and religious figures were amongst the numerous people who had regular correspondence with him. Their letters contain personal requests and questions about the situation in Europe and Asia, the Russian revolu-



Mahatma Gandhi





Photostat copy of a letter exchanged between Leo Tolstoy and Mahatma Gandhi in 1910

tion, the ways of developing India and the ancient religions of the East. . . . And quite naturally they were also interested in the work of the great writer, his plans and ideas, and asked permission to translate his works; they also requested him to send articles for their journals.

Referring to the aims and principles of his publication, Dr. D. Gopal Chetty, publisher of the Madras Journal *The New Reformer* wrote:

"They are the same principles which you so nobly defend for the benefit of erring mankind. I beg you, respectfully and humbly, to reply to me and support me in this modest undertaking of mine." (Retranslated from Russian).

And Tolstoy replied immediately:

"The aim of your publication, as outlined in your letter, is the loftiest that mankind can

pursue. . . . I am very much interested in Indian philosophy and the religious teachings of your great teachers.

"The more place you will give in your magazine to the ideas of those men, the more interesting will it become for Western readers."

With the same feeling of sympathy and good-will Tolstoy replied to Professor Rama Deva, Editor of *The Vedic Magazine*, Professor Suhrawardy, publisher of the Calcutta Journal, *The Light Of The World*, S. R. Chitale, a Bombay journalist and Minni Robinson, publisher of a theosophical journal in Calcutta, and many others.

The most important place among the letters written to Tolstoy by Indians is occupied, of course, by those sent by Mahatma Gandhi. His correspondence with Tolstoy still continues to interest people all over the world. Every now and then reproductions of letters



of both these philosophers appear in the world press.

The first letter we picked out of the packet of those Gandhi had written to Tolstoy had an intensely passionate tone, both wrathful and contemptuous of the South African racists and full of respect for and trust in the 'Russian' writer. Gandhi, writing as though to his best friend, spoke of the unequal struggle of the Indian patriots in Transvaal and the persecution to which they were subjected when defending the liberty and rights of man.

Tolstoy's reply to the first letter of Gandhi, who was at that time hardly known to him, was very touching. "May God help our dear brethren in Transvaal," the Russian writer wrote. He went on to remark, "I can only rejoice that my letter has been translated into the Indian languages and is distributed." (Retranslated from Russian).

That is how the remarkable correspondence between the thinkers of the two countries began in 1909, a correspondence which was destined to play an important role in the national liberation struggle of the peoples of the East.

We had become so engrossed in reading these precious letters that we did not notice when a white-haired man, of average height,

smiled cordially and rose from the neighbouring table and came over to us. This white-haired, but energetic-looking, old man proved to be Tolstoy's friend, secretary and biographer, Nikolai Gusev. He is still very alert and is working on the manuscripts of the writer as before. At our request, he readily told us how letters from India used to come to Yasnaya Polyana and with what interest the writer read them, and how, at times, he read the most interesting ones aloud right there and then to his close friends. Gusev spoke of Tolstoy's profound respect for the Indian people, and recalled that back in 1886, in an article entitled *About Life* Tolstoy had written:

"The most uneducated Indian . . . is, beyond all comparison, more of a human being than those people of our modern European society, who have become so brutalized, and who are flying all over the world along iron roads and who, by electric light and by means of the telegraph and telephone, show and proclaim to the entire world their bestial state."

As we were taking our leave, Gusev asked us to convey to our Indian friends and the readers of Tolstoy his heartiest, most friendly greetings.—USSR-ID.

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## IRAQ—THE CRADLE OF CIVILISATION

By Z. H. KAZMI

THE spectacular *coup d'etat* carried out by the young Iraqi Army Officers on July 14, 1958 had brought the world on the brink of the Third Global War. Although the Baghdad coup which struck down the pro-western Government of Nuri-al-Said like a lightning flash, took the world by surprise, the volcano of the anti-western sentiments has actually been smouldering there since the creation of Israel.

The antique land of Iraq is, however, much-too-familiar with such political upheavals for it has, during the course of its 6000-year-old

history, witnessed the rise and fall of many a mighty kingdom and dynasty. In fact, this land of terrestrial paradise has, from time immemorial, continued to be the cockpit of Western Asia.

Iraq, the 'land of the Two Rivers', where Ur, Babylon and Nineveh thrived and flourished, is rightly said to be the 'Cradle of Civilization'. I was thrilled as I walked and stood on their ruins and the glories of their heyday passed in my imagination like a movie.

Watered by the Tigris and Euphrates the fertile soil of what is now Iraq nursed the



human race during its infancy and gave birth to most of the earliest civilizations. Prominent among them were the Sumerian, Akkadian, Babylonian and Assyrian. The forefathers of mankind formed in the rich alluvial plains of these great rivers the first human settlement of which we have record. Actually



Golden head-dress of Queen Shub-ad unearthed at Ur (3000 B.C.)

the bounteous nature endowed Iraq with such conditions as were propitious to the growth of an organised society, the development of agriculture and industry, and the communal life out of which grew the system of laws on which Hammurabi based his famous code.

Though the antecedents of the first settlers of Iraq who used sickles of earthenware to cut crops as early as the seventh millennium B. C. are yet to be ascertained, the Sumerians who came in the region in three waves—the first and third from Iranian highlands and the second from Anatolia (Turkey)—had by 3000 B. C. fused themselves in one national entity and laid foundations of the earliest world civilization. The Sumerians, who shaved their heads and used tunic like woollen garments, were the first to exploit the secrets of science, medicine and astronomy. This was the first written script (cuneiform writing) and the credit for the invention of the sundial and the division of the day into twelve

parts also goes to them. Herodotus, the celebrated Greek historian, acknowledged the indebtedness of his nation to these stalwarts of the hoary past. The remarkable discoveries made by Sir C. Leonard Woolley, the renowned archaeologist at Ur in 1928-29 throw much light on the early Sumerian Culture.

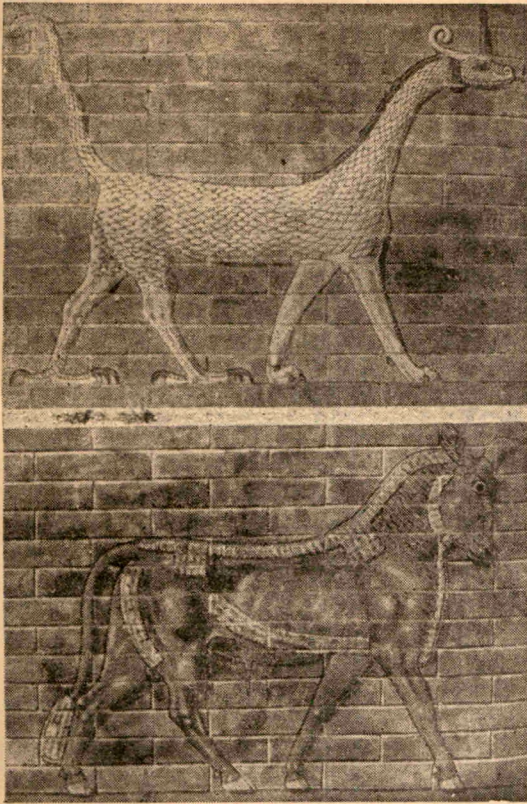


Treasures of the Assyrian art unearthed at Nineveh

The uncovering of the spacious tombs in the royal cemetery at Ur has revealed that the Sumerian burial was more elaborate than that of the Egyptian. A Sumerian monarch was buried with his paraphernalia as well as with the retinue of his attendants—courtiers, servants, body-guards and musicians—bearing rich and precious objects. Even the chariots harnessed with oxen and asses were buried with their royal owner. All these apparently descended into the grave voluntarily, lay down and drank a narcotic to ensure peaceful death. The archaeologists have tried to explain these strange burials in many ways yet the significance of the fabulous sacrifices remains to this day an unravelled mystery of Sumeria. There is nothing in the Sumerian literature to elucidate them. And the dead cannot speak.



A Sumerian city consisted of one-storey dwelling clustered around a towering temple built for the worship of their

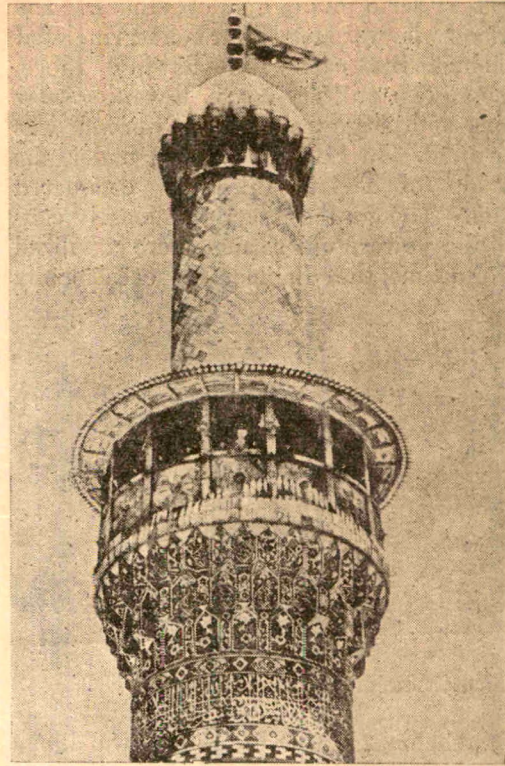


Babylonian way of decoration of their walls

gods. With its floor covered by rush matting each dwelling was generally furnished with tools, light tables and stands made of wood or reed. The unleavened wheat or barley breads, roasted fishes and lambs, milk and barley soup, cheese and a variety of fruits (dates, grapes, figs and pomegranates) and plenty of wine made up the menu of a Sumerian feast. There was a social system. Every Sumerian citizen lived more or less alike.

The prosperity of this remarkable region, however, frequently exposed its inhabitants to the inroads of the envious neighbours. And so wave after wave of Semitic invaders swept 'Sumeria' during the first four thousand years of its colourful history. The Akkadians of Syria—under the leadership of their great leader, Sargon I (2750 B. C.)—were the first among the Semitic people who

superimposed themselves on the Sumerians, adopting and improving their culture (which according to the archaeologists had a coun-



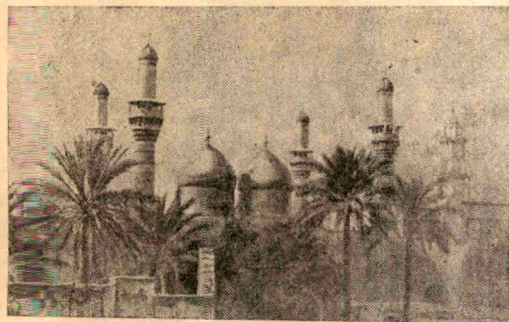
The majestic minaret of the Mausoleum of Imam Husain at Kerbala, Iraq

terpart in the Indus valley). The next comers were the Amorites, a warlike people of the same stocks as patriarch Abraham. Emigrating from Syria, their earlier home, the Amorites settled in what was at first a small town named Babylon (about 50 miles south-east of Baghdad) and gradually became masters of the Sumero-Akkadian empire. Hammurabi, their great king, founded the first Babylonian empire in 2100 B. C. The energy, enterprise and wisdom of this king are commemorated in thousands of tablets that lie strewn in his Capital.

After hundred years of brilliant and progressive rule, Hammurabi's Babylon lost its political and military vigour and gave way before the fresh inundations of other warlike people, the Indo-Iranian Kassites, Hittites and Hurians, while Babylon was undergoing rapid political changes, another Semitic people,



the Assyrians, inhabiting upper Iraq, were organising themselves into a vigorous nation and building a chain of cities, not of bricks as was hitherto done but of stones. The Assyrians wore long beards and ringleted hair, helmet-like caps and flowing robes, became a great military force, inventing new weapons and siege-techniques. Nineveh was their capital. In 1100 B. C. they, under the leadership of Tiglath Pileser I, conquered Babylon. Though the Assyrians loosely controlled the lower, older and more civilized land for a time, the Babylonians occasionally



Mausoleum of Imam Kazim at Baghdad

rose in rebellion, setting up their own kings and challenging the authority of the former. Eventually the Assyrian empire crumbled before the fresh inroads of the nomadic Semites hailing from the south-eastern region of Chaldea. They took and sacked Nineveh 606 B. C.

Under the Assyrians the human culture reached a high pitch. They introduced the postal system and the use of silver for currency, built highways and opened huge libraries. Notwithstanding their contribution to the world civilization, the Assyrians were in many respects most barbarous people in the recorded history. Fortunate were those of their adversaries who fell in battle for their treatment of survivors was hair-raising. They were burnt, walled up, mutilated or flayed alive. The fall of the Assyrian empire was, therefore, universally hailed throughout the ancient world.

With Babylon as their capital, the Chaldeans, under the adventurous Nebuchadnezzar II established the second Babylonian empire. During his brilliant and compara-

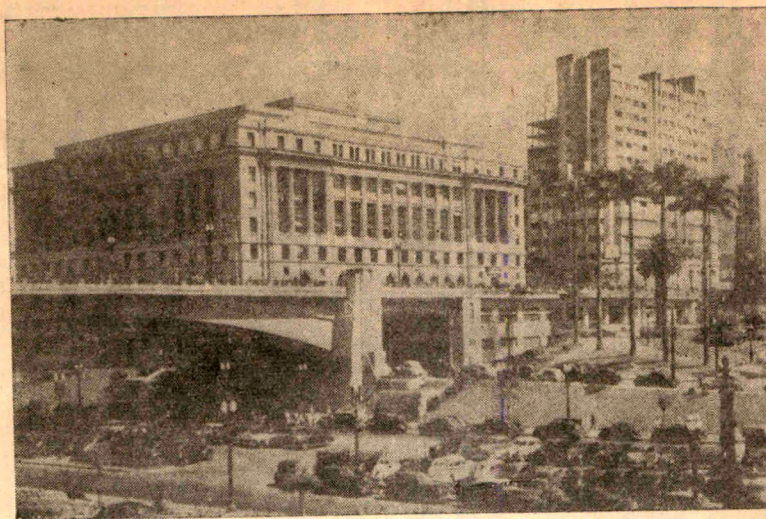
tively humane rule, the ancient Iraqi culture reached new heights. He encouraged astronomers and the science of astronomy made a great headway under his patronage. His magnificent ziggurat to the Babylonian God Marduk and wonderfully-planted gardens on the terraces of the royal places passed into legend as the 'Tower of Babel' and the 'Hanging Gardens of Babylon.' The city of Babylon was itself rebuilt on such a grand scale that it came to be regarded by the Greeks as one of the wonders of the world.

But the splendour of the second Babylonian empire was short-lived. It began to wane just after the death of Nebuchadnezzar and collapsed in 538 B. C. before the attack of Cyrus, the founder of the Persian Power (Achaemenid empire).

Thus far, the indigenous Iraqi culture prevailed and absorbed the new-comers. But the native civilization had run its course. Now the outside people—Persians, Greeks, Persians again, Arabs, Turks and lastly the Britons were destined to play their roles in shaping the subsequent history of the 'Cradle of Civilization'.

With the foundation of Baghdad in the middle of the eighth century A. D., the glories of Ur, Babylon and Nineveh were revived. Under Harun-al-Rashid, the hero of the Arabian Nights and his son Mamun (786-833 A.D.), the darkened land of the twin rivers once again burst into flower. The court of Mamun was the most brilliant of the time. To it came the men of science and letters, artists and architects from the world over. The names of Duban, Bahul and Dhanpat stand out as the brightest stars in a constellation of the Indian sages and savants, medicos and mathematicians who adorned various departments of Mamun's Government. In the words of Sir Mark Sykes, the author of *The Caliph's Last Heritage*: "The Imperial court was polished, luxurious and unlimitedly wealthy; the capital, Baghdad, a gigantic mercantile city surrounding a huge administrative fortress, wherein every department of state had properly regulated and well-ordered public office; where schools and colleges abounded; whither philosophers, students, doctors, poets and theologians flocked from all parts of the





A view of Baghdad

civilized globe. . . Pestilence and disease were met by the Imperial hospitals and government physicians. In government business, Communication, Finance, Justice and Military Affairs, etc., were each administered by separate bureau—in the hands of ministers and officials, an army of clerks, scribes, writers and accountants swarmed into these offices.

But in 1258 A. D., the Mongolian avalanche which overwhelmed the then civilized world, laid to dust the splendours of what may be termed as the great Arab culture. A blanket of darkness again wrapped the birth-place of the human culture. After the savage Mongolian invasion the prosperity of its ancient days never quite returned.

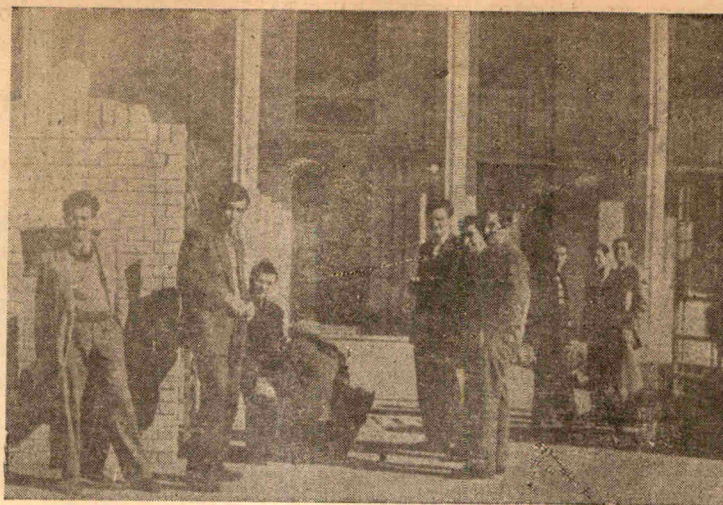
The World War I brought the British on the scene. With the aid of the Arab nationalists, the British dislodged the Turks from power, who had misruled Iraq from 1534 to 1918 A.D. In spite of the fact that the British placed King Faisal I (son of Sharif Husain, the Ex-King of Arabia) on the throne of Iraq on August 23, 1921, they continued to wield the real power until 1932 when, after a number of violent demonstrations and revolts, they pulled out of the country. Except during the Premier Rashid Ali's brief pro-German regime in 1941, all the governments of Iraq, which were often headed by the lately assassinated Premier, Nuri-al-Said, re-

mained up to the present coup the strong supporters of the Western cause in West Asia. With the assassination of the 23-year old King Faisal II (grandson of King Faisal I) the pro-Western monarchy of Iraq passes out of history and yields place to a republic, seemingly wedded to the cause of Arab nationalism.

Bounded by Turkey on the north, Syria and Jordan on the west, Saudi Arabia on the south and Iran and Persian Gulf on the east, the modern State of Iraq occupies an area of 171,000 square miles and has a population of about 6,000,000. Many of its problems—social, agricultural, industrial and educational are similar to those we face in India.

The ancient prosperity of Iraq depended on Irrigation and what the Mongolian hordes destroyed, only an efficient and devoted government can restore. The growing income from its oil industry is now being wisely utilized in the modernization schemes and the development of the economic resources of the country. Many of the new projects involve long-term planning—dams and irrigation canals, schools, roads, industries. The rich oil-fields, at Kirkuk, some 200 miles north-west of Bagdad and at other places, are operated by the Iraq Petroleum Company, a combination of the British, Dutch, American and French interests. The profits are divided between the government and the company on





Students of the Baghdad Engineering College

a 50 : 50 basis. Iraq received more than 73 million pounds as royalty in 1955.

Most of the Iraqi towns are situated, as they were in the days of yore, on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates where man learnt the art of civilization. Their waters are indeed the life-blood of Iraq. From the medieval city of Mosul in the north-west to the modern port of Basra in the south east, one comes across many cities thriving alongside these great rivers. Basra, the only port of the country, is a picturesque city and is sometimes referred to as the 'Venice of the East'. Its busy and expanding harbour handles several million tons of cargo annually.

Apart from the oil and the famous dates, Iraq exports wheat, barley, hides, wool and oilseeds.

At Kurna—45 miles west of Basra—where the Tigris and the Euphrates meet in the Shattul Arab, is the traditional side of the Garden of Eden.

Besides the riverside cities, bustling towns have also sprung up, in the sun-baked deserts, around the sacred spots where lie buried the martyred scions of the house of the Prophet of Islam. Magnificent mausolia with gilded domes and minarets, stand over their graves. Shun in the galaxy of these shrines is the richly-adorned Tomb of Husain at Kerbala (40 miles south of Bagdad) which attracts pilgrims from all parts of the Muslim world.

Kerbala was the scene of the most tragic event in the history of Islam. Here on the fateful day of October 10, 680 A. D., Imam Husain, the illustrious grandson of Prophet Mohammad, fell a martyr along with his 72 thirsty and hungry followers and children to save the religion of Islam from the inroads of the imperialistic tendencies.

Divided into two parts by the river Tigris, Baghdad, the modern metropolis of the Republic of Iraq, sprawls majestically over the dust and ashes of the colourful Baghdad of the *Arabian Nights*. The romance and mystery associated with the days of Harun-al-rashid have long since vanished yet the present day Baghdad, too, offers life and colour with a vivid background to please the eye and whet the appetite of an inquisitive tourist. The spacious roads, lined with fascinating boulevards and well-furnished shops, fine buildings, and decently-laid parks, fabulous museums and attractive picture-gallery are the main features of the capital. No less impressive is the picturesque palm-fringed foreshore of the Tigris, the favourite promenade of the city. It reminds one of the Marine Drive of Bombay. Iraqi Museum, maintained by the efficient department of Antiquity, houses the amazing relics of old. Its greatest treasures are those excavated by Sir Leonard Woolley from the royal graves or death-pits of Ur. Built on a lavish scale, the charming shrine

of Imam Kazim (a grandson of Imam Husain), is the landmark of Baghdad. Its twin domes and minarets are sheeted with pure gold.

The famous ruins of the Arch of Ctesiphon stand a few miles east of Baghdad. Stars of gold in a ceiling of blue once gleamed beneath its brick vault where Chasroes I (Naushirwan the Just), who ruled the Sassanian empire (of Persia) in the sixth century, gave audience to his subjects.

A network of roads and railway lines now connects the Iraqi towns with one another.

Trucks and cars, motor-boats and steam-launches are rapidly replacing the camels and donkeys, the river-crafts and gufas. (A gufa is a circular basket-like boat peculiar to Iraq only.)

There is evidence on record to show that cultural relations between India and Iraq have intermittingly been subsisting since the very dawn of civilization. Their close co-operation both in the ancient and middle ages has left a rich cultural heritage. The inauguration of the new era in Iraq will bring the two ancient countries closer for building the future of man in an awakened East.

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## INDO-PAKISTAN RIVER WATER DISPUTE

BY PROF. K. S. SHARMA, M.A., M.COM.

ONE of the greatest obstacle to the development of irrigation is the division of human community into different political jurisdictions. The Irrigation Commission also pronounced this difficulty. Under such circumstances different rights and interests of different countries through which the river passes have to be reconsidered and reconciled. Such a problem is being faced by our country with regard to the waters of the river Sutlej. It has been contended by Pakistan that the completion of Nangal Dam has affected the water supply of the river and when the Bhakra Dam Scheme materialises it would considerably reduce the water supplies of the Indus river. This eleven-year old water dispute has got a melancholy history behind it.

### ORIGIN OF THE DISPUTE

The origin of the dispute goes as far back as 1947 when India was partitioned. It is the contention of the East Punjab Government that under the Punjab Partition (Apportionment of Assets and Liabilities) Order, 1947 and the Arbitral Award, the waters of the rivers in the East Punjab vest wholly in the East Punjab Government and that the West Punjab

Government cannot claim any share in the waters of these rivers as a matter of right. The West Punjab Government's contention is that by the implementation of the Arbitral Award and in accordance with the International Law and Equity the point has gone in their favour and that they have got the right to the waters of the rivers flowing through the territories of the East Punjab.

### DISPROPORTIONATE DISTRIBUTION OF WATERS —THE MAIN CAUSE

There is one more point whereby hangs the tale. The culturable area in the plains commanded by the Indus River System is roughly 26 million acres in India and 39 million acres in Pakistan, i.e., in the ratio of 40:60. About 18 per cent of the area on the Indian side is irrigated, while the area in Pakistan receiving irrigation from these rivers is 51 per cent. The Indian Dominion is using only 5 per cent of the total inflow of these rivers as against 39 per cent by Pakistan. This stands in a striking contrast to the division of population of the Indus basin. Out of the total population of 42,000,000 Pakistan got 20,000,000 and India 22,000,000 i.e., 20,00,000 more than Pakistan.



A study of economic history shows that in the Punjab emphasis was laid on the schemes which would irrigate waste lands belonging to the British Government. At that moment Government earned not only revenue from water rates but also obtained higher incomes by levying the betterment charges, and since a major portion of this land had gone to Pakistan after partition, the advantage of the irrigation system in disproportionate manner has also gone to Pakistan. In fact, India's share of the total available supply from the existing irrigation works is 11 to 12 per cent, while Pakistan's share is 88 to 89 per cent. Naturally enough, India had to seek some alternative means to irrigate the land and to sustain the overwhelming population. One of the ways by which India could solve this problem was by speeding up the construction of canal headworks and dams, which when completed would divert the flow of the upstream water from Pakistan to India to irrigate about 35,000,000 acres of land on the Indian side. Pakistan has viewed this with great alarm.

#### STANDSTILL AGREEMENT

At the time of partition the question was referred to the Punjab Partition Committee. The Committee decided that in the interest of both the countries the matter should be referred to the Engineers of the Punjab (India) and Punjab (Pakistan) who were asked to put a joint proposal in respect of the maintenance of supplies of water. The two Chief Engineers concluded a standstill agreement in December 1947 which was subsequently approved by the Punjab Partition Committee. The agreement laid down that India would give a continuous supply of water to Pakistan on the basis, existing on the date of the partition for the period up to 31st March, 1948 and after that she would have the right to reduce the supply of water gradually so that Pakistan may get time to create alternative sources for its irrigation. A fresh agreement was to be entered into before the expiry of the standstill agreement. The Pakistan Government took no action to conclude any further agreement in spite of repeated reminders. As a result, pending conclusions of fresh agreement supply of water was

discontinued with effect from 1st of April, 1948. The responsibility, therefore, for the resultant hardship was that of Pakistan Government. However, pending discussions between the two Governments, orders to resume water supplies were given on 30th of April 1948.

Thereafter went on the talk of resumption of the water supply with full vigour and enthusiasm. The Indian side was represented by the Prime Minister Sri Jawhar Lal Nehru while the Pakistan was represented by the then Finance Minister, Mr. Gulam Mohammad. After a heated controversy the agreement was signed on 4th May, 1948. According to this agreement India agreed not to withhold suddenly the supply of water to Pakistan. It was also agreed that India would diminish the supply gradually so that Pakistan may get reasonable time to tap alternative sources. This agreement was hardly observed for a year. Therefore, Pakistan tried to get out of it on one pretext or the other.

Thus followed four years of fruitless negotiations between the two Governments. India always requested for a joint technical study of the problem with a view to putting up a comprehensive plan which would meet the requirements of both the countries. But it went unheeded. Pakistan wanted the problem to be referred to the International Court of Justice.

#### LILIENTHAL'S IDEA

In the meantime, in 1951, Mr. Lilienthal, formerly the head of the Tennessee Valley Authority, visited the two countries—India and Pakistan. In an article which appeared in *Collier's Magazine*, he stated that the canal water dispute was not a religious or political one, but a feasible engineering and business problem which should be settled on an engineering basis with the help of the World Bank. Judging from the vast quantities of the water which goes waste into the sea, especially from the Western rivers, water could, he said, be found not only for ensuring Pakistan's existing uses, but also at the same time for the most needed irrigation in India's undeveloped areas. To quote him, "India too must have more water or starve."

He suggested that the whole Indus system must be developed as a single unit. He fur-



ther referred in this connection to the need for an "Indus Engineering Corporation" on the basis of the seven-states T.V.A. System, to provide a machinery for operating a scheme for storing, diverting and distributing water. He also suggested that it should be jointly financed with the help of the World Bank. Once the scheme was prepared, he hoped that the works could be operated by an Indo-Pakistan agency or by an international agency such as the Schuman Plan in Europe or by some special corporation like the Port of New York Authority.

The suggestion of joint undertaking put forward by Mr. Lilienthal was undoubtedly ideal but unfortunately not practical as it implied mutual co-operation and confidence between the two countries for ever. That co-operation, which should operate between two countries, has taken the shape of rivalry, the same rivalry that exists between the two wives of the same husband.

#### THE WORLD BANK ON THE DISPUTE

India was too much eager to settle the dispute either this way or that and consequently the two Ministers of the two countries were asked to do the needful. By the consent of both the parties the question was referred to the World Bank.

The World Bank offered its good offices for an early settlement of the dispute. Mr. Lilienthal's idea was taken up by Eugene R. Black, Chairman of the World Bank. A working party consisting of an engineer from India and another from Pakistan with an engineer selected by the Bank was set up. The party worked enthusiastically. It first met at Washington in May-June, 1952, in December, 1952 at Karachi, and in January, 1953 at Delhi. The party collected large mass of engineering data and made an extensive survey of the Indus basin. When the working party re-assembled at Washington in September, 1953, the Indian and Pakistani representatives could not agree through this common approach. Ultimately it was decided that the representatives of India and Pakistan should each present a plan, which from his country's point of view would cover the entire irri-

gable area in both the countries. It would be very interesting to note here that, while the Indian Plan took full cognisance of the irrigation requirements of Pakistan, the Pakistan Plan confined itself to an estimate of Pakistan's requirements only.

#### BANK'S PROPOSALS

After prolonged negotiations the Bank put forward in February, 1954 its proposals for an amicable settlement. The main features of these proposals were:\*

(1) "The entire flow of Western rivers (the Indus, the Jhelum, and the Chenab) is to be available for the exclusive use of Pakistan except for a small volume of flow for Kashmir.

(2) "The entire flow of the rivers (the Ravi, the Beas and the Sutlej) is to be available for exclusive use in India, except that for a specified transitional period when India will have to supply Pakistan its periodical withdrawals from these rivers. This transitional period, which is expected to end in another five years, is to be worked out on the basis of the time required to complete the link-canals needed by Pakistan to replace these supplies.

(3) "Each country is to construct the works located within its territory, the cost of such works being borne by the country benefiting thereby.

(4) "Although no works are planned for the joint construction by the two countries some link-canals in Pakistan will be needed to replace supplies from India, and India must bear the cost of such works to the extent of the benefit derived by it therefrom."

A thoughtful study of these proposals will show that Pakistan should have been quick to seize this opportunity. According to these proposals 70 per cent of the water resources of the Indus basin has been allotted to Pakistan. Pakistan's rivers are larger than the Indian rivers, of which the Sutlej does not carry much water in the off-season. Besides, India has to bear the cost which Pakistan will incur in

\* Proposals quoted from *Commerce*, dated July 17, 1954.

constructing the necessary links to make good the loss of supply from India. The cost of such links is estimated to be Rs. 60 crores—a huge sum. Yet India expressed its readiness to accept the Bank's Award in the interest of peace between the two countries. But Pakistan instead of accepting the proposals willingly, demurred and issued vague statements. Pakistan stressed upon the authorities of the World Bank to accept the view that Pakistan should have the exclusive right of the rivers flowing in its territory and other three allotted to India must be treated as common.

Despite the heavy sacrifices involved, India accepted World Bank recommendations without any hesitation and so thought that this long drawn-out dispute would come to an end. But Pakistan, on the other hand, has not rejected the World Bank's proposals, neither it says it has accepted them. In this topsyturvy situation India informed the Bank on 21st June 1954 that there was no prospect of further progress being made with the co-operative work which began in March 1952. The joint endeavours of the working party, therefore, came to an end. In spite of all this the Government of India assured the bank that it was ready to consider arrangements for renewed co-operative work on the basis of the Bank proposals as soon as Pakistan communicates its willingness to proceed on that basis.

#### INTERNATIONAL LAW

Here it becomes indispensable to have a peep into the jurisdiction of international law. It must be noted that the international law deals mainly with the problems of navigation. The potentiality of water resources for unified development and its international importance has come into prominence recently. A case similar to that of India and Pakistan occurred between United Kingdom and Italy. In these cases it was decided that the upper riparian state has got the full right to use the water irrespective of any consideration of lower riparian states.

Is Pakistan justified in disputing India's right to utilise the waters of the rivers flowing through its own territory? Opinions may differ on this point as it involves interpretations of the international law. But there are precedents

as shown above and, will be shown later to justify India's stand. We may refer in this connection to the policy of the U.S.A., in respect of international streams, as expressed in "Inter-State Compact" compiled by the Colorado Water Conservation Board, based on the opinion of Attorney-General Mr. Harman of U.S.A. According to Harman, a sovereign nation has indisputable right to the waters of all rivers within it. It can direct these waters to all profitable uses in its area and the neighbouring country, if it lies below it, can claim no right to these waters either by tradition, past usage or for its own requirements. To quote the words of the authority:

"It thus appears to be the settled doctrine of the United States respecting international rivers, that the United States may use and enjoy all the waters of streams arising wholly within the United States and flowing into other nations, irrespective of prior use by, or the necessities of the citizens of such other nations, that, by the rules of international law, the lower nation may not justify a claim of servitude upon the stream within the upper nation upon the ground of prior appropriation (by the lower nation) of either all or a part of the waters of the stream rising within the territory of the upper nation, that any adjustment respecting such international streams must be determined by considerations different from those which apply between individual citizens of either nation (e.g., prior appropriation, riparian uses, etc.), that a recognition of an international rule of distribution and administration of waters by prior appropriation would account to a recognition of an international servitude upon the territory of one nation for the benefit of the other and would be entirely inconsistent with the sovereignty of the upper nation over its national domain; and that the rules, principles and precedents impose no liability or obligation upon the upper nation with respect to the use of water of the river by the lower nation but that all questions should be decided only as a matter of policy and are properly settled by treaty."

From the above it becomes clear that Pakistan, in trying to dispute the right of the East Punjab Government to construct the

Bhakra Dam, is not following any accepted convention or precedent. It must be remembered that East Punjab emerged out of the partition a very backward and a poor State. It is, therefore, all the more necessary to grant priority to the development of that State.

THE DISPUTE IS NOT A LEGAL PROBLEM,  
SAYS NEHRU

If India takes a legal view, international law is in its favour. Sri Nehru is dead against the law so far as this dispute is concerned. He says, "The law does not help in such matters. This is a human problem, a matter effecting the welfare of lakhs and crores of human beings of both the sides."\*

Many a people have written on this subject giving their legal views. To them Sri Jawhar Lal says, "Your legal arguments would have no influence on me. This is not a matter for law whether it is raised in the International Court or in the United Nations. This matter would be settled in the country where it is a question of life and death of lakhs and crores of people. It is not in my nature to indulge in legal discussions. I gave up law 40 or 50 years back. I greatly dislike these legal quibbles."

INDIA MEANS NO HARM

"We have right to reduce (water) but we do not want to stand on legal rights in this matter," said Sri Jawaharlal Nehru in his inaugural speech at Nangal. He continued, "We want to do something which would neither harm Pakistan nor us. Therefore, we again told them that we would do nothing in haste which may harm the land-owners and peasants in Pakistan. We would give them a chance to make their own arrangements."

He emphasised again and again, "How can we wish harm to the inhabitants of Pakistan. After all she is our neighbour, our comrade

of yesterday and even a comrade of today in some sense. Besides this if there is a distress and starvation on our borders, it would be a danger to us. We desire prosperity for this side as well as that. There may be any number of disputes and quarrels between ourselves and Pakistan today but a day will come when these disputes and quarrels would end and we would live in friendly terms. Therefore, it is a foolish presumption if any one thinks that we want to do anything which might harm Pakistan and her peasants and land-owners, because ultimately her injury will recoil upon us, will create dangers and loss for us."

AGREEMENT RUMOURED TO BE SIGNED UNDER  
DURESS

Now the proposals of the World Bank have been repudiated by Pakistan. In the absence of it the 1948 Agreement holds good. This gives India the right to restrict water supplies available to Pakistan provided Pakistan is given sufficient time to make alternative arrangements. Sufficient time has already been given. India, in the meantime, has diverted a part of the flow of the Sutlej in the newly-constructed Nangal Hydel Channel.

But whatever the Government of India has done by restricting the supply is not valid according to Pakistan statements. The Government of Pakistan says that the Agreement of 1948 does not hold good after rejection of Bank's proposals because the agreement was not signed independently by the representative of Pakistan. "The agreement was signed under duress," writes Mr. Mohammed Ali. "It was signed under the shadow of national calamity threatened by the sudden stoppage of all supplies of water to Pakistan Canals by the East Punjab Government who made resumption of supplies conditional on Pakistan regarding to renounce all rights to the water. By its very terms, further, this agreement was in the nature only of an interim agreement. We subsequently terminated it by a formal notice and it has long ceased to be effective."\*

\* Vide Mr. Mohammed Ali's letter, Sri Nehru, delivered at the opening ceremony of Nangal Hydel Channel on 8th July, 1954.

\* Vide Mr. Mohammad Ali's letter, dated September 21, 1954, to the Prime Minister of India.



## NEHRU'S ASTONISHMENT

Sri Nehru wondered to hear such a statement from Mr. Mohammed Ali. In reply to his letter he wrote:

"In your letter you repeat that the agreement of May 4, 1948, in regard to Canal water was signed under duress. A more extraordinary statement I do not remember to have come across at anytime. I wrote to you once about this . . . . the agreement was signed by your present Governor-General, who you will agree with me, is not a man to suffer duress, I speak from personal experience of this agreement, which you do not possess. There was no question of stoppage of water in the event of the agreement not being signed. In fact this was never hinted at. It was with the utmost good-will that the agreement was discussed and signed. It is not difficult for you to confirm this by reference to your Governor-General and the others who were present there including many Ministers of the Pakistan and the West Punjab Government. It took two years for your Government to discover that the agreement was signed under duress."

"This approach to this question of Canal water itself indicates how completely divorced it is from reality . . . The World Bank made some proposals, which in spite of their onerous character, we have accepted. If Pakistan accepts them in the same way without reservation, we lay the foundations of a full agreement for the future. If it does not accept them, then we have to continue to labour in order to find some basis for agreements . . . . our aim throughout has been that we should prevent or at least minimise any suffering caused to farmers on either side of the border. That was the basis of the agreement of the 4th May, 1948, which you repudiate."

Pakistan in giving its pretext has argued like a child. If the agreement was signed

under duress, Pakistan ought to have informed India at the very moment. It is not very dignified that countries should argue like small lawyers. Big countries always do big things. Pakistan ought to have followed this motto.

## RECENT CONTROVERSY.

Water, water everywhere, but there is not a drop to sprinkle on this heated controversy. The controversy over the alleged cutting down by India of supplies of water from the Beas and the Sutlej is another example how Pakistan is interested in twisting facts. According to the Indian Hydraulic experts, the supplies of the Beas have been abnormally low from about the middle of May while towards the end of the month the supply was hardly half of the average of the past 10 years. The flow in the other eastern rivers namely the Sutlej and the Ravi has been much below normal. But according to Pakistan, this version given by India is not satisfactory though Indian Engineers have been continuously informing their counterparts in Pakistan of the steady diminution of supplies in the river.

The World Bank team was again persuaded by Pakistan to study the facts about the quantity of flow in the above two rivers. All the data exchanged between the two countries was supplied to the World Bank team. But the team could not arrive at any satisfactory conclusion. Mr. M. L. Bengsten, leader of the World Bank delegation on Canal water, said that the problem is "very very complex." He did not, however, permit himself to say anything beyond that "we have been a good deal both in India and Pakistan."

Since the dispute has become more about facts than opinions, it is necessary for the World Bank to put some observers permanently in both the countries till the negotiations are carried on by the Bank to bring a satisfactory solution of this problem.

1. Vide Prime Minister Sri Nehru's letter dated Sept. 29, 1954, to the Prime Minister of Pakistan.

2. Vide Prime Minister's letter: Sri Nehru's letter dated September 29, 1954, to the Prime Minister of Pakistan.



# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

## ENGLISH

**THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF NORTHERN INDIA IN GUPTA PERIOD** (Circa 300-500 A.D.): By *Sachindra Kumar Maity*. *The World Press Private Ltd., Calcutta, 1957.* Pp. 223. Price Rs. 12.50.

This valuable monograph which won for its author the Doctorate Degree of the London University gives the most exhaustive account published so far, of the economic condition of Northern India during the Golden Age of our ancient history. It is based on an examination of nearly all available sources, literary and epigraphic, indigenous and foreign. The author's discussions of sundry disputed questions betray, as a rule, sobriety and good sense. His comprehensive treatment is illustrated by the wide range of topics covered by the successive chapters of his work. These comprise the historical sources (Ch. I), the ownership of the soil, current varieties of lands and land-tenures, land-measures and the processes of land-grants and sales (Ch. II), the principles of revenue collection and the items of the public revenue (Ch. III), the varieties of agricultural and forest products and the methods of rearing domestic animals (Ch. IV), industrial products and training of the industrial worker (Ch. V), internal and foreign trade (Ch. VI), the varieties of labour (Ch. VII), guilds and partnerships (Ch. VIII) and lastly, currency, exchange and money-lending (Ch. IX). The concluding summary ends with the following picture of the lights and shades of the economic situation: 'Beneath the facade' (read, the superstructure) 'of outward splendour were the toiling masses on whose efforts the whole edifice depended.' Other important features of the work are a map of India in the Gupta Age, three valuable appendices (containing a classified list of data culled from Varahamihira's two works, a table

of land-sales collected from inscriptions in North and East Bengal in the Gupta period and tables indicating the weight and pure gold-content of selected Gupta coins along with those of some later Kushan coins), a good bibliography and an Index. Professor A. L. Basham contributes an appreciative Foreword.

We propose to make a few comments. The contents of the work sometimes (perhaps unavoidably) overstep the limits set by its title, as for example, in the reference to the products of South India (p. 82), the trade in Indian spices (evidently from the South) with the Byzantine empire (p. 136), and above all, the foreign trade of Ceylon (p. 130). While the author has laid under contribution the *Smritis* of Narada and Brihaspati, he has altogether ignored the *Smriti* of Katyayana, dated between 400 and 600 A.D., according to Dr. P. V. Kane. While estimating the economic prosperity of the country under Gupta rule, the author has made no reference to the evidence for a high standard of living as has been indicated for instance by the present reviewer in his chapter on *Social Condition* in *The Classical Age (The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. III)*, pp. 570-72. The author has equally ignored the reviewer's contribution to sundry important points, such as the *Smriti* concept of possession and ownership and the bearing of the literary and epigraphic data on the question of the State ownership of the soil, as also his interpretation of the fiscal terms *bhagabhoga-kara*, *hiranya* and *kara*. The work is wanting in maps locating the great centres of trade and industry in the country and its internal trade-routes as well routes of traffic with the outside world. In the bibliography at the end there is a needless inclusion of such ancient works as the Vedic *Samhitas* and such very late works as the *Vyavaharamayukha* of Nilakantha. A fairly large number of printing mistakes have not

been corrected in a list of errata. These are, however, slight shortcomings in a work which will rank in the future as a first-rate authority on its subject.

U. N. GHOSHAL

THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF INDIA: Vol. IV. (The Religions): *Published by Swami Nityaswarupananda, Secretary, The Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Calcutta, Second Edition. Price Rs. 35.*

Religion has been the basis of India's thought and life and the guiding principle of her civilization through the ages. She has steadfastly held on to this principle against the varied vicissitudes of her history. The freedom of the soul has been for her the *summum bonum* of life; and the divinity of man and oneness of existence, her eternal message. In her teachings one finds the seeds of a universal religion. Eclecticism is in the soul of India and her skies breathe a sense of unity wherein diversity is lost and differences stand eternally reconciled. India has been the very embodiment of religion and Cramb's remark that India is religious has been borne out by her long and remarkable history. The discovery of the Indus valley civilization pushed back the cultural history of India beyond the Vedic age and this culture included not only material civilization but also spiritual achievements. Since then we came to know more about our pre-historic civilization we are so much proud of. Our spiritual progress was unabated throughout this period. With the growth of our cultural life our other-worldliness also grew. We produced the finest of poetry and philosophy and undertook manifold experiments in the field of religion. Our theology was closely associated with philosophy and there was never a divorce between the head and the heart. When the Vedic seers sent up hymns and laudations to their gods, they speculated at the same time upon their ultimate nature and came to the conclusion that, at bottom, they were all manifestations of one primal Being. We proceeded from polytheistic creeds to a well-defined creed of monotheism and again swung back to polytheism. There were incessant swings and counter-swings throughout the ages and the result was a colourful legacy for the posterity. Vast experimentations were undertaken. From Kashmir to Kanya-Kumari and from Gandhara to Kamarupa there were evidences of an intense search for truth, both religious and mundane. It is to be admitted in all humility that nowhere else in the world has religion been made the

object of such vast experimentation as in India. The volume under notice seeks to describe and evaluate this 'great human enterprise' and as such may be considered a monument of modern Indian scholarship designed and executed by more than two scores of eminent Indian scholars. The volume amply bears out the great hospitality of the Indian mind in encouraging and inviting different points of view and different lines of approach to the great quest for the unknown.

In this ancient land of ours religions were born, grew and withered. Sometimes they were revitalised and sometimes they looked lean and famished and as such were considered dead. The present volume gives a sketch of the most important sects which one finds to be living religions or which are the diverse expressions of a living religion in India. The paths prescribed with their connected ideologies and practices are sometimes very simple and sometimes very complicated. But this complication never stood in the way of the realisation of the goal for man. The goal was ever-fixed in the luminosity of his divine effulgence.

This volume comes in the wake of Madhava acharya's *Sarva-darsana Sangraha* though the distance between the two landmarks of Indian scholarship is to be assessed in terms of centuries. In between there are Horace Hayman Wilson's monograph on the various religious cults of India and Akshay Kumar Dutta's *Bharatavarshiya Upasaka-Sampradaya* written in Bengali. The volume under review may be constructively looked upon as the culmination of a noble human enterprise undertaken centuries back. It is a formal and authoritative presentation of the religions of India ably bringing out the central truth of all religions: "*Ekam sat vipra bahudha vadanti*" (Rig Veda). The volume particularly displays before us, as were, the various petals that go to make the lotus a single flower. The great catholicity of the Indian mind becomes amply evident when one peruses the contents of the volume.

It was quite in the fitness of things that the *Cultural Heritage of India* in its first edition came out in 1937 on the occasion of the Birth Centenary of Sri Ramakrishna-deva as it was printed in three volumes. In the second edition its scope has been substantially expanded and as a result it ran into five volumes. The plan of arrangement and the lay-out have been improved upon by grouping the topics in such a way as to make each of the five volumes self-contained. The Introduction by Bharat ratna Bhagavan Das has enhanced the prestige



of the volume. He has ably brought out the traces of a universal religion in the different religious cults and beliefs of ancient India and his pointer to the right direction will help the uninitiated realise the central truth of India's eternal message. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji's Preface has ably assisted Dr. Bhagavan Das's Introduction in presenting the subject-matter of the volume under review.

The Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture deserves a word of praise for this magnificent work and Sri Gouranga Press Private Ltd. for neat printing. The book recommends itself to all lovers of knowledge and truth.

SUDHIR KUMAR NANDI

**TRUTH IS GOD:** *By M. K. Gandhi. Compiled by R. K. Prabhu. Published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Pp. VI + 168. Price Rs. 2.*

In these carefully compiled pages is presented a facet of a great modern mind who did very great things for his country and as the future may well show for the world also. From what did he derive his elemental strength to do what he had done? The book provides the answer. Nowadays there is talk of service everywhere. To such as glibly talk of it the following may serve as a corrective:

"The path of service can hardly be trodden by one, who is not prepared to renounce self-interest and to recognize the conditions of his birth."

And to those that seek salvation the book presents the following:

"If I could persuade myself that I could find Him in a Himalayan cave, I would proceed there immediately. But I know that I cannot find him apart from humanity."

Books such as this build sturdy character and not namby-pamby fictions.

BIRENDRANATH GUHA

**J. C. KUMARAPPA AND HIS QUEST FOR WORLD PEACE:** *By M. Vinak. Foreword by Rajkumari Amrit Kaur. Navajivan Publishing House. Ahmedabad. November, 1956. Price Rs. 1-8.*

This is a well-planned and well-written biography of Shri J. C. Kumarappa, one distinguished member of a distinguished family. An auditor and a brilliant student of Indian Economics, he was weaned from his way of life to Gandhian lines, and from 1929 to 1954 there is an unbroken record of his constructive work. His outspokenness, his strict emphasis on punctuality, his stern discipline, his earnest

zeal for the development of village industries are detailed in this small book through accounts of incidents which enliven its reading.

The author has been a close associate of the subject of his book for more than two decades and he has produced a very valuable work which should find its way not only to constructive workers but to the greater public. It is full of lessons for all, and will be read with zest, relished as much in the reading as it must have been in the writing.

P. R. SENGUPTA

**LITERATURES IN MODERN INDIAN LANGUAGES:** *Edited by V. K. Gokak. The Publications Division, Ministry of Education and Broadcasting, Government of India, Delhi. Price Rs. 2.50.*

We have here a collection of a good number of broadcast talks arranged by the authorities of the *All-India Radio* with the help of eminent scholars and writers in different languages of modern India. There are four series appearing in four parts of the book. The first part contains an introductory talk by Dr. S. K. Chatterji dealing with Indian literature in general and its characteristic features as noticed in its different phases in different ages. This part also contains an introduction by the editor, which gives a resume of the talks through a running survey. The second and third parts have the texts of talks dealing respectively with ancient and mediaeval and modern periods of thirteen modern Indian languages. The part on the modern period has also a section on Indo-Anglican literature. The fourth part contains short talks on different aspects of the future of Indian literature by men like Shri K. M. Munshi and Shri C. Rajagopalachari. Being divided into different periods the surveys here are a bit more detailed than we have had in similar volumes published previously by the Indian P.E.N., Sahitya Akademi, etc. The bibliography at the end arranged language-wise is a welcome addition though it is not quite complete and uniform. There are a few glaring omissions as well as a number of unnecessary entries. Inaccuracies in regard to the spellings of titles of works and of local names were noticed here and there. A Sanskritist would keenly feel the absence of a section dealing at least with the modern period of Sanskrit literature which normally finds a place in other works of this type in consideration of the fact that quite a good lot of literature is produced in the language even to this day all over the

country. The price of the book is modest and within reach of the general reader.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

**A PRACTICAL GUIDE TO SAMADHI (Spiritual Teachings):** By Swami Narayananda. Published by Messrs. N. K. Prasad and Co. Rishikesh (Himalayas), U.P. Pp. 220. Price Rs. 4/-.

Swami Narayananda is a learned monk of Rishikesh and the author of about a dozen books of which two have already been rendered into Hindi. He comes from a respectable family of Coorg in South India and is a disciple of Mahapurush Shivanandaji, the second abbot of the Belur Math and Ramkrishna Mission. He lived in the Ramkrishna Mission for four years and then retired for wholtime spiritual practices to the Himalayas where he has been living since 1932. Over a quarter of a century he has made the Himalayas his home and haven for the sake of seclusion and meditation. Not to speak of the Hindus, even the Buddhists are benefited by a perusal of his books. An educated Buddhist from Rangoon frankly confesses that his doubts have been cleared by going through his books. The nineteen short chapters into which the present book is divided deal with various topics on religion, god, meditation, chosen deity, samadhi and the like. The book begins with a prayer and ends by a study of inspiration. The treatment is transparent and impressive throughout. The more one advances on Spiritual Path the more clearly he can understand and explain the subject. Those who cannot read the original scriptures will find in a book like this a dependable guide and constant companion.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

**A TRACT ON MONEY:** By Profs. Ratindra Nath Mitra and Himansu Roy. The World Press Private Ltd., College Street, Calcutta-12. Pp. 195. Price Rs. 6.50.

The book is an attempt to explain the essence of monetary theories to the beginners. It has covered a wide field of discussion on the subject and tried to include the most modern views and observations on different theories. Besides, critical notes of the authors have been added on some of the theories.

The subject has been discussed in seventeen chapters, viz., Barter economy, money, value of money—index numbers, quantity theory of money, saving and investment, multiplier and acceleration principles, theories of interest, concepts of inflation, deflation, reflation and

disinflation, business cycle, monetary standards, gold standard and its collapse, Foreign Exchange under inconvertible paper standard, Exchange control, International Monetary Fund (IMF), monetary objectives and banking including functions and working of the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development (IBRD).

Although the book is designed for students it will be of service to businessmen and practical economists who desire to have a fair grounding in theoretical monetary economics.

The authors have discussed the subject in a clear manner and presented it to the readers in a simple language avoiding technicalities as far as practical, so that an intelligent layman will profit by reading it.

We have no hesitation in commending this book not only to the under-graduate students of the Indian Universities but to readers in general interested in the subject.

A. B. DUTTA

**RAMAYANA:** By Shudha Majumdar. Foreword by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. Orient Longmans Private Ltd., Calcutta-13. August, 1958. Pp. XX, 540. Price Rupees Ten.

This is a translation in simple English prose of the story of the great epic *Ramayana* by Shriyukta Shudha Majumdar, who is well-known for her social work. The influence of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* upon the evolution of Indian culture can hardly be exaggerated. Through this translation Shriyukta Majumdar has offered an opportunity to readers in the west to be acquainted with one of the greatest Indian classics and thereby to get a better insight of Indian life and culture. The translation has been made from the Bengali *Ramayana* of the great poet Krittivasa and is quite easy reading. The printing and the get-up of the book also are good.

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

## HINDI

**BAPU:** By Ramanarayan Chaudhary. Pp. 224. Price Rs. 3.

**BA AND BAPU KI SHITAL CHHAYAMEN:** By Manubhawan Gandhi. Pp. 242. Price Rs. 2-8.

Available from Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad.

Both these books are long chains of reminiscences of Gandhiji by two of those privileged people who were near and dear to him because of the devoted service they rendered

to him in his diverse welfare work. Shri Chaudhary and his wife (she, too, has contributed several reminiscences) have revealed Gandhiji to the reader from many an unknown angle, all converging on the pivot of his personality as the heart-beat of humanity. Kumari Manubahen was with Gandhiji during the later part of his life. She kept a day-to-day journal at this time. From this journal two booklets have already been evolved and published. This is the third book. Like its predecessors it is authentic, as it bears the *imprimatur* of Gandhiji. The present volume shows, specially, in bold relief, both Gandhiji and Kasturba as ideal moulders of a maiden in her teens, with life's landscape stretching before her in all its virginity and wonder.

G. M.

#### GUJARATI

SWAPNA RENU: *By Jethalal Trivedi, Published by "The Sandesha" Ltd, Ahmedabad. Printed at the Gujarat Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Thick Card Board. Illustrated Jacket. Pp. 183. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Out of fourteen readable stories, printed in this volume, only three are not reprints. The remaining eleven are reprints of five various

weeklies and magazines (1930-1947). The very first story, where the hero finds a stray letter on this road, written by one Sarala, and its *denouement*, are signally conceived.

PUNYA BANSARI: *By Uchha Rangoni, K. Oza, B.A., Bombay. Published by the Nav Chetan Sahitya Mandir, Ahmedabad. Printed at the Nav Prabhat Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Thick Card Board. Illustrated Jacket. Pp. 311. Price Rs. 5/8/-.*

Mr. U. K. Oza is no stranger to readers of Gujarati Literature, in which by his *Ajoji Thakore*, he had already made an illustrious mark, though his pen excels in composing English verse. All this was done by him before he proceeded to East Africa and where he made a long sojourn. The experience thus he gained of the trash morality and other phases of the life of those Gujaratis who have migrated there, has been abundantly utilised in this rather long novel, wherein his female characters show unprecedented foresight and intelligence. It is a mixture of fiction and fact, and a commendable one at that.

K. M. J.

#### JUST PUBLISHED

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# Indian Periodicals

## Immanuel Kant and the World View of Modern Science

Rufus Suter writes in *The Aryan Path*:

Recently at the National Academy of Science in Washington a lantern slide was cast on the screen showing a part of the sky as seen through the 200-inch Hale telescope on Mt. Palomar. At first glance one noticed only the black field studded with sharp star-images familiar to anybody who has visited photographic galleries in observatories or planetariums. But on closer scrutiny one detected that some of the images were not so sharp as they at first appeared. The lecturer explained that the sharp images were individual suns within our own galaxy—the system one sees edge-on when one looks out through the recesses of that remarkable example of perspective, the Milky Way. The fuzzy images, on the other hand, were spiral nebulae, that is, each was a group of millions or even billions of suns.

Suppose that after the lecture somebody in the audience had gone outside and actually looked at the original of one of these fuzzy images, for instance at the famous Nebula of Andromeda, nearest of the foreign galaxies.

This, though a grandiose example, would have been a simple case of awareness by an observer of a real, or an actual, object. On the one hand is X, the observer; on the other hand is Y, the observed. The instant that X becomes aware of Y, Y looms into view as the universe, and X looms into view as you, or I, or whoever it happens to be who is observing. The universe seen is, in its most comprehensive and large-scale aspect, the world of astronomy: the abyss of space-time, the metagalaxy, the spiral nebulae, the gaseous nebulae, suns, planets, satellites, comets, meteors, interstellar dust. Thanks to the 200-inch telescope, the confines of this astronomical universe have been pushed back to 1,000 million light-years (roughly, 6,000,000,000,000,000 miles).

An interesting aspect of this metagalaxy, quite obvious to any observer if he is in a matter-of-fact mood, is that it is a spatio-temporal extension of his immediate neighbourhood: the side-walk, for example. There is no basic difference between the one and the other—only superficial contrasts of size, distance,

age, mass, temperature, speed, etc.,—nothing which digits in the number-series cannot make wholly explicit. One's awareness of Y as a distant astronomical body, seen as it was approximately 1,000,000 years ago, is the same sort of achievement as one's awareness of Y as the side-walk: no more and no less astonishing.

The metagalaxy contains the domain of protons, electrons, neutrons, mesotrons, ions and the host of other particles prominent in today's news. Indeed, these are all that the metagalaxy contains, because its parts, such as spiral nebulae, are systems of these particles. The sub-atomic world is an extension towards the small of the same series that in the opposite direction leads to the realm of the astronomer. If one were exceedingly small one would be aware of Y as these particles.

There is no need to repeat that all science lives exclusively within the universe of which observers are aware, or at least of which they would be aware if they were much smaller or much larger or were at another point in space or time. Telescopes, microscopes, spectroscopes, radar, compasses, balances, test-tubes, surveying instruments, levers, steam engines, dynamos, all serve to increase awareness in one way or another, to add new areas to the field of awareness.

Also there is no need to repeat that in recent centuries the details of which scientists have become conscious are so multitudinous and complex that the universe has been split up into various departments: the universe of astronomy, the universe of physics, the universe of chemistry, the universes of geology, of the biological sciences, of history, etc. These divisions, however, reflect only the convenience of the observer. The universe may also be approached, even today, from a non-departmentalized point of view. That is to say, we may forget the artificial divisions of the particular sciences, and look around to make an impartial and universal survey of all the objects we are aware of, keeping in mind also what we have learned from reading, lectures, conversation and our own earlier observations. Such an attitude as this, taken even by a layman, may have some surprising results missed by the departmentalized scientists regardless of how experienced they may be, or with what

stupendously accurate and powerful instruments they may conduct their investigations.

Let us consider some results of such a survey. One result is that the universe in so far as it actually is observed, or in so far as it might possibly be observed under certain conditions—from the sub-atomic end to the metagalactic end—is an organized unity for me, the observer. I hold it together as one, and I can switch my consciousness from one part of it to another, through space, and to some extent through time, and back again as often as I like, without losing the sense of its oneness, or of the self-identity of its parts, or indeed of my own self-identity.

Another result of a survey is that the facts of which we are aware can be shuffled into two classes. There are the facts which strike us as arbitrary, the so-called brute facts, the facts which are in general unpredictable or which are, at most, predictable only within large margins of error. These are the facts that might be otherwise. We know, for instance, that there are nine major planets in the solar system. There might, however, be eight. The only way we can discover their number is to count them. Once we have done this we naturally accept this number as a fact, realizing that if we had found that we could count them only to eight, we could as well have settled for eight, or any other number that might have worked out. The majority of facts in our experience are of this brute type, which is one reason why education is painful. We simply must have such facts drummed into our heads if we wish to be regarded as sane, since there is no way of automatically extracting them from instinctive preferences, or of figuring them out by sheer exercise of reason.

Our inventory shows us also a second class of facts. These are those facts which cannot be otherwise. They are always predictable with absolute accuracy. Instead of impinging upon us unexpectedly as brute facts, they come, even the first time, as wholly expected. They are inevitable, irreversible, necessary. True, in the process of our education we do not become alive to them until we have some brute facts in our minds. But once we have achieved acquaintance with the latter we realize, if we take the trouble to think, that certain inevitable facts were there too, all along, even if we had to wait until the brute facts knocked us in the head before we became conscious of them. Thus, though the number of major planets in the solar system is nine, that the number of

major planets in the solar system must be *some* number is inevitable. The point is not that there must be a *finite* number of planets in the solar system—for by a stretch of the imagination we may at least imagine their number to be infinite. The point is much simpler than this. It is merely that, finite or infinite, there must always be *some* number of them.

This example of an inevitable fact is so naive and platitudinous that one is likely to take it none too seriously. Of course there has to be *some* number! Why even mention it?

But naive and platitudinous or not, this is an example of an inevitable fact. If we forget for a moment our prejudice that it lacks significance, and if we look at it with true scientific detachment as a fact of nature as objectively factual as any merely brute fact, we may be puzzled by it. It does seem to be a fact. Yet our awareness of it does not seem to be adequately explained by the same sort of evidence that makes us aware of the brute fact that there are nine major planets in the solar system.

Indeed, if we puzzle over this, at first, rather silly fact, we may eventually frame it in a general form: "Things not only are numerable, countable, quantifiable; but they *have to be so*," and we may sincerely ask ourselves: How on earth do we know this to be true? Our knowledge of its truth cannot come wholly from brute facts because we have not been aware of a sufficient number of brute facts, nor has been the human race, to justify this astonishingly comprehensive boast. No matter how many quadrillions of things may have happened in the past, or may happen in the future, it is absolutely certain that each one of them has its proper number-series. We know this though at the same time we are aware that in any such given instance nobody may ever be actually conscious of just what the number specifically is.

The intriguing question of how we know such an inevitable fact to be true has been given several answers in the history of this odd kind of non-departmentalized scientific thought. The most obvious answer, of course, and the one most in tune with today's pitch, is that the inevitability of such facts is an illusion, induced by generations of our ancestors reacting to brute facts that have chanced to occur through the millennia in the same way. Thus, we, our fathers, our grandfathers, our great-grandfathers, etc., have counted things for so long, and so often, that it finally

has become a habit, and we honestly believe that things *have to be* capable of being counted. We are concerned here only with a particularly repetitious type of brute fact, and our feeling that we have to do with a necessary fact, though natural enough, is without warrant. As customarily happens to people under the influence of strong habits, we have lost the ability, save with an almost super-human effort, to look at the situation critically and objectively. This explanation is after the manner of the great Scottish sceptic, David Hume.

Another answer beginning to be popular today is that we observers deliberately, by a kind of sleight-of-hand, compel certain facts to be unavoidable. It is all a matter of definition. Thus, we compel things to be countable by our definition of "things." If suddenly to our amazement we become aware of a basket of apples having not, 1, or 2, or any other number of apples, we say: These are not "things;" and our proposition that "things" have to be numerable still holds good. The line of thought of this explanation is after the manner of a contemporary logician, C. I. Lewis.

A third reply is as old as Aristotle. We know brute facts and we know necessary facts. Why? Because we are endowed with capacities to have both kinds of knowledge. And that is an end of the matter.

Some people may be satisfied by one of these answers, some by another. They all do, no doubt, help to make understandable a peculiar situation. This article, however, is entitled: "Immanuel Kant and the World View of Modern Science," and the high-point of the article, Kant's answer, has not yet been made. But before proceeding to it let us note that most of this article has already been Kantian in spirit: (1) The conception of X (the unknown) as the observer, and of Y (the unknown) as the observed, and of their interaction giving rise to the universe of phenomena, is Kantian. The Y, of course, is the famous *Ding an sich*. (2) The conception of the universe as a homogeneous, organized, unified whole for the observer is Kantian, although the picture contains the new particulars of twentieth-century science. In Kantian terminology this master-characteristic of our experience of the universe and of our correlative experience of ourselves is Transcendental Unity of Apperception. (3) The idea of a fully self-conscious non-departmentalized survey of the whole of our field of awareness is

Kantian (such is the programme of his Transcendental Aesthetic, Transcendental Analytic and Transcendental Dialectic). (4) The division of facts into brute (*a posteriori*), and inevitable (*a priori*) is Kantian. (5) The problem we finally reached is, in his technical terminology: How are synthetic judgments *a priori* possible? This is Kantian, and is the central problem of the whole Kantian theory of the nature of theoretical scientific knowledge.

In conclusion let us consider Kant's own solution to his own problem. It is very bold. Observers are able to be aware of those inevitable facts which no amount of merely empirical evidence can give—indeed, observers *have to be* aware of them—because the observers themselves put them in the universe. Our acts of awareness are also acts of genuine creation. Thus, the number of planets in the solar system has to be *some* number because the activity of the senses of the observers, combined with the activity of their rational understanding, so organizes space-time, the number-series, quantities, qualities, relations and modalities that things in order to be objects at all have to be capable of being counted. Otherwise there would be no experienceable objects and no we. There would, of course, in some sense, still be X and Y. These are the ultimates beyond our control. But there would be no universe transparent to experiment and observation and no universe to which rational processes such as inference would be relevant.

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### Word-forms in Indian Languages

Dr. S. M. KATRE writes in *The Indian Review* :

The languages (and dialects) of India have genetically distributed over four well-known families having their roots in an area which extends beyond the sub-continent consisting of India proper (or Bharata), Pakistan and Burma. This grouping in a family is based on the existence of a large number of common features such as cognate vocables and a regularity of correspondences in their sound systems. Culturally, those four distinct groups or families of languages have acted and reacted upon each other to give rise to a distinct Indian type of culture and civilisation and played the role of equal partners. But from the point of political prestige associated with geographical extent or the total number of speakers, these families may be arranged in the following order : (1) Indo-European in its Aryan branch as developed within the sub-continent of India, technically called the Indo-Aryan branch. (2) Dravidian, with all its ramifications in peninsular India and such outposts as Brahwi in Baluchistan ; (3) Austro-Asiatic, in its Munda or Kol form, more popularly known as the Adivasi or Tribal languages, prevalent generally within Central India, and (4) Sino-Tibetan, mainly in its Tibeto-Burman branch on the North-Eastern Frontier Agency or NEFA area.

During the last 3,000 years each of these distinct groups of languages has come into close contact with the remaining groups, and out of this contact has arisen a vocabulary which shows a pan-Indian characteristic. Speaking analogically, the growth of this vocabulary may be compared to a chemical fusion, not a physical mixture where the different components can be easily separated. It requires the catalytic presence of linguistic analysis to provide the necessary favourable situation in which those fusing elements can be separated and their origins recognised, or to answer such questions as : what is the percentage of Munda vocabulary in Indo-Aryan and Dravidian and *vice-versa*. How much has Dravidian influenced Indo-Aryan ? What is the contribution of Indo-Aryan towards the growth of Dravidian ? etc.

The chief differences in the structural features of each of those groups have been studied by linguists under two major sections : the phonological and the morphological. For instance, when the speakers of Indo-European, the Aryans entered India their language habits showed the absence of cerebral or retroflex sounds (t, th, d, dh, n, l, r) ; these were in the process of manifesting themselves through historical situations such as contact of the dental sibilant with a preceding -i or -u or vocalic -r, etc., but this process was quickened by contact with both Dravidian and Munda which have initially these series of consonants. In the same way, the speakers of Dravidian and Munda were influenced by the sound system of Sanskrit and related Indo-Aryan languages. For example, Primitive Dravidian did not have aspirated consonants, but Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam show by their incorporation of this series the direct influence of Indo-Aryan. With reference to the Adivasi and Tibeto-Burman families, apart from certain cultural words which Indo-Aryan and Dravidian borrowed from them, they show a marked influence of the contact of these prestige languages, and certain dialects have developed which very nearly approximate to either Indo-Aryan or Dravidian as the case may be. Even where the structure remains Adivasi or Tibeto-Burman, the word-element, either as a new loan-word or early incorporation, shows the influence of the first two groups.

While Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages are historically attested over some millennia, both in inscriptions and in literature, our knowledge of the remaining two families is hardly 150 years old against nearly 35 centuries of Indo-Aryan development within India or more than 25 centuries of Dravidian development (the language of the Indus Valley Culture still needs a scientific decipherment) our knowledge of the development of these groups is insufficient to delineate the linguistic history of our sub-continent. But a comparative study of Austro-Asiatic which covers an area which is larger than that covered by Indo-European from the point of extent shows that its representatives in India must have been already Adivasis when the speakers of Indo-Aryan

and Dravidian came to India. Investigations started by Sylvain Levi and Jean Przyluski in Paris show that old Indo-Aryan found in Rigveda and Atharvaveda contains words borrowed from the Austro-Asiatic substratum. Some of our cultural words, particularly in certain skills and crafts, such as brick-making, rice-culture, etc.; or names of things like betel, cotton, cotton-cloth, bamboo-arrows, etc.; or geographical names like Kosala, Tosala, Kalinga, Trilinga, etc.; or the Vigesimal system of counting with 'Kori' 'twenty' as a unit, appear to have their origin in this group. These scattered papers in inaccessible French journals were collected and translated by the late Prof. Bagchi, and published by the Calcutta University under the title of Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India. The latest exponent of this school is Kuiper of Leiden University who has studied a number of important cultural words from Vedic texts and traced their affinities to what he terms Proto-Munda.

Similarly, the relationship between Sanskrit and Dravidian has occupied the deep attention of scholars. The Vedic language was rich in verbal forms, but the late Professor Jules Bloch has shown that Dravidian sentence-pattern has affected the growth of later Sanskrit where the nominal phrase has replaced the finite verb forms. This nominal sentence characterises not only the classical Sanskrit pattern, but also that of the Prakrits and modern-Indo-Aryan languages. Similarly, it has been demonstrated that a fairly large percentage of Sanskrit vocabulary owes its origin to Dravidian. Kitti noted down more than a hundred such words in his Kanarese Dictionary. The latest researches of Emeneau (California) and Burrow (Oxford) have brought out a large number of such forms resulting from the cross-fertilization of Indo-Aryan and Dravidian.

It follows, similarly, that a fairly large part of the Dravidian vocabulary is based on Sanskritic parallels. The late Dr. Goda Varma of Trivandrum worked out a list of words from Malayalam which derive ultimately from Indo-Aryan. The question we are interested in is not the ultimate origin of such common vocabulary a task which requires the refinements of comparative and historical linguistics but on the existence of

that vocabulary and a common sentence pattern.

Within each group of those languages, comparative etymology has established a large number of cognates. The chief work in this direction was the Comparative Etymological Dictionary of Nepali compiled by Professor Sir Ralph Turner in 1931. In this Dictionary which records approximately 27,000 head-words in Nepali, including over 5,000 loan-words from Sanskrit, nearly 5,000 Nepali words show the existence of cognates in other Indo-Aryan languages. Sir Ralph is now engaged in working out a Comparative Etymological Dictionary of Indo-Aryan. It is possible that this study may extend the number of such word-groups to almost thrice that number.

A similar comparative study of Dravidian by the Madras University has brought out a list of cognates of over 2,000 words. This is likely to be doubled by the Comparative Etymological Dictionary of Dravidian which is being compiled by Professors Burrow and Emeneau.

The Deccan College in Poona is compiling a Comparative Etymological Dictionary of the Austro-Asiatic Languages and it may be assumed that the number of cognates here spread over the entire range of these languages will be considerable. Thus, within the main area of India, where these three language families have developed in intimate contact with one another, we may be able to single out certain common elements which have persisted for tens of centuries and these pan-Indian forms, whatever be their ultimate origin, may provide the common elements which will simplify, to some extent, the problem of inter-communication.

It would be difficult to illustrate all the aspects of this resemblance. Certain features of resemblance have prevalence all over the region, as for instance, Sanskrit Karoti Hindi Karna, Marathi Karne, Gujarati Karvu, etc. Certain others have a real distinction, e.g. diva and batti for 'lamp.' A few forms, such as Indo-Aryan ghoda 'horse,' Kannada Kudure, Tamil Kutirei, Telugu gurramu exhibit characteristic phonological features. By and large, there are quite a considerable number of common elements which are shared by all these languages.

While Dravidian has a form *nei* 'butter-ghee' from Sanskrit *sneha* against *navanita*, Kannada and Marathi share one word *tuppa*, *tup* which may ultimately be treated to Sanskrit *trpa*. Regional predilections may be seen in the use of *ghar* 'home', house, and *bari*, the second of which is specially preferred in the Eastern part of India.

Similarly, there are certain pan-Indian synthetic features which may be classified as ethnolinguistic. For instance, corresponding to the English 'fall asleep,' we have in certain Indian languages (Bengali, Konkani, Kannada and Tamil) a form in which the nominative of the word for sleep is associated with a verb which means 'to fall.' A clear case of how Dravidian syntax has influenced Sanskrit is seen in the critical edition of the Mahabharata brought out by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona. In one passage, where the constituted text shows *pita mama*—

the genitive of kinship, the entire group of South Indian manuscripts have *pita mahyam*—the dative of kinship. Similarly out of the many ways of expressing the dative in middle Indo-Aryan or Prakrits, the post-position—*krte* survived to the exclusion of other dative suffixes, owing to the resemblance it bore to the Dravidian Suffix-*ku*, and is now apparent in the familiar Hindi form—*ko*. A study of these common features, without reference to their ultimate origin which is entirely irrelevant to our present practical needs, will pave the way to a system of communication which will link up all the great regional languages and provide the necessary stimulus for deep understanding without the need of interfering with the genius of any languages. Historical evolution of such a pan-Indian feature indicates the lines along which unity may be achieved in the midst of such wonderful diversity.

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# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## World Employment Situation.

In a paper submitted to the Governing Body, ILO Director-General, David A. Morse, has stressed the need for advance planning by Governments to enable prompt action to be taken to "forestall or counter any unexpected turn for the worse in the world employment situation".

## UNEMPLOYMENT IS BACK

The report notes that after several years in which unemployment was of limited importance in most economically developed countries, it has now become a matter of special concern to governments, employers and workers. Attention is focussed in particular on the current recession in the United States, which, though by no means so severe as the crisis of the 1930's, is nevertheless the most serious since the Second World War.

In Western Europe, some slackening of the rate of growth of Industrial production has also resulted in relatively small increases in unemployment. But in most countries of Western Europe unemployment is still at a low level; where it is substantial—as, for example, in Denmark, Finland and Italy—it is clearly due to factors other than the lower rate of growth of production.

Most of the current rise in unemployment appears to be associated with a slackening in demand for, and consequently in output of, manufactured goods and in some countries, building. A few of the factors that have played a role in present economic difficulties are the reduced investment in capital goods, reductions in inventories, credit controls, and, in the United States, the decline in the demands for automobiles.

Another recent development has been the appearance of a limited, but nevertheless significant, amount of unemployment that is frictional in character, in some countries of Eastern Europe and, in some instances, existing in depressed areas. Frictional

unemployment in Eastern Europe has developed as a result of the release of many workers from formal or informal restrictions on quitting or accepting jobs without official approval. Thus what was formerly a redundancy or ineffective use of many workers who could not leave their jobs now appears to a great extent in the form of frictional unemployment as workers quit in search of new jobs or are laid off by undertakings that were overstaffed.

In many, but by no means all, underdeveloped countries there is a certain amount of underemployment in agriculture. Unlike the unemployment that arises from lack of demand, the unemployment and under employment that persist in underdeveloped countries do not change substantially from year to year. Progress against this kind of unemployment is largely a race between economic development and rising population.

## POSSIBLE FUTURE EFFECTS OF THE RECESSION

The 1948-49 recession in the United States was followed by a balance of payments crisis in Europe. The 1953-54 recession, on the other hand, had relatively little effect on the economy of the rest of the world. Accordingly, the points that follow must be regarded as highly speculative.

There appear to be two quite separate ways in which recession in the United States may effect employment in the rest of the world.

- (1) a decline in the United States demand for exports from other countries may result in a corresponding fall in the level of total demand in these countries ;
- (2) a fall in these countries' exports to the United States may result in a decline in their earnings of foreign exchange and consequently in their purchases of goods from other countries, especially those that require payment in dollars.

In order to prevent too great a decline in its foreign exchange reserves, a country may have to restrict its imports directly by import or exchange control, or check the demand for imports indirectly by measures of fiscal and monetary policy which will reduce internal demand.

Action of the first type may cause unemployment in certain industries due to shortage of imported raw materials, while action of the second type may cause more widespread unemployment.

#### NATIONAL MEASURES AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT

The national measures against unemployment described in the ILO paper are grouped under four main headings according to whether they are designed to deal with unemployment arising from lack of demand, unemployment arising from difficulties in the organisation of the employment market, unemployment in depressed areas, and unemployment in underdeveloped countries.

Particular attention is given to measures concerned with unemployment arising from lack of demand, because of the prevalence of this type of unemployment in certain countries at the present time.

One of the most striking trends of economic and social policy in the last two decades is the development of a whole series of new remedies against this type of unemployment. At the same time many old ideas have been discarded.

Public works programmes and tax and credit policies are among the weapons governments can use. Many governments have established reserves of public works programmes, and some offer inducements to private concerns to set up "crisis reserves," funds set aside during periods of prosperity to be used during recessions.

Tax reductions may take many forms—lower income and corporate taxes, larger tax allowances for depreciation. Credit policies may also be used so as to encourage increased spending.

Recent trends in economic policy have also led to the creation of a series of "built-in stabilizers" in most industrial countries. Among them are :

The higher level of government spending which is relatively unaffected by the factors that cause variations in private expenditure.

Progressive income taxes : as incomes fall the tax levied on them falls at a faster rate.

Unemployment insurance, which saves money in high employment periods and puts it back into circulation when unemployment rises.

The stabilising of the incomes of the fairly large groups of people through such devices as agricultural price support systems.

The growing strength of trade unions and changes in the generally accepted views on wage policy which make unlikely a substantial reduction in wage rates.

#### UNDERDEVELOPED REGIONS

In terms of the world situation as a whole, the largest number of unemployed and underemployed workers are to be found in the underdeveloped countries where there is a general lack of sufficient capital to provide a high level of employment.

In these countries unemployment and underemployment are long-term problems, the solution of which depends to a large extent on achieving economic development. Measures to promote such development are not considered in detail in the ILO report.

A point of particular interest is the tendency in recent years to promote the development of both large and small-scale production. On the one hand the programmes for the irrigation of the Tigris and Euphrates valleys and the programmes for the development of the Sahara and of Siberia are on a grand scale.

On the other hand there has been a tendency in some countries to give stronger emphasis to handicrafts and small-scale industries. This policy is a well-known part of the Indian Second Five-Year Plan.

More recently, several of the countries of Eastern Europe have reversed a previously unfavourable attitude toward these labour intensive types of production and, perhaps in recognition of growing capital shortages, have decided to give official support to the promotion of handicrafts and small-scale industries.

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## NOTES

### ACHARYA JAGADISH CHANDRA BOSE

We are celebrating at the end of this month the Birth Centenary of a Sage and a Seer, who was not merely a preceptor in the usual sense, nor only the pioneer in India in the path-ways of Western Scientific Research. He was not only one of the first four whose names will remain written, in golden letters, in the annals of the researches in electro-magnetic waves that led to the discovery and inventions that made the wireless telegraph and telephones, the radar and the television and wireless broadcasts possible or the very first scientist who demonstrated to the World that Life, as we understand it, continues beyond the animal kingdom and pulsates in the living organisms of the vegetable kingdom.

The term "acharya" is being very loosely applied in these days in our country. It is not every teacher or every religious preceptor that can be deemed to be an "acharya" however esteemed he might be by his students or disciples. For "acharya" means something far more than eminence in teaching or preaching. It means someone who has shown a new discipline or way of life, or thrown light on some obscure passages in the realm of the intellect or blazed some new pathways for the advancement of human knowledge.

Romain Rolland, the great French Savant and humanitarian, wrote in one of his letters to Jagadish Chandra Bose, that he, Jagadish Chandra, was not merely a savant and a scientist of great eminence, but was also a poet and a *religieux*, which last word means one whose

Way and Philosophy of Life lay along the path-ways of *dharma*.

This was indeed very true. Acharya Jagadish Chandra had the same freedom of intellect that allowed his thoughts to soar above the established tenets and axioms of Western Science, based on concrete facts and realities. Like the untrammelled flight of a poet's imagination. And yet all his thoughts and actions followed the discipline laid down by our ancient Sages.

So proud he was of his Indian heritage that he faced penury during the first three years of his career as a Professor in the Presidency College, Calcutta, by refusing to accept a pice of his salary until it was elevated to the same scale as that of his European colleagues. The Government of India was forced to climb down.

His life was full of trials. There were no laboratories with up-to-date scientific equipment, nor was the Government willing to provide any funds. In his research work too, when he started in the realm of Plant Response, he met with ridicule and unfair claims and challenges from abroad—though it is only fair to say that he got appreciation as well from some truly eminent Western Scientists. Through all these trials and tribulations he won because his Way of Life was along the path of *Upanishads*. His motto was:

“एको वशी सर्वभूतान्तरात्मा,  
एकम् रूपम् बहुधा यः करोति,  
तमात्मस्थम् येऽनुपश्यन्ति धीराः,  
तेषाम् सुखम् शाश्वतम् नेतरेषाम् ॥”



*Trends in International Trade*

The annual report entitled, "Trends in International Trade," published by GATT, studies the problem of commodity instability in international trade. The experts trace the commodity instability in international trade to both long-term and short-term fluctuations in their supply and demand position. Fluctuations in economic activity in the industrially developed countries threw their impact on the general price movements of primary products. At the thirteenth annual session held recently at Geneva the underdeveloped countries sharply criticised the attitude of the developed countries in not importing more commodities from the primary producers. The international trade in post-war years has more or less become a one-way traffic, that is, it is the primary producing countries with their backward economy which are the major importers from the developed countries of the West. But these developed countries do not extend their co-operation by importing goods of equivalent amounts from the underdeveloped areas of the world. The real cause of instability in the world trade lies in that respect.

The developed countries of the West have imposed quantitative restrictions on imports with a view to protecting their industries. But the trade restriction impedes the growth of world economy and brings about periodic imbalance in world trade. At the recently held Geneva session of the GATT, the leader of the Indian delegation made very pertinent observations on the trade restrictions imposed by industrially developed countries of the West. He makes the following observations: "Countries in the course of economic development have a chronic tendency to run into difficulties of balance of payments. This is because, for their development programmes they must rely heavily on imports of capital goods as well as techniques. Another factor is the upsurge in demand for all kinds of things, which follow the slightest increase in national income and which must, until domestic production goes up, be met by imports if a serious inflation is not to result therefrom. Under Article XVIII of the GATT, this problem has been specifically recognised. The same article also draws attention to a

contributory factor in the balance of payment difficulties of underdeveloped countries, namely the instability in their terms of trade. This results from the violent fluctuations to which commodity prices are subject. A solution which Article XVIII has to offer is of a negative kind. The permission to restrict imports, though essential, only results in a shrinking of world trade rather than its expansion which is what the GATT stands for. A real solution should be sought through measures which will increase the exports of underdeveloped countries rather than through steps to enable them to curtail their imports."

The Treaty of Rome has thrown out a great challenge to the GATT; threatening its very existence. It may be recalled that the Rome Treaty is based on the evolution of a common market for six European countries. Whereas the ultimate object of GATT is to bring about a progressive liberalisation of world trade by abolishing trade restrictions, the Treaty of Rome aims at securing to the signatory countries markets for their products within the related territories of member-countries. Thus the Rome Treaty contradicts the very ideas of the GATT. The idea of the common market is based on the regional liberalisation of trade, as distinguished from multilateral liberalisation. These six countries are highly developed in industrial production and are rich in potential resources.

The failure of the less developed countries to develop their trade as rapidly as the more developed countries have been able to do, is another cause for the growing imbalance in world trade. The recent recession in business activity in the USA had an adverse effect on the export trade of many underdeveloped countries including India. The bilateral trade agreements are now being resorted to in order to boost up the export trade of many countries. But such bilateral trade agreements defeat the ultimate object of the GATT for the establishment of free trade. Again, many countries are not members of the GATT and as such they are free to pursue their own course of action in their international trade. The trade in agricultural and food products does not follow the obligations imposed by the GATT. With a view to protect-

ing such primary products, the producing countries act in utter disregard of the provisions of the GATT.

The concept of free and multilateral trade still remains far away from realisation. The imposition of high import duties by advanced countries on tropical foodstuffs and beverages impede the export trade of the producing countries. These high duties on tea, coffee and sugar reduce their import and consumption by advanced countries of the West. There must, therefore, be a change in the traditional lines of fiscal and revenue policy of industrially developed countries.

#### *Industrial Finance Corporation of India*

The Industrial Finance Corporation of India in its ten years of existence ending on June 30, 1958, has rendered pioneering services in the field of long-term industrial finance in India. During the last ten years, the Corporation received applications for loans for Rs. 124.34 crores and the total amount of loans granted by it stood at Rs. 62.90 crores on June 30, 1958. The outstanding amount of loans and advances on that date stood at Rs. 28.94 crores. A State-wise distribution of loans indicate that Bombay has received the largest amount of loans for her 58 industrial units. Bombay has received Rs. 18.69 crores; Madras Rs. 8.57 crores; West Bengal Rs. 6.33 crores; Bihar Rs. 4.77 crores; Kerala Rs. 4.27 crores; Uttar Pradesh Rs. 5 crores; Mysore Rs. 4.80 crores; Punjab Rs. 2.96 crores; Andhra Rs. 3.10 crores; Orissa Rs. 2.94 crores; Rajasthan Rs. 74.50 lakhs; Assam Rs. 45 lakhs; Delhi Rs. 20 lakhs and Madhya Pradesh Rs. 3.50 lakhs.

The Industrial Finance Corporation has increased its resources to the extent of Rs. 12.37 crores by the issue of bonds to the institutional investors. Of the total loans sanctioned so far, Rs. 32 crores were sanctioned for States which were industrially under-developed. Of this amount, new industrial concerns received Rs. 22 crores. In 1957, the Industrial Finance Corporation Act was amended empowering the Corporation to borrow up to a limit of ten times its paid-up capital and reserve fund as against five times provided for in the original

Act of 1948. The amending provisions also empower the Corporation to accept deposits from State Governments and local authorities. Prior to the amendment, the Corporation could accept deposits only from the public. By another amendment, the Corporation can now guarantee deferred payments by importers of capital goods who are able to make such arrangements with foreign manufacturers. Under the new provisions, the Corporation's loan operations have been widened. The change now enables a larger number of industries, including new industrial concerns, which are not in a position to offer adequate security, but deserve encouragement from the point of view of the national economy, to enjoy the benefit of the Corporation's loan assistance, if such assistance is guaranteed as to the repayment of the principal and payment of interest by the Central Government, State Governments, a scheduled bank or a State co-operative bank.

A notable development in the activities of the Corporation during 1957 was in the field of underwriting which was a first venture in its ten years of life. The Industrial Finance Corporation underwrote the issue of 6½ per cent (subject to income-tax) redeemable and convertible debentures for Rs. 1.60 crore, issued by a borrower concern. This underwriting was undertaken in conjunction with the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India Ltd., and the Life Insurance Corporation of India. The share of the Corporation's commitment under this underwriting arrangement amounts to Rs. 75 lakhs. This amount is inclusive of the loan of Rs. 45 lakhs which is to be redeemed out of the proceeds of the debenture issue.

On the basis of amended provision of the Industrial Finance Corporation Act, the Corporation has now started guaranteeing deferred payments due from industrial concerns in India on account of the import of capital goods from abroad. Up to the end of June, 1958, the Corporation extended its guarantee to deferred payments to the extent of about Rs. 5 crores. For the last two years in succession, there has been a decline in loan applications to the Corporation. The main cause of this decline is

"the increasing difficulty experienced by industrial concerns and entrepreneurs in the matter of securing the necessary licences for importing the capital goods required for starting new industries or expanding the existing ones." The Corporation demands the production of the necessary import licences before the application for loan is taken up for consideration by it.

Industrial concerns on co-operative basis are being encouraged by the Corporation through its liberal loan accommodations. The sugar co-operative societies received assistance for about Rs. 13.24 crores up to June 30, 1958. Other industrial co-operatives, like the textile concerns, are also now approaching the Corporation for assistance. In order to increase its own resources, the Corporation has borrowed from the Union Government an aggregate sum of Rs. 22.25 crores, carrying an interest at  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent per annum. In November, 1957, the Corporation issued bonds for Rs. 4 crores at the rate of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent per annum and this loan is repayable in 1967. The total amount of bonds issued by the Corporation reached the figure of Rs. 12.37 crores on 30th June, 1958. Out of the proceeds of the bond issue, the Corporation has repaid its outstanding debts to the Reserve Bank of India amounting to Rs. 2.79 crores. During the year under review, the Corporation has earned a record amount of profit aggregating Rs. 58.25 lakhs. This increase in profits, enabled the Corporation to repay a substantial amount of subvention received by it from the Government of India in previous years. The Corporation has paid the guaranteed dividend of  $2\frac{1}{4}$  per cent to its shareholders.

#### *Company Finances*

An article published in the October issue of the Reserve Bank of India Bulletin analyses the balance sheets and profit and loss accounts of 1001 companies for the years 1955 and 1956. The present study does not cover banking, insurance and investment corporations, Government companies (as defined in Sec. 617 of the Companies Act, 1956), companies and associations functioning not for profit and companies limited by guarantee. The study reveals a very marked increase in assets,

which carried the rate of the increase of both fixed assets and inventories to the highest level for the post-war period. This expansion was accompanied by a sizeable rise in sales, profits, tax provision and dividends, with virtually no change in retained profits.

In the financing of capital formation, a feature was the emergence of external sources, in place of internal sources, as the major contributing factor. In 1956, income from sales of the 1001 companies rose by 11.8 per cent to Rs. 1551 crores from Rs. 1388 crores in 1955. The rise in 1956 was most marked in engineering, sugar and other plantations, being over 30 per cent. Manufacturing expenses also went up by 16.1 per cent from Rs. 817 crores to Rs. 948 crores, nearly one-half of the rise being accounted for by engineering and cotton textiles industries. Salaries and wages also rose by Rs. 24 crores to Rs. 257 crores. Managing agents' remuneration (including that to Secretaries and Treasurers) was the only item to show a decline from Rs. 15 crores to Rs. 12 crores. In 1956, 62 companies did not pay any remuneration to managing agents, as against 40 companies in 1955.

The rising trend in profits as distinguished from profitability, noticed after the post-Korean recession in 1952, continued during 1956, albeit at a lower rate. In 1956, profits before tax rose by 9.7 per cent from Rs. 117 crores to Rs. 128 crores, as against increases of 24.1 per cent and 19.5 per cent, respectively in 1955 and 1954 in the case of the 750 companies. Because of a sizeably larger tax provision, profits after tax showed only a moderate rise of 3.3 crores to Rs. 70 crores. Industry-wise, shipping and tea showed phenomenal increases, which were practically offset by the loss in jute and declines in iron and steel and cotton textiles. Distributed profits rose by Rs. 3.5 crores to Rs. 42 crores, as a net result of increase in engineering, shipping, tea and sugar, and declines in jute, cement and coal, among others. Retained profits remained almost unaltered at Rs. 28 crores, the loss suffered by jute and declines in cotton textiles and iron and steel being offset by rises in shipping and tea.

The profitability of equity capital of the



1001 companies, as measured by the percentage of profits after tax to net worth, declined from 9.0 in 1955 to 8.6 in 1956; the corresponding percentage in respect of the 750 companies was 7.8 for 1954 and 6.8 for 1953. The average rate of dividend on ordinary shares rose from 8.9 per cent in 1955 to 9.4 per cent in 1956. This rate had moved up from 7.5 per cent in 1952 to 8.8 per cent in 1955 in respect of the 750 companies. Other plantations gave the highest rate of dividend (20.2 per cent), followed by tea plantations (16.1 per cent). The rates were very low (under 5 per cent), among others, in jute and other textiles and vegetable oil industries. The percentage of dividends to net worth remained unchanged at 5.2. The total assets formation of the 1001 companies in 1956 amounted to Rs. 255 crores, of which gross fixed assets accounted for over one-half (Rs. 133 crores), inventories for over one-third (Rs. 89 crores), and receivables for nearly one-sixth (Rs. 42 crores). Investments showed hardly any change, while cash and bank balances fell by Rs. 9 crores.

Capital formation in respect of gross fixed assets and inventories of the 1001 companies amounted to Rs. 222 crores in 1956. A corresponding estimate for the entire public limited sector (excluding financial companies) would be Rs. 296 crores, comprising Rs. 177 crores of gross fixed assets and Rs. 119 crores of inventories, and for the entire non-financial private corporate sector in India, including foreign companies, Rs. 254 crores and Rs. 171 crores, respectively. Net fixed assets formation constituted 72 per cent of gross fixed assets formation. "Finished goods and work-in-progress" was responsible for 56 per cent and raw materials for only 21 per cent of the inventory accumulated in 1956. Nearly three-fifths of the gross fixed assets formation in 1956 was accounted for by iron and steel, cotton textiles, engineering and shipping and the major part of inventory accumulation took place in cotton textiles and engineering. The annual rate of increase in gross and net fixed assets was appreciably higher at 14 per cent and 18 per cent, respectively, for the 1001 companies in 1956, as compared to 11 per cent and 14 per cent in respect of the 750 companies in

1955. The annual rate of increase in inventories was still higher at 21 per cent.

An outstanding feature in 1956 was the significant shift from internal sources of funds to external sources; the latter at Rs. 161 crores accounted for 63 per cent of the total funds in 1956, as against only 44 per cent in 1955. Under external sources, bank credit was the most important, amounting to Rs. 73 crores, or 28 per cent of the total funds, as compared to only 6 per cent in 1955. Dues to trade and other current liabilities came next in importance, accounting for Rs. 43 crores, or 17 per cent of the total. Internal sources at Rs. 93 crores accounted for only 37 per cent of the total sources in 1956, as against 56 per cent in 1955. Industry-wise, the groups relying for the bulk of their finance on external sources in 1956 were engineering, cement, iron and steel, vegetable oil, electricity, sugar, cotton textiles, shipping and trading. New issue of shares and debentures in respect of the 1001 companies during 1956 amounted to Rs. 24 crores, of which ordinary shares accounted for 76 per cent, preference shares for 18 per cent and debentures for only 6 per cent. Of the total ordinary shares of Rs. 18 crores in 1956, one-half was accounted for by iron and steel and engineering industries.

The total gross assets of the 1001 companies at the end of 1956 amounted to Rs. 2082 crores and their total net assets to Rs. 1638 crores. Of the total net assets, fixed assets at Rs. 621 crores constituted 38 per cent and inventories at Rs. 506 crores constituted 31 per cent. Receivables formed 15 per cent, investments 6 per cent and cash and bank balances 5 per cent of the total net assets. Net worth at Rs. 809 crores (paid-up capital Rs. 495 crores and free reserves and surplus Rs. 314 crores) constituted nearly one-half of total liabilities at the end of 1956. Trade dues and current liabilities (Rs. 292 crores) accounted for 18 per cent and borrowings from bank (Rs. 211 crores) for 13 per cent of total liabilities.

The liquidity of the assets of the 1001 companies showed a slight decline during 1956. The percentage of current assets to net total assets declined from 59.9 to 59.2 and the ratio

of current assets to current liabilities from 1.50 to 1.38.

### *Pressing Food Situation*

The food situation in the country has become a persistent cause of concern both to the people as well as to the authorities. In a country where the annual increase of population occurs by 45 lakhs, it is really a national problem to solve the chronic deficits and it requires national efforts for that purpose. Food is a primary consumer goods and its supply must be abundant enough in order to absorb the increasing money income of the people. But unfortunately, while India needs more and more food-stuffs every year, the food output shows declining trends in recent years. From 58 million tons in 1952-53, production went up to 68.7 million tons in 1953-54. It went down slightly in 1954-55 and it went down a little more in 1955-56. But in 1956-57 it exceeded the figures of 1953-54 and food production was of the order of 68.7 million tons.

In 1957-58, there was a big drop in food supply to the order of 6.7 million tons, that is, of 9.8 per cent. The supply position in 1957 was as follows: Stocks of January 1, 1957, totalled 0.29 million tons; production in 1957 was 68.7 million tons and imports in that year were of the order of 3.58 million tons. This made a total of 72.57 million tons. In 1958, there was an opening stock of 1.29 million tons; production was 62 million tons and so far imports were of 1.86 million tons. Firm contracts for the import of another 1.1 million tons had been entered into. Thus the total quantity of foodgrains available for 1958 is provisionally placed at 66.25 million tons, that is, a shortage of 3.32 million tons. This is the overall shortage and does not give any correct idea of local shortages. The local shortages in certain areas are much bigger. So far as wheat is concerned, in the three wheat-growing States of Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh, the shortage is of the order of 24.6 per cent. In other words, as against the production of 6.1 million tons in 1957, the production in 1958 is 4.6 million tons. As regards rice, the principal rice-growing States, namely, West Bengal, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh have suffered on account

of drought and the production is estimated at 8.5 million tons as against 11.5 million tons in 1957. Thus, there is a shortage of 3 million tons, that is, 26.8 per cent.

India is the second largest producer of rice, the first being China with 82 million tons of production. In India, the area under rice extends over 78 million acres. The yield per acre is only about 544 kilograms (1 kg=1 seer and 1.2 ch.). Though India and China have the largest area under rice cultivation, the highest per hectare (2½ acres approximately) yield in 1956 was accounted for by Spain (5,810 kilograms), followed by Egypt (5,430 kgs.), Australia (5,290 kgs.), Italy (4,690 kgs.), Portugal (4,230 kgs.) and Japan (4,220 kgs.).

The National Development Council at its recent session has recommended that the State Trading Corporation should undertake to sell and purchase rice. It should operate as a grain bank and although there has been strong opposition from a certain section, that would be a step in the right direction. Every year the Government should declare a minimum price for all foodgrains produced in the country and the State Trading Corporation should be prepared to purchase all foodgrains from the cultivators. The minimum price will provide a great incentive to the cultivators to raise their output. Because of the uncertainty of price situation and the monopolistic hold of wholesalers, the cultivators do not reap the benefit of their production and in consequence they find little incentive in increasing their production. In order to facilitate the working of the State Trading Corporation, there must be a network of warehousing corporations in the country where foodgrains can be stored. The State Trading Corporation will purchase direct from the cultivators and not from the wholesalers. It should also arrange to dispose of the foodgrains through Government fair price shops throughout the country and this will bring down the prices of foodgrains.

As regards cultivation, that deserves improvement so as to raise the productivity of the soil. Mechanised cultivation is essential if India is to solve her food problem. In a recent survey report, issued by the Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab, it has been shown that culti-

vation by tractors is not only economical and cheaper, it also increases the productivity of the soil. It is time that India turns towards mechanised cultivation with consolidation of holdings.

### *Ministerial Strife in Uttar Pradesh*

The Congress in Uttar Pradesh was faced with a major internal crisis in October. The crisis revolved round the divergence of outlook between the Chief Minister, Dr. Sampurnanand, and some of his colleagues on the position of Congress ministers *vis-a-vis* the Congress organisation in the State. Dr. Sampurnanand held to the point that all the ministers must act jointly as a team in the meetings of the Pradesh Congress while the others, of whom Acharya Jugal Kishore, the Minister for Labour and Social Welfare, was the spokesman, contended that the Chief Minister could not insist on joint action by other ministers on matters which did not directly affect Government policies. In the view of the dissidents, ministers were free to act according to their personal convictions during discussions of organizational matters within the Pradesh Congress Committee. Acharya Jugal Kishore said: "I have made it plain to the Chief Minister that I do not agree with his interpretation of a Minister's role in the P.C.C. Ministers can only act jointly after prior consultation on an issue. The Chief Minister holds a different view, retaining the right of deciding when ministers must vote with him."

The Chief Minister, Dr. Sampurnanand, was in a predicament and for a few days he was unable to decide whether to accept the resignations. He was eventually able to secure the backing of the Congress High Command and thus retrieve his prestige for the time being. This could hardly be taken as the final act in the drama of personal and group rivalry in the U. P. Congress which dated back to the 'thirties. It was significant that the issue of the Ministers' relation with the P.C.C. was raised as part of a move for discussion at the meeting of the Uttar Pradesh Congress Committee of a non-official resolution seeking the replacement of the present nominated executive in the U.P.C.C. by an elected body. The Chief

Minister with the backing of Shri Govind Vallabh Pant and the other U.P. Ministers at the Centre made it a prestige issue but the imminent showdown could only be avoided by the last-minute withdrawal of the opposition motion on the personal appeal of Shri Chandra Bhan Gupta, the leader of the dissident group. And it was only after the Chief Minister had got through with his stand in the U.P.C.C. that the High Command decided to uphold him in the particular conflict with his Ministerial colleagues without giving any opinion on the question of ministerial responsibility *vis-a-vis* the P.C.C.

### *The Situation in Kerala*

The Communist Government in Kerala became, almost at its inception, a matter of national controversy. Even before three days had passed since the assumption of office by the Communists the Congress General Secretary was conjuring up the spectre of 'totalitarianism' swooping down on Kerala. This was perhaps not altogether unexpected in the context of prolonged, and often bitter, Congress-Communist clashes over policies and actions in many spheres of national life. It would be apparent to any impartial observer that partisanship ran a little further in the case of Kerala and the relative share of responsibility attached to the leadership of the Congress and the Praja Socialist Party who created a nationwide scare by exaggerating isolated incidents within Kerala beyond all reasonable proportion. All this might very well suit partisan purposes but were hardly useful for those who wanted to take stock of the situation in an objective manner. For a wider knowledge of the true state of affairs in Kerala was imperative for the future of democracy in the country. Nothing was or is ever gained by a deliberate blindness to reality. When we have accepted a democratic functioning of society where the Communists' role has also been recognized it is essential that everyone has the correct assessment about the distinctive role of the various political parties including the Communist Party. Possession of this knowledge alone could enable them to act correctly



in the critical situations. Shri H. D. Malavaya's report on the eighteen-month-old Communist rule in Kerala embodied in his latest book *Kerala—A Report to the Nation* throws much interesting light upon many obscure points in the Kerala uproar. In his characteristically incisive analysis the ex-editor of the *AICC Economic Review* traces the fantastic behaviour of the anti-Communist forces in Kerala to intra-Congress factionalism and Congress-PSP rivalry for political power. "Personal rivalries and factionalism continue to be the dominating urges of Kerala Congress till today, even after all the disasters which have befallen upon them," he writes. "The group headed by ex-Chief Minister Panampally is against any alliance with PSP, the chief argument being that Congress is good enough to beat the Communists if it is properly led. The clear implication is that the present leadership of the State Congress Organisation, as also the Congress Legislative Party, is not in competent hands. . . ."

"(The Congress Assembly Leader) P. T. Chacko's recent intimacy with Pattom (Thanu Pillai—the PSP leader) is explained by their common dislike for Panampally, both being determined to see that he is not set up as a candidate from Chalakudy. In this, K. A. Namodara Menon, the KPCC President, seems to be backing them.

"And so this bewildering dis-unity of the anti-Communists in Kerala has become the cause of most weird politics. To impress the powers that be both are interested in proving that each is a more virulent anti-Communist than the other. This competition in anti-Communism has reached fantastic proportions. There is the spectacle, on the one hand, of Panampally leading processions and shouting slogans on the streets of Trichur in connection with a got-up strike in Government-managed Saram Mills at Trichur. More than 600 'volunteers' were jailed. Very many of these 'volunteers' were picked up from the village vendors who come to Trichur and hardly earn a rupee a day. They were given forty-five rupees each for 'Satyagraha' which lodges them in jail just for two weeks. So during the period, when they would otherwise earn only fifteen

rupees, they get forty-five rupees—certainly not a bad bargain." (Pp. 128-130).

### *Suppression of Immoral Traffic*

How the provisions of a good act are vitiated through its inept implementation is exemplified in the conduct of the Nagpur police towards the singing girls and professionals. The object of the Act was to recover these girls to normal, civilised life and to ensure that no one else would have to take such a course in future. The police behaved in such a manner that it evoked the protest even of the fallen girls not to speak of decent citizens. Some of the police officers apparently took the occasion as an excellent opportunity for their personal aggrandisement. It would not be proper to hold that such a conduct was a peculiarity of Nagpur police. This could conceivably happen in any place. It was, however, essential in social interest that the girls did not find 'liberation' more degrading than bondage.

We append below extracts from the account of the staff reporter of the *Hitavada* about the incidents in Nagpur.

Nagpur, Oct. 13.—There have been reports of alleged police excesses and failure of the authorities in tackling the situation arising out of the implementation of the Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act, following detention of a large number of singing girls and professionals.

Instances of alleged mis-behaviour by the police party which conducted the raid and reported attempts by certain police officials to take advantage of the new powers vested in them were also brought to the notice of the reporter by a spokesman on behalf of the detained girls.

There was also bitter public criticism of the manner in which the police called the singing girls and a few professionals numbering about 40, to the District Court on Friday at 11 a.m. and kept them waiting in the open exposed to the public gaze without any protection.

A leading member of the bar who had personally witnessed the harassment of the girls by a large crowd of by-standers described the

scene as 'revolting.' He said any sane administration could have visualised the consequences of leaving such a large bunch of charming young girls at the mercy of the public.

The girls, according to eye-witnesses, were continuously surrounded by a large crowd which at times numbered over 500. They were stared at like the inmates of a zoo! All sorts of indecencies, filthy language and other obscene remarks were hurled at them and yet no step was taken to stop this mischief till the evening when those under 21 among them, were dispatched to the Women's Rescue Home and the remaining were allowed to go home.

The spokesman also gave instances where certain police officials are alleged to have tried to take undue advantage of the singing girls after the Act came into force. A Head Constable notorious for his 'excesses' in the locality is reported to have approached the father of a tawaif demanding her to be sent to his quarters. In another instance a Sub-Inspector went to the residence of a tawaif (the day following the medical examination of the singing girls) and made her sing till late hours in the morning. Her fee was paid by two other persons accompanying him.

#### *Women Trekking to Himalayas*

A newspaper report said that an Indian woman trekking expedition of six under the auspices of the Himalayan Mountaineering Institute left Darjeeling on October 19. One of the women gave up the effort but five of them were continuing their journey. The five women were Misses Pem Pem and Nima, daughters of Shri Tenzing Norkay, his niece, Miss Doma, Miss Sankhadhar of Banaras and Miss Kothare of Nagpur.

#### *Rise of the Military*

In the continents of Asia and Africa the military seems to be on the rise. Until recently it was a popular belief that in the East only the Middle Eastern countries were prone to fall a victim to military rule and that East of Baghdad the rise of the military would be exceptional. The frequent outbursts of violence and forcible changes of Government in the Middle Eastern countries and the relative

stability of Governments in East Asia were of course responsible for such a belief but keen observers were not hiding their uneasiness at the growing prominence of the military in Indonesian politics. History, however, has chosen to take its own peculiar course belying all the fond beliefs and interpretations. Contrary to expectation the Indonesian Government which gave signs of shakiness has remained relatively stable while Governments which were supposed to be stable have fallen like a house of cards one after another.

The first break-through was in Iraq, one of the Western strongholds in Asia. On July 14 of this year the military rose against the pro-West Government and assumed sovereign powers. At the same time in the nearby Lebanon the military under General Fuad Chehab played an equally effective, though perhaps less direct, role in effecting a change of Government. While all seemed to be settled the world was taken by surprise by Premier U. Nu's announcement that he had taken the decision to hand over the country's Government to General Ne Win, the Commander-in-Chief of the Burmese Armed Forces. Before the world was able to regain itself from the shock of the news of this failure of democracy in Burma the first act of the Pakistani drama was already on. On the night of October 7th, the Pakistan President, Iskander Mirza, under the obvious compulsion of pressure from the military, announced the abrogation of the Constitution, the Governments at the Centre and Provinces, the dissolution of the National Assembly and the Provincial Assemblies as well as the political parties and the imposition of Martial Law throughout the country virtually transferring all powers to the military headed by General Ayub Khan, Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Armed Forces. For a few days Mirza was retained as the titular head of the country, presumably for diplomatic and other considerations. But soon it became superfluous to maintain the show and President Mirza had to give way to the General as the Supreme Ruler of the country on October 27—within twenty days of his orders for the abrogation of the Constitution. The transfer of the title was made in an interesting way:

General Ayub Khan, who had been acting as the Chief Martial Law Administrator was sworn in as Prime Minister on October 27, morning. Simultaneously he assumed powers as the Supreme Commander of Pakistan's Armed Forces—a position to which only the President was entitled under the defunct Constitution—and Lieutenant-General Mohammad Musa, until then Chief of Staff in the Pakistani Army was promoted to the rank of General and appointed Commander-in-Chief, *vice* General Ayub Khan. In his oath Gen. Ayub undertook that he "will faithfully discharge such duties as the President may assign to me." By the evening of the same day (October 27) he forced the President, Iskander Mirza, as the President himself described, "to step aside and hand over all powers to General Ayub Khan." On his assumption of office as President, General Ayub Khan promptly abolished the post of Prime Minister and announced that henceforth Pakistan would be administered under a Presidential type of Government. Thus democracy was smothered for the first time in a country belonging to the Commonwealth.

Just as General Ayub Khan was making himself the President of Pakistan the Burmese Parliament in a historic session on October 28, unanimously resolved to hand over the Prime Ministership of the country to General Ne Win, the Commander-in-Chief. General Ne Win, a former clerk in a sub-post-office in Rangoon, was one of the revolutionary leaders who were prominent in the revolutionary wars against Japan and Britain. For brief periods in 1949 he officiated as the Deputy Prime Minister and Home Minister in addition to being Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces. He announced a purely non-political ministry—none of the ministers being member of the Parliament. This was another unique development: though the Constitution or the Parliament was not abrogated room was found to allow a non-Legislature Ministry to function within the Constitution.

In the meanwhile in a characteristically dramatic sweep Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat, Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces of Thailand, who had earlier been prominent in

the *coup* eliminating Field Marshal Pib Songgram, took over the Government of Thailand on October 20, forcing General Thanon Kittikachorn, the Prime Minister, to resign. Field Marshal Sarit, who had been recuperating in a London hospital, had returned to Bangkok only three days before (17th October). He proclaimed Martial Law and dissolved all the political parties in Thailand.

The world was taking stock of the changes brought about by these upheavals when news arrived of yet another military *coup*—this time in the Sudan in North Africa where the Army led by its Commander-in-Chief General Ibrahim Abboud seized power in a swift pre-dawn move on November 17, against the pro-Western Government. The General abrogated the Constitution, dissolved the Parliament, banned all political parties, closed down newspapers and declared a state of emergency throughout the country. A Supreme Military Council under the Chairmanship of General Abboud, who was also sworn in as Prime Minister and Minister of Defence, on November 20, would exercise the Constitutional powers.

It would, however, not be correct to put all these military *coups* in the same category. The events in Iraq, Lebanon and the Sudan may be put in one category. These countries—more particularly the first two—had been long afflicted under the rule of pro-Western Governments who were more concerned with maintaining their own authority than with the people's welfare. In practice, this meant the refusal on the parts of the Governments to comply with even the most elementary demands of the people for political, economic and social reforms. The Governments set up by the Military Commanders there promise and to an extent has already carried out, significant reforms so that the new Governments were able to secure a considerable degree of mass support. In Pakistan the *coup* meant the supersession of an incompetent and corrupt Parliamentary democracy without any fundamental change in the nature of domestic or international policies. The new regime made grandiose promises to the people and was initially hailed by the masses; but its subs



quent failure to act up to its promises has already removed much of its popular support. Moreover, as the Ayub administration does not envisage any radical economic, social and political reforms it has to go without the most potent means of ensuring popular support. What is more its declared adherence to the reactionary, pro-Western foreign policy has also tended to wean away from it the support of genuinely patriotic Pakistan nationalists. In Burma on the other hand General Ne Win has with full popular backing assumed powers for a specified period and he proposes to give up with the election of a new Parliament in April 1959. Thailand has seen many such army *coups* in the recent past and not much importance should perhaps be attached to the latest one.

However, the rise of the role of the military in political affairs and the failure of Parliamentary Governments in so many countries certainly posed a question which needs urgent attention by all concerned.

### *The Fate of South-West Africa*

South-West Africa occupies an area of 317,725 square miles and has a population of 447,000 of whom the European members are fewer than 50,000. It was seized by Germany in 1884 and during the First World War was surrendered to the Union of South Africa. At the conclusion of the First World War, the League of Nations gave it as a mandate to the Union of South Africa. After the Second World War when all mandated territories were placed under the United Nations Trusteeship system, the Government of the Union of South Africa refused to do so in respect of South-West Africa. On the contrary, the South African Government sought to incorporate the territory within the Union. It was through the efforts of the valiant Rev. Michael Scott that the world outside came to know of the discriminatory policy of the White Government of South Africa against the natives of the land.

The issue of South-West Africa has been before the U.N. for nearly twelve years now; though nothing tangible was achieved.

Latest developments would seem to suggest that the Union of South Africa was to be 're-

warded for its persistent refusal to according to the principles of international law. A United Nations Good Offices Committee, appointed in September last, has recommended either the revival of the old League of Nations Mandate agreement which would mean according moral sanction to racist policies of the present rulers of South Africa or a partition of South-West Africa between the whites and the natives.

It is difficult to believe that a U.N. Good Offices Committee could do something to lower the prestige of the democratic world body. Yet in the recommendation for the revival of the rejected mandate agreement of the League of Nations in supersession of the Trusteeship system of the U.N. nothing less has been done. It is again incomprehensible how the Committee could recommend giving to South Africa which has flouted the authority of the U.N., part of a territory to which it is not entitled legally, morally or politically (the International Court of Justice unequivocally declared that the South African Government could not incorporate S.W. Africa within the Union). It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that the General Assembly rejected the recommendation of the Good Offices Committee for partition of S.-W. Africa.

### *The Prison House of South Africa*

The Union of South Africa presented the picture of a vast prison house. Hundreds of African women courted arrest in October protesting against the discriminatory law which required African women to carry identity books. Five hundred women were arrested in Johannesburg on October 21 when another 460 women voluntarily gave themselves up to the police in sympathy with the arrested demonstrators. The women were carrying their babies in arms when they were arrested. Thousands thronged the streets outside the Magistrate's Court on October 30 when the arrested women were brought up for trial. Unable to stand this sight of national sympathy the police made a most beastly attack upon the helpless women. The barbarity of the attack was partly conveyed in the *P. T. I.* report appended below:

Johannesburg, Oct. 30.—Hundreds of

African women, many with babies on their backs, ran screaming through the streets of Johannesburg today as white police charged with canes to disperse a crowd gathered outside the magistrate's court.

Women began massing early outside the court where several hundred women were being charged for their part in demonstrations against pass laws.

The police whacked at the women's backs with canes and one policeman lashed a woman carrying a baby, with his leather pistol lanyard. The clasp of the lanyard embedded itself in the woman's leg and tore a deep wound.

The charge was ordered by the senior police Colonel after the crowd had given a noisy welcome to some of the accused women when they filed out of court after the case against them had been withdrawn. A few minutes earlier the Colonel had warned the crowd through megaphone to disperse.  
—F.T.I

### *Boris Pasternak Gets Nobel Prize*

The Swedish Academy awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature for 1958 to the Soviet writer Boris Pasternak for his novel *Dr. Zhivago* which became a best-seller in the West—though yet to be published within the Soviet Union. Mr. Pasternak, 68, was the son of a well-known painter Leonid Pasternak and was the greatest living Soviet poet. His parents had left the U.S.S.R. in the 1920s and had eventually settled in England. His two sisters still lived in London where a memorial exhibition of his father's works was recently held.

The award of the Prize to Pasternak set off a chain of reaction in the land of "socialist realism" that must shock every decent person. The whole affair bore a close resemblance to the behaviour of the Nazi Government in Germany when the German pacifist writer, Carl von Ossietzky was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in November 1936. The Stalinist terror had forced Pasternak, the greatest living Soviet poet, to stop writing and to concentrate on making Russian translations of Shakespeare (the translations by the way were best sellers in the Soviet Union). He never really stopped writing though he did not publish them. After

Stalin's death he announced the completion of the novel *Dr. Zhivago* which was at first received with approval by the Soviet Communist which, however, reversed its ruling on second thoughts and the publication of the book with the USSR was tabooed. The book would perhaps have never seen the light of the day had it not been for the unusual courage and stamina displayed by an Italian Communist publisher, Feltrinelli—that was the Italian's name—was fascinated by Pasternak's manuscript during his trip to the Soviet Union at the time of the intellectual thaw and secured world copyright for the book outside the USSR. As the Party bosses had not taken their hostile stand Feltrinelli was allowed to take a copy of the book. When he was halfway through the publication of the Italian edition of the novel the change of mind took place in the Soviet land and the party wanted to have the book suppressed. A top-ranking party man went to Italy to persuade Feltrinelli to desist from publishing the book. The latter, however, refused to be swayed.

Thus *Dr. Zhivago* came to see the light of the day and for this book Boris Pasternak became the first Soviet writer to be awarded the Nobel Prize since the Revolution of 1917. The controversy preceding the publication of the book was at any rate bound to lead anyone praising the book to face the wrath of the Soviet Party and Government. The award of the Nobel Prize under such circumstances could be expected to provoke some uncharitable comments from the Soviet Union. Few, however, could predict the course actually taken by the Soviet bureaucracy which did not remain content by abusing the Swedish Academy in the most offending manner but went on to inflict the most severe punishment upon the aged writer who had all along sought to obey the party line even at the cost of great personal humiliation. The guardians of "socialist realism" not only criticized him; they stripped Pasternak of his honour of being called a "Soviet writer" and also expelled him from the Union of writers. Translated into understandable language it meant in the Soviet context that henceforth Pasternak would have no avenue of earning his livelihood within the

Soviet Union. No Soviet newspaper or publishing house would come forward to publish his writings and nobody would be able to sell or buy them in public. Being on the wrong side of sixty he would neither find it easy to change to another avocation, if that were possible at all. It was no wonder then that on the very next day of his expulsion he came forward with a refusal to accept the award when two of his compatriots were jubilating at the award of the Nobel Prize for Physics to them. The wordings of Pasternak's cable to the Swedish Academy were revealing: "Considering how this honour has been interpreted in the society to which I belong," the great poet wrote, "I am obliged to reject the undeserved prize I have been awarded."

The Communist Party and Khrushchev were not satisfied even with that. On November 1 they announced that Pasternak could leave the USSR if he liked—the underlying idea being that it would be far more easy to denounce Pasternak if he should choose to go out. The great writer, however, refused to oblige the Kremlin gods with a new handle to whip up their campaign of slander. He refused to leave Russia. "For me this is impossible," he said. "I am linked with Russia by my birth, life and work. I cannot imagine my fate separate and outside Russia. . . . A departure beyond the borders of my country is for me equivalent to death and for that reason I request you (Khrushchev) not to take in relation to me that extreme measure (i.e., banishment). With my hand on my heart I can say that I have done something for Soviet literature and I can still be useful to it."

The great writer's stand was thus a straight slap on the face of his denigrators who wanted to threaten him to a position of acting as a handle for lying propaganda. The decision would mean great hardship for the old poet but he thereby proved himself a great patriot and a brave man and earned the admiration of all right-thinking person.

### *Reform of the House of Lords*

The four-hundred-year-old British tradition of an all-male House of Lords was broken on October 21 when Stella Reading, 64, widow

of a nobleman took her seat in the Second Chamber of the British Parliament as the first woman peer. She was one of the four women who were created "life" peers by Queen Elizabeth on the recommendation of the Conservative Government as a measure of constitutional reform. All the four women were well-known public figures. The youngest Dame Katherine Elliot, 55, was the widow of a Conservative elder statesman and her party's former Chairman. The oldest, the dowager Marchioness of Reading, 64, had organized 1,250,000 housewives into a volunteer labour force during Second World War. The other two were Mrs. Barbara Wooton, 60, economist and only socialist of the four and Baroness Ravensdale, 62, once a member of Britain's suffragette band which had won the parliamentary vote for women.

There was bitter resentment among most of the 800 nobles who sat in the House of Lords by hereditary right as peers of the U.K., at this feminine invasion of a male stronghold.

Describing the swearing-in ceremony of the women peers *Reuter* said:

"Lady Reading—who now becomes Baroness Swarborough—and Baroness Wooton of Abinger, as two of the nation's new life peeresses, also scored an immediate victory for their sex by keeping their hats on during the centuries-old ceremonial of installation. Men life peers had to doff their black cockades thrice to Viscount Kilmuir, Lord Chancellor (Chairman of the Upper House).

"Had the women, garbed in scarlet, ermine-trimmed robes, been forced to remove their black velour Tricorne hats, their hair would have been disarranged. The Lords accordingly waived the rule."

The United Kingdom is one of the oldest democracies. Yet it was only recently that women were accorded the right of vote there. Even now women there were barred from some positions though it was not easy to the reasonableness for such exclusion from a democratic point of view. With the present reform of the House of Lords one of the political inequalities of the women was removed.



### *The New Pope*

Angelo Cardinal Roncalli, 76-year-old Patriarch of Venice, was elected Pope on October 28, by the Cardinals on their eleventh ballot, held on the third day of their secret conclave. The new Pope would be known as John XXIII—the title assumed by a 15th century anti-Pope who was deposed. He would be known in the Vatican as “Papa Giovanni XXIII.”

*The New York Times* gives the following biographical sketch:

Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli, born near Bergamo, north Italy, Nov. 25, 1881, of humble farm workers. Ordained a priest in 1904. Called to Rome in 1921 as an aide at the Vatican's Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith which supervises all missionary activities. Consecrated titular Archbishop in 1925 and entered Vatican diplomatic service. Held high-ranking Balkan posts through most of World War II. Named Apostolic Nuncio to France in 1944. Elevated to Cardinal and Patriarch of Venice in 1953.

*Reuter* reports:

“The new Pope, who spoke for 12 minutes in a strong, clear voice, appealed for peace and concord between nations and for justice for all classes. Afterwards he gave his Apostolic benediction ‘*Urbi et Orbi*’ to the City of Rome and to the world.

“The Pope began by sending his greetings to the people of Bergamo, where he was born, and of Venice where he was Patriarch until last night.

“He sent a special message of greetings to the bishops and clergy in those countries where ‘they do not enjoy religious freedom.’ Then he addressed all the rulers of nations, appealing to them for harmony, concord and peace. He told them that they should act in such a way as to inspire mutual confidence. They should insist on peace, so that the human family could live in freedom.

“Freedom can come only from the tranquillity of peace. Peace comes from inside the soul.”

“Afterwards, Vatican Radio announced: ‘The conclave area has been opened. The Pon-

tificate of John XXIII has begun.’ Church bells then pealed out.”

### *Abortive U.S. Rocket to Moon*

The United States Air Forces launched a rocket, towards the moon, which lies about 221,000 miles away from the earth, on October 11. Initially the American Scientists said that it would be able to break through the gravitational pull and if it should function as planned it would either go into orbit around the moon and become a satellite's satellite or circle round behind the moon and return to the vicinity of the earth, or crash into the moon's surface. Actually, however, it was unable to overcome the gravitation and crashed on earth. The U.S. bid, through a failure this time, indicates that rocket research was reaching a stage when the journey to the moon might not be far off.

### *The U.S. Elections*

The mid-term election in the U.S. has resulted in a landslide victory for the Democrats. The following extract from the *New York Times* of November 2, is revealing in that context:

Off-year elections are generally settled by local issues or local aspects of national issues. Nonetheless it is traditional for the party's big guns to boom out assertions that might woo new voters or hold waverers.

It was in this spirit—and to boost the morale of Republicans disheartened by the prospects of a Democratic sweep—that Vice-President Nixon set out late in September. He has stumped in every pivotal state with a slashing campaign that attacked Democrats for “radicalism” and pointed admiringly to the Eisenhower Administration's record. Under urging from him and from G. O. P. National Chairman Mcade Alcorn, President Eisenhower soon took to the hustings with the most partisan campaigning of his career. He charged that the “dominant wing” of the Democratic party is controlled by “radicals” who are “pursuing economic and political goals at odds with American tradition,” whereas his Administration has exemplified “sane Government.”

For the Democrats the big guns—less re-

sounding because they lack the platform provided by national office—have been former President Truman and former Presidential nominee Adlai E. Stevenson. Mr. Truman has declared that the Administration “gave us more unemployment.” Mr. Stevenson has taxed the Administration with “failure of leadership.”

Although both sides have discussed many issues, only two appear to have any widespread impact. One is the recession, an issue which has repercussions in every state. The other is the role of organized labor, an issue that has its greatest impact generally in industrialized states and particularly in six states which will be voting on “right-to-work” plans banning the union shop. This is the situation of the two parties on these major issues:

*Recession.* President Eisenhower summarized the Republican stand on the issue last week in a campaign speech at Pittsburgh. Declaring that “events swiftly showed a critical and basic difference” between the parties in attacking the recession, he said:

The Republican formula was steadiness, confidence, strength. The formula of the radical wing of the opposition was fearful prophesy and a raid on the tax-payer's dollar. . . .

(The) Republican approach worked. Today, nation-wide, things are good and are rapidly getting better.

Former President Truman has stated the Democratic stand on the recession issue in these terms:

The Republicans believe in a policy of boom or bust. They had us in a recession in 1953 and 1954 and as soon as there was a little recovery they put us in a recession again. Big business gets the upward trends and the rest of us get the down slopes and go broke.

*Labor.* Republicans contend that the Democratic party is dominated by “power-hungry union bosses” and blame the Democrats for the defeat in the House of the Kennedy-Ives bill, a bipartisan measure passed 88 to 1 by the Senate and aimed at halting some of the labor practices exposed by the McClellan committee in the Senate. Democrats contend that the Republicans are the “party of big business” and argue that Republican votes brought the Kennedy-Ives bill down. Actually, labor was

cool to the bill and business opposed it because it relaxed the Taft-Hartley Act somewhat. Therefore, the Democratic leadership of the House brought the measure up under a procedure barring amendments; the Republicans charged “gag” and voted against it. The labor issue is embittered by controversies in six states over “right-to-work” plans. This is primarily an employer-union controversy, but those Republicans who have taken any stand on it tend to support the “right-to-work” principle while Democrats generally have opposed it.

Both these issues have figured—the recession prominently, labor varyingly—in the states which are the principal battlegrounds of the campaign.

As to the individuals whose political fortunes are bound up in the election, the one most deeply committed is Vice-President Nixon. He is now alone in the field for the Republican Presidential nomination in 1960. A severe defeat for the Republicans in California, his home state, would weaken his political footing. It at the same time Nelson A. Rockefeller won in New York, the Vice President would be confronted with a major rival for the Presidential nomination.

Another factor involved in Mr. Nixon's fate is the determinedly partisan campaign he has waged. If the Republicans stave off a major defeat his stock in the party will rise. Conversely, a landslide loss would hurt him.

Mr. Rockefeller, by winning, would become not only a hot Presidential prospect but a rallying point for the “modern” or Eisenhower Republicans whose center is in the East. Defeat for him would strengthen the position of the party's conservative or Old Guard wing, which has maintained that the G. O. P. should distinguish itself clearly from the Democrats instead of blurring the lines as Mr. Rockefeller has done.

### *U.S. Election Results*

*The Statesman* of November 6, gives the results of the election in the U.S., and the commentary given below:

New York, Nov. 5.—The state of the parties in the U.S. Congressional election at 11 p.m. I.S.T. tonight was as follows:

## HOUSE

Democrats .....274 (235).  
 Republicans .....140 (200).  
 Undecided .....22 (including  
     Alaska, 1).

## SENATE

Democrats .....61 (49).  
 Republicans .....34 (47).  
 Undecided .....3 (including  
     Alaska, 2).

## GOVERNORS

Democrats .....31 (29).  
 Republicans .....17 (19).

Washington, Nov. 5.—The Democrats swept into increased control of Congress and State Governorships today in a landslide election victory largely attributed to an anti-Eisenhower feeling.

But, in defeat, the Republicans produced a potential new Presidential "star" in Mr. Nelson Rockefeller, who wrested the New York State Governorship from his fellow millionaire, Mr. Averell Harriman.

First results from the Eastern States poured into jubilant Democratic headquarters last night while the Western polling stations were still open for the last voters. They told a tale of growing Republican disaster.

The one-third of Senate seats at stake fell steadily to Democrats, who chalked up 14 consecutive victories before Republicans won even a single seat.

In Vermont, "rock-ribbed" stronghold of New England conservatism, Democrats broke a 104-year-old Republican stranglehold.

Also in New England, all six of the Connecticut Republicans were swept out of the House of Representatives by the advancing Democrats. They also won control of the California Governorship, Senator William F. Knowland losing to Mr. Edmund Brown.

The Democratic victory was attributed partly to the traditional mid-term swing away

from the party controlling the White House and partly because President Eisenhower's Republican Administration had been associated with the recent recession in the minds of many voters.

The President again faces a potentially hostile Congress in his last two years of office. He is the first President ever to be confronted by three successive Congresses controlled by the Opposition Party.

The Democratic tide had been accurately forecast and vigorous campaigning in the past few weeks by President Eisenhower and Vice-President Nixon failed to halt it.

Mr. Nixon, unchallenged until now for party leadership in 1960, had set the pace of the Republican campaign and was seen as gradually moving into overall direction of Republican strategy. Today he finds himself as the head of a badly defeated party and with his own political future made somewhat uncertain by the rise of Mr. Rockefeller.

*The Algerian Stalemate*

*The New York Times* of November 2 describes the position in Algeria in the following terms:

The stalemate between France and the Algerian rebels is reflected in these two statements:

By *Premier Charles de Gaulle*, on Oct. 23: "If delegates were designated (by the Algerian rebels) to come (to Paris) and settle . . . the end of hostilities, they would . . . be received and treated honorably. . . . I guarantee them the freedom to leave again. This peace, may it come as soon as possible."

By *Algerian rebel leaders*, on Oct. 25: "(De Gaulle's offer is) a request for unconditional surrender. . . . Supported by the glorious Army of National Liberation, which nothing can beat, . . . the Algerian Government has decided to direct the fight until its end, that is, the independence of the country."

Thus France's most direct bid for peace in Algeria appeared to have come to nought. Throughout the West last week there was deep disappointment. While no one had expected the rebels to fly to Paris hats in hand, the feeling had been that they wanted peace and might



give qualified acceptance to the de Gaulle offer. Last week de Gaulle was reported to have told an aide: "These are not men of state; they lack political sense." Even Algeria's sister states, Tunisia and Morocco, criticized the rebel reply.

The French offer was the first of its kind since the Algerian rebellion began four years ago. In making it, de Gaulle overrode the bitter opposition of the Rightists in France and the European settlers in Algeria—advocates of a tough policy of military repression. Despite their views, the French Premier had also opened the door to a political settlement with the rebels.

Why, then, did the rebels reject his offer? According to reports from Cairo, where the Algerian "government-in-exile" has its headquarters, the rebel leaders felt they were being asked to sign a truce without any assurance that they would ever reach the goal for which they had been fighting: independence.

#### *Distortion of the Tax Structure*

The Special Representative of the Statesman at New Delhi writes:

New Delhi, Oct. 20.—The reluctance of State Governments to tax the agriculturist is the most striking conclusion to emerge from a comparative study of Second Plan taxation targets and estimated yields.

In sharp contrast is the yield from taxes which primarily affect the urban population. In every case, the yield is expected to be more than estimated in the Plan.

But the shortfall in the agricultural sector is so large that it more than outweighs the gains registered in the urban. As a result the overall shortfall amounts to Rs. 30.2 crores against an additional taxation target of Rs. 225 crores.

Data collected by the Planning Commission indicate that the five-year yield from land revenue, for instance, will amount to Rs. 11.1 crores or less than one-third of the target of Rs. 37 crores.

The increased yield from betterment levy is now estimated at Rs. 1.9 crores as against the target of Rs. 16 crores; from irrigation rates Rs. 1.5 crores as against Rs. 11 crores;

from agricultural income-tax Rs. 7.9 crores as against Rs. 12 crores; and from assessment of non-agricultural land nil as against the target of Rs. 1.9 crores.

The aggregate Plan target for these five items was Rs. 77.9 crores. The yield, as estimated from the measures taken so far, is estimated at Rs. 22.4 crores or as much as Rs. 55.5 crores below the target.

The aggregate target for five other items primarily affecting the urban population—sales tax, tax on motor vehicles and passengers, electricity duties and rates, stamp duties and miscellaneous taxes—is Rs. 147.1 crores. The five-year yield estimated now is Rs. 172.6 crores, an increase of Rs. 25.3 crores.

The comparative figures for the non-agricultural items are: sales tax (including tax on motor spirits) target Rs. 112 crores, yield Rs. 118.9 crores, taxes on motor vehicles and passengers target Rs. 10 crores, yield Rs. 14.4 crores; electricity duties and rates target Rs. 6 crores, yield Rs. 10.6 crores; stamp duties and registration target Rs. 4 crores, yield Rs. 4.9 crores; miscellaneous taxes target Rs. 15.1 crores, yield Rs. 23.6 crores.

While the Planning Commission has urged the states not only to make good the deficit but also contribute to filling the uncovered gap of Rs. 400 crores, little hope is really held out of a substantial increase in tax revenues in the last two years of the Plan.

The reason given—though not by the Commission—is the fact that the State Governments derive their main support from the agricultural vote.

#### *Agriculture to the Fore?*

It seems from the following news-item that our Government is at last taking notice of a very neglected essential. We wonder!

New Delhi, Nov. 2.—The imperative need to raise agriculture to a position of major importance in India epitomises the conclusions of the Agricultural Administration Committee which submitted its report to the Government recently.

A bold attitude to see "new wine in new bottles" has to be developed towards reforming the agricultural administration in the country, the 10-chapter report declares.

The Committee is strongly of the opinion that a streamlined agricultural administration is an urgent necessity, and that the food situation of the country "can be appreciably eased if positive steps are taken to achieve this objective."

Stating that the picture is "bleak enough" to justify "drastic measures," not merely to retrieve the situation but even more to make up for the time already lost, the report calls for a change of heart, of purpose and of leadership in the field of agriculture as a requirement of national importance.

The committee's report bears this legend at its commencement: "At the head of all sciences and arts, at the head of civilization and progress, stand not militarism, the science that kills, not commerce, the art that accumulates, but agriculture, the mother of all industries and the maintainer of human life."

The committee's inquiry lasted seven months. Raja Surendra Singh of Nalagarh, who is Adviser on Agricultural Production in the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, was its chairman.

#### *Price Control*

The following news-item contains a very valuable suggestion:

Hyderabad, Nov. 13.—Mr. N. Sanjiva Reddi, Chief Minister of Andhra, said here today that there should be a uniform price control policy in respect of rice in all the States, be they surplus or deficit. Otherwise the possibility of smuggling rice from a State where the price was controlled to a State where there was no such control could not be eliminated.

Mr. Reddi also said that it was unfair to impose price control only in the surplus States, leaving out the deficit States. It would mean discrimination against producers in the surplus States who would have to part with their stocks at controlled rates while producers in the deficit areas would be free to sell their stocks at any price.

This matter had been raised at the recent meeting of the National Development Council which decided that wholesale trade in food-grains should be under the monopoly of State Governments.

#### *Heartening News*

Welcome news, is how we would describe the following news-item:

New Delhi, Nov. 14.—Having received encouraging reports from Bihar, Orissa, Andhra and West Bengal, the Union Food and Agriculture Ministry is expecting a bumper paddy crop this year.

There is every hope that this year's rice crop will equal, if not exceed, 28 million tons, so far the biggest on record which was harvested in 1956.

It is presumably because of this that rice prices have lately declined by at least Rs. 2 per maund in most rice-consuming areas.

There has, however, been no sign yet of any appreciable reduction in wheat prices which continue to be high, especially in some parts of U.P.

#### *Nehru on Pakistan*

The following news-item is given below for record:

Baroda, Nov. 2.—Mr. Nehru today said that the recent events in Pakistan, where a military dictator had become the master of that country, were portents which one could not appreciate or like.

Mr. Nehru, who was addressing about 200,000 people at a public meeting here, said that anyone in Pakistan was welcome to these new developments. India, however, had to learn from such events and see that it did not get entangled in such things.

He did not think, however, that such developments could take place in this country "because what we have done during the freedom movement and later has given us tremendous strength and because we still try to follow the path that Gandhiji showed us," he said.

"You have seen what has happened in Pakistan during the last two or three weeks. I have no right, nor have you, to criticize Pakistan. It is their country and they should do what they think proper. But you see now that after 11 years of independence, Pakistan has not yet settled down," he said.

In comparison, India had made tremendous progress. India had held two general elections,

fulfilled its First Five-Year Plan and was now in the course of implementing its Second Plan.

There were a hundred and one other things, however, "which can create obstacles in our work. These are our old weaknesses of disunity, casteism and petty provincial quarrels which erupt now and then. We have to beware of them," he said.

### *Party Cogitations*

We place the following extract from the *Statesman* of November 17, for record only, as such cogitations have seldom achieved anything in the past:

New Delhi, Nov. 16.—Meeting on the eve of the Lok Sabha's winter session, both the Congress and Communist Parliamentary Parties gave more attention to domestic problems than to developments in other countries.

Although they did not hold formal meetings, members of other groups were also preparing to draw attention to such issues as the Bombay-Mysore border dispute and conditions in Pondicherry.

Congress members showed particular interest in the implementation of the decision to nationalize trading in foodgrains and the Vivian Bose inquiry report into the conduct of the officials concerned with the L.I.C. affair.

The Communists are understood to have decided to seek a debate on relations with Pakistan; but presumably because of the unanimity of views on the recent coups, the subject did not dominate either of the meetings.

Mr. Nehru told Congress members that although they should keep a close watch on developments in Pakistan, there was no need for undue worry. The succession of coups reminded him of a Gilbert and Sullivan light opera.

He expressed concern, however, at the reported beating of an Indian official and his wife on the East Pakistan border. He described it as "highly objectionable" and symptomatic of the atmosphere in Pakistan. He also expressed sympathy for the people of Pakistan.

Mr. Nehru devoted most of his speech to reviewing the decisions taken recently by the A.-I.C.C. and the National Development

Council. Both showed a welcome realization of the problems facing the country, he said.

At the N.D.C. meeting, for instance, Chief Ministers had discussions on specific problems and had taken the decision to have State trading in foodgrains. Formerly, their main effort was to stress the aid they required from the Centre.

In response to questions on the Vivian Bose inquiry report, both Mr. Nehru and Pandit Pant assured members that it would be placed before Parliament after the usual procedure of securing explanations from the officials concerned and gaining the opinion of the U.P.S.C. had been completed.

Mr. Nehru is understood to have said that the inquiry conducted by Mr. Justice Bose was a departmental inquiry and normally the reports of such inquiries were not made public, adds *P.T.I.* But in view of the public importance attached to the inquiry the report would be placed on the table of the Lok Sabha. Mr. Nehru did not give any indication of the date of publication.

Mr. Nehru said that in spite of some risks involved in taking over wholesale trade in foodgrains the scheme should be tried fully. He said that State trading would succeed only if small and compact co-operatives were formed in villages. Only if the co-operatives were small, could members understand the virtues and faults of one another and learn self-reliance.

Poverty could not be eliminated by "surface industrialization," by which he meant industrialization effected by imported machinery, Mr. Nehru said. They should start manufacturing machinery in the country if there was to be real industrialization. He also stressed the need for freely using labour-saving devices in factories. He did not think that the use of these devices would lead to unemployment.

### *The S.G.P.C. Election*

The following news-item gives the result in these terms:

Amritsar, Nov. 16.—Master Tara Singh was today defeated by Sardar Prem Singh Lalpura, 31-year-old young Congress legislator, by a margin of three votes—77 to 74—in the



presidential election of the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabhandak Committee.

Sardar Lalpura was supported by the Congress groups of Gyani Kartar Singh, Sardar Giansingh Rarewala, and Sardar Pratab Singh Kairon and the Khalsa Dal of Jathedar Udham Singh Nagoke and the pro-Communist Deshbhaktis, who have a solid block of 22 votes.

Out of 162 members 153 attended today's meeting. Two votes were declared invalid.

After the result was announced both sides shouted Sat Sri and Master Tara Singh Zindabad and Gyani Kartar Singh Zindabad. Despite excitement the meeting continued with the election of other office-bearers peacefully.

Seventy-three-year-old Master Tara Singh was President of the S.G.P.C., for the last three successive years and was seeking election for a fourth term, adds *P.T.I.*

### *Rashtra Bhāsa*

Bhopal, Nov. 1.—Mr. Nehru today warned Hindi protagonists against adopting a hostile attitude towards other languages. It would only harm Hindi. Mr. Nehru was inaugurating the first session of the Madhya Pradesh Hindi Sahitya Sammelan here.

He said no language could progress and flourish in an atmosphere of hostility and suspicion.

Hindi had developed during the last few years and it could make further progress if its champions adopted a helpful attitude towards the other Indian languages.

Hindi was given the status of the "official language" because it was spoken and understood by a large majority of the people and there was no question of it dominating others.

It was futile to think in terms of domination of one language over the others. No language was superior to the other. All the languages should be complementary to each other so that they could flourish and develop in a cordial atmosphere.

Mr. Nehru said that the superiority of any language could not be established by the number of people who spoke and understood it.

Mr. Nehru referred to the opposition to Hindi in the South and said that this opposi-

tion could not be done away with by adopting a hostile attitude towards the languages of the South. To win over the opponents it was necessary that the advocates of Hindi should work for the progress and advancement of Tamil and other South Indian languages.

For the progress of any language it was necessary that it should be made simple and lively. Hindi must be made as simple as possible.

### *Congress in West Bengal*

The muddy waters of the W.B.P.C.C. politics have been stirred up vigorously by the recent resignations from the ruling group. The position at present is given in the following commentary by the *Statesman*:

Several Congressmen belonging to the anti-Atulya Ghosh group are expected to leave Calcutta for Delhi today to press their point of view about the manner in which the W.B.P.C.C. Executive Council should be reconstituted. In Delhi they hope to meet Mr. Nehru and Mr. Dhebar and submit a memorandum to them.

A spokesman of this group said on Thursday that whatever explanation Mr. Atulya Ghosh might now offer for his resignation from the W.B.P.C.C. presidentship, he had no doubt that it had been hastened by the campaign the group had conducted during the past few months on the continuance of Mr. Ghosh in this office and Mr. Nehru's "intervention" and its suggestion.

From talks with the spokesman it seemed that the group feared that, constituted as the P.C.C. now was, there was little likelihood of a fundamental change in the composition of the new Executive Council which is to be elected by the P.C.C. on November 25. Although Mr. Ghosh would not be the president, he would still continue to be the organization's dominant leader. This meant that the group's campaign would have failed to achieve its main purpose—a change in the leadership of the State Congress.

The group is likely to suggest to Mr. Nehru and Mr. Dhebar that the present leadership should not be allowed to continue to dominate the P.C.C. indirectly.

## HINDUISM—ITS UNIVERSAL APPEAL\*

BY DR. KALIDAS NAG, M.A., D. Litt. (Paris)

Like the incomparable Himalayas the source of many big rivers, Hinduism, the major religion of India, is the cradle of many cults and myths, religions and philosophies. They were named and defined differently in different ages. Conservatives and progressives, reformers and rebels appeared from epoch to epoch. Jainism and Buddhism, Vaishnavism and Saivism with so many other creeds and doctrines functioned now within and now without the fold of Hinduism. It is, however, the primary historical source of many spiritual currents all rushing into the ocean of Eternity where all diversities merge in a supreme Unity—*Ekam Sat*.

Hinduism is a relatively late expression coined by our Western neighbours, to describe the culture-complex and the main religion of India, derived from Indios-Indus = Sindhu pronounced as *Hindu* by our Persian cousins of the age of Darius I (520-480 B. C.). He gives, in his famous inscription, the name denoting *Sindhu* = Hindu his rich satrapy and its resources. Iran was then under Mazdaism of Zoroaster, contemporary of our later Vedic Sages who (like the Iranians) worshipped with fire as the symbol and composed hymns to Agni (Latin Ignis) or Fire, the impersonal symbol of the elemental god common to India, Iran and to so many other early nations.

Yajna (Iranian Yasna) or Sacrifice is the ritual common to the Hindu Vedas and the Iranian Avesta (the Persian Bible) which evolved the concept of the eternal conflict of Good and Evil which is also common to early Christianity and Islam both flourishing later in the vast area of the Persian Empire, graphically described by Herodotus. Pre-Socratic Greek thoughts of Pythagoras and the Ionian philosophers—show traces of Indo-Iranian contacts; and Alexander of Macedon not only conquered parts of India and Iran but contacted also the sages of the two Aryan nations who (under the generic name of the Magis) sent personal gifts to Baby Jesus in Bethlehem.

Old Testament archaeology also proves that after years of persecution from the Egyptians and the Chaldeo-Assyrians, the Jews were given protection by the Persian King. So we find the Hebrew Bible being translated into Greek about 250 B. C., when our Indian Emperor Asoka (270-230 B. C.) began sending his missions to the courts of Ptolemy Philadelphos of Egypt, to Antiochus Theos of Syria, to Magus of Cyrene, to Antigonus Gonatus of Macedon, and to Alexander of Epirus—related to Alexander the Great.

Thus when the Septuagint was taking shape, translating Hebrew Bible into Greek, India of Asoka was sending her philosophers and sages beyond West Asia and Africa to Europe. So some Western thinkers, like Prof. G. P. Conger, have found traces of Hindu thought in the Ionian and Pythagorean philosophies. The recently discovered "Dead Sea Scrolls" are throwing new light on the history of Eastern Monachism and of early Christianity, of the Essenes and of the founders of Mithraism and Manichaeism all partly reflected in the Koran, the seventh century Islamic Bible, uniting the vast Muslim world.

After the premature death of Alexander the Great (323 B. C.) in Babylon, we find Greek travellers and ambassadors visiting Indian courts and writing books like the "Indica" of Megasthenes (300 B. C.). After 250 B. C. we find Indo-Greek and Indo-Parthian rulers settled in India and they are fully described in our ancient Indian coins and inscriptions, some in Greek and Aramaic. A recent discovery of a Greek-Aramaic inscription of Asoka proves the close cultural relations of India with the Mediterranean world. St. Thomas came overland to India (dying near Madras) through the kingdom of the Indo-Parthian King Gondophernes; and thus Christianity and Hinduism work peacefully for nearly 2000 years.

Christ's sojourn in India and Kashmir, in legendary form is narrated even today by the village elders of Kashmir. The Indo-Greeks of North West India (Gandhara-Afghanistan) assimilated Buddhism, as attested by the "Questions of Minander", a Buddhist classic

\* Address delivered at the Sixteenth Congress of the I. A. R. F. (International Association for Liberal Christianity and Religious Freedom), University of Chicago, August 11, 1958, on Hinduism.

of the second century B. C.; and so we find the Buddhist Nativity stories and the later life of Buddha deftly carved and painted on the cave-temples of our North-West and Afganistan, recently explored by the French archeologists led by Mon. Foucher, Joseph Hackin, Schlumberger and their colleagues.

Not only cosmopolitan Buddhism but devotional Vaishnavism also claimed some Greek converts like Heliodoros, ambassador of the Greek King Antialkidas (second century B. C.) of Taxila where the Hindus and the Persians, the Greeks and the Romans, the Scythians and the semi-Chinese Kushans left vestiges of their cult and religion, art and culture. Thus, like the Buddha for the Buddhist, the Hindus were developing *personal* gods like Vishnu and Siva displacing the vague and impersonal nature-gods of the Vedas. Discarding the Vedic and Avestan ritualism, the mixed population of that age showed devotion to *personal gods* like Buddha, Krishna and Siva. Some texts and legends of early Christianity and Buddhism offer striking parallels; and this was philosophically discussed by the great Hindu philosopher Dr. B. N. Seal in his famous address on "Vaishnavism and Christianity" which he read at the International Congress of Orientalists held in Rome (1899). So his college-friend Swami Vivekananda (1863-1902)—ever since his first appearance before the Chicago Parliament of Religions (1893)—was explaining to his American friends how the Hindu Monistic philosophy of the Vedanta offered many parallels to Buddhism and early Christianity.

Thus the leaders of modern Hindu thought harked back to those early Christian centuries when the Greco-Roman world collaborated with the Sino-Indian folks producing new schools of thought, art and culture.

India, the cradle of Hinduism and also the depository of these rich legacies, creeds and cultures, deserves to be the centre of a school or a university of Comparative Religion with international support. Such a school would foster a truer and deeper understanding of the East and the West which may now transcend the parochial and collaborate on a truly universal level.

Not only the Western but the Far Eastern

thought also was enriched by the "cross-fertilization" with Hinduism and Buddhism which the Sinologists and the Japanologists are studying with Confucianism, Taoism, Zen Buddhism, etc., all sharing with the Hindu-Buddhistic creeds their preoccupation with the ethical foundations of man and society. For over a millennium India collaborated with China through thought and literature, art and religion which should be popularized now by publishing the *Encyclopedia Asiana*—as I pleaded before the Asian Relations Conference (Delhi 1947) and as I sketched in my new book *Discovery of Asia* (1958).

Many other nations of the Far East like Korea and Japan as well as Burma, Siam, Cambodia, Annam (Viet Nam), Indonesia, Malaya and Ceylon have yielded valuable texts and artistic treasures which should go to inspire thousands in the East and the West and to illustrate for them the projected "Asian Cyclopedia" which would publicize the latest findings of theology and philosophy, anthropology and social sciences, art and archeology.

The sub-continent of India with about 400 million souls—dominantly Hindus—presents problems of different orders of ethnic, sociological and spiritual values which I can but barely outline in my preliminary address on Hinduism intended for a general audience:

I. A quarter of a century ago no one suspected that archeological discoveries will take back the antiquity of Indian culture from the accepted date of Alexander's invasion—4th century B. C.—to the 4th millennium B. C. The discovery of the Indus civilisation by Professor R. D. Banerji in 1922-26, (vide *Modern Review*, 1923—24) proved the growth of agriculture and commerce, town-planning and civic amenities, equalling the city-states of Mesopotamia and Egypt where I personally saw many things reminding me of our "Indus Valley Civilisation" ably described by the late Sir John Marshall and his American colleague Ernest Mackay. But while the Egyptian and the Mesopotamian scripts and texts have been deciphered and translated, our Indus seals and scripts (like those of the Minoan Crete) still remain unread! The language of arts



and crafts, however, together with the ritual objects and symbols, have been analysed with reference to stratigraphy, so that we know now that, apart from the wonderful material culture of the Indus Valley, the people developed also a theogony and iconography closely related to the Mesopotamian and later Indian Hindu forms. Terra-cotta and bronze objects of deities, with their *vahanas* or carrier animals, attest to the sanctity of animals found in so many early theriomorphic religions like those of Egypt and Babylonia. The Lord of Animals—Proto-Siva—with his consort, the Mother-Goddess, appear in Indian art as we find also in Western Asia and the Aegio-Egyptian world (3000-1500 B. C.). Some psychic disciplines of the later Yoga type—for mental concentration—and ritual dances are also depicted by the Indus artists who also decorated the coffins of the “Harappa Culture”, developing funerary arts and civil and military architecture. The life after death, therefore, was a matter of speculation in the Indus Valley, as it was in Mesopotamia and the Nile valley.

II. 2000-1000 B. C.: These Indus Valley folks appear to be of four different racial types; but they are generally taken as coeval with or a little earlier than the “Aryans” entering India from the west via Iran, the land of the *Aira* or the Aryans. They spoke a form of Indo-European speech, different from the Dravidian languages spoken by the four major races of South India who are called “Indo-Mediterraneans”. Now the pre-Aryan and pre-Dravidian languages and cultures are being zealously studied revealing many unknown facts.

Like their Iranian cousins who composed the sacred *Gathas* of the Avesta (compiled by Zoroaster), the Vedic Aryans also composed sublime Hymns of the Vedas and other spiritual-cum-ritualistic literatures—in poetry and prose. The three early Vedas—Rig, Sama and Yajur—were amplified by the addition of the fourth or the Atharva Veda (c. 1000 B. C.) published in the Harvard Oriental series. These are the oldest literatures of the Indo-European peoples and therefore these are so devotedly studied—for over a century—by the British and the French, the German and the American scholars.

Frank nature-worshippers, like their younger cousins, the Greeks, the Indinn Aryans addressed Vedic Hymns while worshipping the Gods of rain and thunder (Indra), the sun (Mitra), Varuna and Nasatya (the twin gods of health and medical sciences)—all invoked as witnesses to the Treaty of Peace concluded by the fighting Hittites and the Mitannis—Aryan races of the 14th century B. C. whom I remembered while visiting the Hittite Capital Boghaz Koi which I surveyed from Ankara. The Hittite speech was Indo-European; and the Aryan Mitannis gave royal princesses married to the Egyptian Pharaohs; and from that line issued Akhenaton who tried to reform Egyptian polytheism by establishing monotheistic worship of the Sun god to whom he addressed a magnificent hymn of Vedic inspiration (1380 B. C.). Many aspects of Nature—good and evil—were worshipped by the Vedic Aryans; but, amidst the apparently multifarious deities, whom do we actually worship? This poignant questioning occurs in a famous hymn which marks the dawn of Vedic Monotheism and we see how Hindu Philosophy attempted to resolve dualism into monism, the unreal into real and death into immortality. Vedic integration of the many into one was admitted by several scholars struck also by the general absence of image-worship (prevalant only among the lower strata of Hindu Society). But philosophical concepts were deified, like the *Prajapati* or the Lord of Folks, *Visva-Karma* or the Creator of the Universe, *Vak* or the goddess of Speech, and *Purusha* the Supreme Being, etc., pervading the monotheistic Upanishads.

The Purusha-Sukta or Hymns of the Purusha, also outlined the sociological pattern—not of later-day four castes—but of four *varnas* or colours:

- (a) Brahmana: Priest-scholar
- (b) Kshatriya: Warrior-ruler
- (c) Vaishya: Trader-economist
- (d) Sudra: Labourer-agriculturist forming the majority (avara-varna-praya) of the nation.

When the three early Vedas (Rig, Sama, Yajur) came to be enlarged by the fourth Atharva-Veda, we find therein the veritable

apotheosis of the non-Aryan or Vratya-Sudra order, helping the three upper classes to direct and developing the social order and Hindu Polity (*Vide* Nag: "Arthasastra", Paris, 1923) with the science of economics and politics (Arthasastra). The Vedic Hindus developed also the legal institutions and philosophy in their Dharma-sastra, applauded by jurists all over the world. From the Vedic concept of Rita or world order grew up the vast literature of Hindu Law and Custom (*vide* Jolly: *Recht und Sitte*) permitting the Aryans to absorb and assimilate the diverse races and customs, Aryan, Pre-aryan and Dravidian of the South. The South-erners absorbed Aryan customs and speech, the Sanskrit, the *lingua franca* between the North and South of the subcontinent Bharata-India emerging out of primitivism into developed civilisation.

III. 1000-500 B. C.: From the Indus and the Ganges valleys in the North, the Aryans advanced to the South where they confronted many aboriginal (Austrie) races, rituals and customs, which got mixed up with Aryanism, gradually transformed into Hinduism with its later emphasis on caste and polytheism.

The earliest Indian Epic—the *Ramayana*—surveys India from the North to the South as far as Ceylon or Taprobane, known to the Greek geographers. In the larger epic—the *Mahabharata* or Greater India—we find the maximum expansion and assimilation of races and cultures. It developed into a veritable national Cyclopedia of Culture—embracing the arts of life and society, statecraft and laws, religion and philosophy (admirably summarized by Professor E. W. Hopkins of the Yale University). The Great Epics of India with the 18 Puranas, should be properly indexed for the benefit of Western students of Hinduism and Indology.

IV. 500 BC-500 A.D. The next one thousand years witnessed further social integration and political expansion when, not only the Brahmins but the Kshatriyas, or the "ruling class", added new elements to Hindu religion and philosophy. Against priestly sacerdotalism we find now first the dawn of Rationalism developing into non-Vedic,

even anti-Vedic religions like Jainism and Buddhism, both influenced by the Upanishads, the earliest texts (the Vedanta) of Hindu Monism or Unitarianism. Rising far above polytheism, the Upanishads opened the cosmic vision of Unity (Ekam Sat) and the horizon of world philosophy. This later on developed into the philosophy of the "Advaita" (non-dualism) the Vedanta or fulfilment of the Vedas, made famous by the great commentary of Sages like Sankara (8th century A. D.) and Ramanuja (11 century A. D.), who found their worthy expositors in leading Hindu philosophers of today, like Professor Radhakrishnan and the late Dr. S. N. Das Gupta. In the later Vedic and in the Epic Age we find men and women sages (Brahma-vadini) collaborating to develop Hindu religion and thoughts, realizing the One in the many, a sublime synthesis of real contradictions. Heterodoxy persisted here and there but Hindu philosophy, if not life, sublimated conflicts and contradictions into a harmonious whole. Hinduism which challenges an encyclopedic survey embracing the voluminous works of mediaeval seers as well as of our modern leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, (1869-1948) and of Sri Aurobindo (1872-1951) who transformed dynamic Hinduism for the future.

Such monotheistic synthesis apart we find pluralistic cults of the Destroyer-rebuilder Siva and Vishnu developed later into Saivism and Vaishnavism. We find also the non-theistic philosophy of Samkhya influencing the growth of two rebel children of later Vedic India—Jainism and Buddhism. Jainism rejected totally violence and the animal sacrifice, preaching *ahimsa* or non-violence and perfection of individual life (Arhat) manifest in the career of the Tirthankaras or Pathfinders like Parsvanath and Mahavira.

Buddhism also preached ethical perfection; and with the sublime life of its founder the

\* Mahatma Gandhi proclaimed as a mouthpiece of Liberal Hinduism that he would vote an "Untouchable" woman to be President (if found competent) of the Indian Republic. His expectation was partly fulfilled when a leader of "Depressed class" Hindu—Dr. Ambedkar was made Law Minister of the Nehru Cabinet and finally drafted our Constitution based on equal rights of all citizens, irrespective of caste, colour, creed or sex.

Buddha, Buddhism developed with its philosophy of suffering, the dynamics of Amity (maitri) and became the first world religion. The Graeco-Buddhist and Romano-Buddhist art of India attest to the popularity of Buddhism among our Western neighbours. So Buddhism expanded in and through Central Asia, China, Korea to Japan and the whole of South-East Asia. Showing wonderful Hindu-Buddhist art, architecture and culture for a thousand years (500-1500 A. D.) this epoch marked the transition from the "classical" to the *mediaeval* period of Indian civilisation.

V. Popular Hinduism, sweepingly judged by foreigners as chaotic polytheism, magic and lower cults should be studied with care and patience. For, the vitality and assimilative capacity of Hinduism is proverbial. Wilson gave his scholarly survey of Hindu sects and his book was published over a century ago. Now, the deeper study of ethnology, anthropology and cultural sociology, has thrown new light on the history of integrating Hinduism. Even in the later Buddhist period we notice the development of Hindu-Buddhist cult and iconography in Tibet and Serindia, China, Japan, Indonesia and Indo-China. Vaishnavism Siva-ism and Tantricism, with the *Sakti* or Mother-cult, find their artistic expression and philosophical exposition both in the northern Sanskrit and in the Southern Dravidian languages, which again are the sources and archetypes of Hindu-Buddhist art and culture of millions of devotees in South-East Asia. There Buddhism and later on Islam jointly claim the loyalty of the masses. They may be over-religious but not irreligious atheistic in any sense.

Islam as a world religion influenced India from the 8th to the 18th century (700-1700) forcing through violent conflicts, on the Indians' mind the efficacy of Monotheism and Unity. Most medieval Indian sages and philosophers, strikingly enough, preached the Unity of Godhead and human Brotherhood.

Ramananda, Kabir, Dadu, Nanak (15th century) and Chaitanya (16th century), Princess Mira, and the humble Tukaram (17th century) among others uniformly preached the religion of Love, of the fatherhood of

God and brotherhood of man. Islam in India similarly developed the universal philosophy of *Sufism*. So we find the great Mongol Emperor Akbar (1555-1605) freely consulting non-Muslim Hindu and Christian sages so that he proclaimed *Din Ilahi* or universal religion. His great grandson, Prince Dara Sukho collaborated with Hindu philosophers, thus producing the first *Persian* translation of the Vedic Upanishads which was retranslated into Latin by the French orientalist Anquetil du Perron (1731-1805) who also gave to the West the first text and translation of the Iranian Bible—the Zend Avesta, published in the "Sacred Books of the East." But many other Oriental texts wait to be translated in another English series which I named as the "Great Books of the Orient" series and which may be sponsored by our Congress of Chicago, the venue of the Parliament of Religions (1893).

Europe penetrated the Hindu world with the landing of the Portuguese Vasco de Gama in South India (1498) when Columbus was exploring American waters to discover his so-called *Indios* or India! *Luciad* by the Portuguese poet Camoens was inspired by India and the East, and, a century after this Catholic poet had come to South India, the Protestant Dutch missionary Abraham Rogers (1660), who learned Sanskrit, published in Dutch a book on Hinduism or "Heathendom" and its "Open-door". Another century after, the West read DuPerron's "Upanishads" which inspired Schopenhauer and read also Goethe's unstinted praise of the Hindu poet Kalidasa's spiritual drama "Sakuntala" available now in many English and American editions.

Thus, after the opening centuries (15th to 18th) of greedy commerce, conquest and colonialism the West began collaborating with the East. The Catholic Missionaries of Bengal made many converts and printed, in Roman type, their mission texts, in Bengali like *Kripar Sastrer Artha Bhed* (1740). So the Baptist missionaries of Serampore, Bengal, led by Reverend Carey, translated the Bible into Bengali and many other vernaculars of modern India (1798-1830).

Threatened with mass conversion, as in the age of the Islamic invasion, Hindu India



showed its adaptability and vitality through the life and works of Rammohun Roy (1772-1833) acclaimed as the "Father of Modern India." He rejected the image worship, studied Vedanta, the basic philosophy of non-dualism, and he also studied, in original Arabic and Persian, the texts of Islamic monotheism. Then after mastering English, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, Rammohun (as a philological prodigy) studied the Old and the New Testament. Attacked on all sides by the Trinitarian Christians, Rammohun Roy took his firm stand on Hindu Unitarianism, printed the Vedanta in Bengali, Hindi and English (1815-16) and founded the first Hindu Unitarian Church, the *Brahmo Samaj* in 1828. His mission was supported by the noble Dwarkanath grandfather and the saintly Debendranath father of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore—wellknown to America and the West. Dr. Tagore has, by his profound writings in prose and poetry, delineated the spiritual and cultural Renaissance of India with Rammohun and his successors like Vidyasagar and Bankimchandra. Other theistic bodies like the *Arya Samaj* of Punjab founded by Dayananda Saraswati, as also the *Prarthana Samaj* of Bombay, followed the anti-caste *Brahmo Samaj*; they rejected the caste system with the cooperation of pioneers of the Brahmo Samaj, like Keshab Chandra Sen, P. C. Majumder and Sivanath Sastri. In spite of minor creedal differences they were unanimous in their grateful homage to Rammohun Roy as the spiritual reconciler and veritable founder of the science of Comparative Religion.

The Brahmo Unitarians were among the earliest to discover the rural Saint Sri Ramakrishna (1836-1886) whose spiritual life attests to the vitality of traditional and yet transcendental Hinduism—as described by Romain Rolland in his memorable biographies of Sri Ramakrishna and his noble disciple Swami Vivekananda. Written originally in French, then translated into English and other languages, these biographies made dynamic Hinduism largely known to the modern world.

Vivekananda (1863-1902) was a member of the Brahmo Samaj when he joined the Ramakrishna Order and—with the Brahmo leader Reverend P. C. Majumder (who visited U. S. A. in 1883 and 1893) Vivekananda

profoundly moved the Chicago audience of the Parliament of Religions. Rev. Dhammapala also proclaimed here the message of International Buddhism (1893). So I remember with gratitude those pioneers of the East and the West who built, half a century ago, the bridge of Love and Spiritual Understanding. The Sixteenth Congress of the I. A. R. F. is reviving that profound Unitarian tradition, again in the historic city of Chicago with its University maintaining the great Oriental Institute, its museums and learned societies which all Orientals admire.

Swami Vivekananda laid the foundations of spiritual understanding of India and America. Among others he collaborated with Max Muller and with William James, noted author of "The Varieties of Religious Experience." He died in 1902 prematurely and the devoted band of the Ramakrishna Mission (founded, May 1897) are working now bravely in different parts of America and Europe, preaching Unity amidst diversities.

A decade after the death of Vivekananda, came to America, for the first time, the great poet-philosopher of Renascent India, Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941). He visited America before the First World War (1912) during the war (1916) and after the war (1921, 1929, 1930). During his last visit I was with him and I know how he felt deeply for the spiritual awakening in America so that India and America could collaborate for human welfare and world peace. In his Hibbert Lecture on "The Religion of Man" (1930), Tagore, as a real descendant of the Vedic Seers, proclaimed the unity of man through unity of faith in our common Father. Tagore's *Sadhana* or "Realisation of Life" was based on his Lectures delivered at Harvard and other Universities (1912) and such profound works of Tagore now deserve close study even today. As the first Nobel Prize winner from Asia, he delivered also his poetic messages to millions in the New World.

India and Asia are ever calling Europe and America to come together and, defying the growing materialism, to justify the "Ways of God to Man." So in this crisis of civilisation I conclude with the Faith and

Hope inspiring the soul of our common  
ancestors—the Vedic poet who sang :  
(Rig Veda : X,191 hymn)

“May your aims be common  
A common purpose do I lay before you  
And worship with you, bringing common  
offerings.

Common be your aim and your hearts  
united,

And your mind be one so that  
All of us may be happy !”

Om Santi ! Peace unto All !

—:O:—

## INDIVIDUALIZATION OF PUNISHMENT

By S. C. DAS, M.A., LL.B.

SINCE Manu and Moses, Justinian and Alfred gave their laws to the world, our ideas about crime and punishment have materially changed and advanced a great deal. We have outlived the days, when practically no distinction was made between ‘*crimina*’ and ‘*delicta*’ and when the punishments were regulated by ideas of private revenge.

### WHAT IS INDIVIDUALIZATION OF PUNISHMENT?

In recent years, however, there has been a strong tendency throughout the civilized world to adjust punishment to the character of the criminal rather than to the objective nature of the crime. This idea of adjustment of punishment is known as the individualization of punishment in Criminology.

### MEAGRE RESULTS OF SOCIETY'S IMMEMORIAL STRUGGLE WITH CRIME

As one looks back over the history of penal treatment, he cannot but be impressed by the rather meagre results of society's immemorial struggle with crime and the criminal. In the light of modern science, the experiment of society in dealing with the criminal have been based upon wrong theories. So far, the findings of modern psychology, psychiatry, anthropology and sociology have had very little application in the campaign against crime. The limited success of society in its struggle with the criminal is mainly due to the use of obsolete methods founded upon an unscientific basis.

### WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF PUNISHMENT?

Now, the first question that could reasonably be posed in this regard is: What is the purpose of punishment? May we not say that the main purpose of any programme of penal treatment is the preservation of society? But, society includes the criminal, who is as much a unit of the social organism as the judge or the legislator or the complainant. He cannot and must not, therefore, be treated as an outcast to be thrown away beyond the pale of society. If we do that, we will simply encourage undermining the very foundation of our social fabric. Lately, the intelligentsia of every society have begun to realise that there is a *cultural value*\* in every system of criminal law and that there is a definite object and purpose behind every punishment inflicted upon the criminal. This realisation has stimulated a thorough and scientific study of the nature and determinants of criminality. In the course of such study, it is being gradually felt that the treatment of crimes and criminals ought not to be mechanical and indiscriminate. Absolute repression is no longer regarded as a good remedy in the treatment of

\* Culture is, or ought to be, the study and pursuit of perfection. Now, without order there can be no real society, and without such society there can be no human perfection. The criminal law, therefore, aiming at maintaining law and order in a society indirectly contributes to its progress towards perfection. Hence, it (criminal law) has a cultural value.

crimes, just as calomel and bloodletting of the far-off days are no longer considered by the medical science as being the panacea for all the diseases under the sun.

#### THE CLASSICAL SCHOOL COULD NOT ACCOMPLISH THE AVOWED OBJECT

The Classical system, based as it is upon the repression of the criminal, has been given a trial for several centuries and found to be quite unequal to the task. Because, it could not accomplish the avowed object of penal law, *viz.*, the preservation of law and order in the society. If one consults the statistical report, he will find that not only the number of criminals but also the number of *recidivists* (the term implies persons, who after being convicted, has offended again; those who habitually relapse into crime) are ever on the increase in Europe, America as well as in India. Of course, it will not be right to suggest that the present-day penal system is solely responsible for the increase in the number of criminals and recidivists. There have been other and more potent factors at work beside, *viz.*, the economic distress of the mass, the political upheavals, the loosening of the time-honoured moral bounds, the system of unedifying education prevalent throughout the world and the meteoric march of the so-called civilization. But it appears that the most powerful factor has been the indiscriminate and mechanical treatment of the criminals by the classical school (neo-classical school not excepted) of penologists. One of the questions that constantly baffles us is as to how does the classical jurist know, for instance, that a certain term of imprisonment is effective punishment for a certain offence. What is the 'deciding ratio' in this matter? If, therefore, one ventures to infer that the so-called classical penal system is based upon no principle and that the punishments meted out to the offenders are arbitrary and fanciful and prompted, more or less, by unregulated rational prejudices and sentiments, will he be wholly wrong?

#### THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE THEORIES OF PUNISHMENT

The ordinary and the orthodox classifica-

tion of the theories of punishment, as Dr. Holmes points out, is into (i) the retributions theory, (ii) the preventive or deterrent theory and (iii) the reformatory theory. Imbued as they are with the Absolutism theory of Kant and Hegel, the European jurists generally have not viewed the last two classes favourably. These jurists seem to think that the relation between crime and punishment is absolute and automatic and for that punishment must be proportionate to the objective gravity of crime—although they are not quite clear as to this matter of proportion. This sense of proportion must, therefore, ultimately resolve itself into a matter of personal equation. As for the objective gravity of crime, it is more or less a matter of personal opinion. Hegel would put his theory of punishment in his well-known quasi-mathematical formula that wrong, being the negation of right, punishment is the negation of that negation or retribution. In this view, punishment must be equal in the sense of being proportionate, to the crime; because, its only function is to destroy it. The medieval or the classical theory, as it has been called, has brought about two different schools of opinion—the Subjective or the Idealistic school or the Objective or the Common-sense school. The former is so-called because it holds that punishment is not based upon any external standard but upon the blameworthiness of the delinquent's conduct; the latter would, however, hold that the object of punishment is retributive, that there is a sort of automatic and axiomatic connection between crime and punishment and that punishment should for that reason, be always proportionate to the objective gravity of crime. Bentham and Sir James Fitz-James Stephen in England and Dr. Holmes in America were amongst the principal advocates of this school of thought. Sir James says, "The Criminal Law stands to the passion of revenge in much the same relation as marriage to sexual appetite" (*General View of the Criminal Law of England*). Notwithstanding this opinion of Sir James, the common sense school, it may be mentioned here, does not ignore but rather accepts, the preventive and deterrent view of punishment. A careful scrutiny will reveal that there is no fundamental



difference between the two schools of opinion. Now, Kant's "blameworthiness of conduct" and "Categorical imperative";—well! what do they actually aim at? If we view blameworthiness of conduct as something abstract, it cannot offer us any practical guide for punishment. "Blameworthiness of conduct" can, however, be judged from the objective act itself, and in that case Kant's doctrine becomes identical with the common sense or objective view of crime. Again, the criterion of punishment, according to both the schools appears to be the same, *viz.*, the degree of responsibility, freedom of the delinquent and the gravity of the offence. Experience shows that a man's conduct may be most blameworthy, but at the same time, it may not be punishable in law. So, to be of any practical value, the subjective standard of "blameworthiness" must fall back upon the objective standard of law. As for Kant's "Categorical Imperative" as basis for law, it means the absolute command of the sovereign authority, that is, law as understood by Austin and other English jurists. We thus find practically no difference between the Subjective or Idealistic school and the Objective or Common Sense school of law except in the metaphysical language which the former prefers to adopt. These two schools of opinion may be commonly termed as the classical school of Penology.

#### THE MAIN FEATURES OF THE CLASSICAL SCHOOL

The three main features of the classical school of criminal law are: (1) the repression of the criminal, because he has committed an act injurious to society; (2) an impersonal and abstract manner of dealing with the criminal, coming within the same artificial category, without much attempt at individualization of punishment and (3) degree of freedom of responsibility of the criminal as a criterion of his criminality. Now, the first and foremost objection against the classical school is that it takes into account only the objective fact of crime and totally leaves out of account the subjective personality of the criminal.

#### THE RISE OF THE CLASSICAL SCHOOL IS CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH BECCARIA

The inspirer of the penologists of the classical school was the Italian reformer and philan-

thropist Beccaria, who as early as 1764 published his famous work entitled *Crimes and Punishments*, which could be regarded as the cause of revision of the penal codes of different European nations. This book is usually considered as the foundation stone of the doctrine of punishment. Born at Milan, Italy, in 1735 and educated at the Jesuit College at Parma, Beccaria soon came under the influence of Montesquieu. In this book, Beccaria shows that he has absorbed the political philosophy of the 18th century. He begins with a brief exposition of the social contract theory of Rousseau. In *Crimes and Punishments*, Beccaria strongly protests against the discretionary power of the judges in determining punishment of criminals. He emphasises that no punishment should be greater than what the crime warrants and that all men should be equal in the eyes of law. Punishment should be determined wholly by the character of the crime committed regardless of the personality of the criminal. According to him, it makes no difference as to whether a criminal is a recidivist or not and that it does not increase the gravity of a crime simply because it happens to be a subsequent crime committed by the same individual. In either case, the injury inflicted upon the society is the same and, therefore, society should avenge it and react upon it in the same manner. In illustrating his point, Beccaria asks whether it would make any difference as between two brothers, who have been robbed by two different thieves, —one of whom happens to be a first offender and the other a repeater. If not, what right have we to mete out two different punishments to the two thieves? At first sight, the position would seem to be quite logical, but its chief defect lies in its extreme "logicism". Law is pre-eminently a social institution dealing with multifarious varieties of pulsating human beings. In order to be just, it must be such as can be adopted to the myriads of view-points that arise in the course of human transactions. The rigour or leniency of law will have to be abated or counteracted by practical considerations. This is called the application of equitable principles to the administration of Criminal Law. Now, to insist upon the absolute universality and impersonality of law is like

attempting to put things of all shapes into a round hole. The jurists of the classical school altogether forgot that the offender himself is as much a unit of the society as the injured party (be it an individual or the society itself) and that his interests cannot be altogether ignored. They considered only the injury inflicted by the criminal and not the state of mind and nature of the criminal. Another deficiency of the classical theory is that it treated all men as mere digits without reference to the differences in their individual natures or the circumstances under which they committed the crime. Instances are not rare that on account of this impersonal and rather inhuman system really honest men like Jean Valjean of Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables* are turned into criminals by being branded with the infamy of prison life and being herded together with hardened criminals in one stinking *pot-pourri*;—while scoundrels and rogues who deserve total elimination get off with a nominal punishment. It is a common psychological fact that once a person feels himself as beyond the pale of decent society, he has no scruples to go farther down.

#### THE PROGRAMME OF THE CLASSICAL SCHOOL IN DEALING WITH THE CRIMINAL HAS BEEN BASED UPON UNSCIENTIFIC THEORIES

In the light of modern science, the programme of the classical school, in dealing with the criminal, has been based upon false theories. As has already been referred to above that the offender himself is a unit of the society and as such he is entitled to a fair treatment. If he is forced to go out of society, it is as much a loss to him, as to the society. From the point of view of the offender, it may be demanded that society should give him a chance and try to reform him. And it is only just and fair that society should meet his demand. But, the pity of the matter is that the soulless system of law insists upon treating him as an outcaste with the inevitable result that he reacts upon the social system. Now, society's right to punish is based upon its duty to protect the individual and it cannot but be gross iniquity to insist upon the right without ful-

filling the duty. It may be contended that the classical school recognises the reformatory system and that it attempts reformation wherever it is practicable. But the fact and figure indicate that in every country in Europe, America as well as in India, the number of recidivists is continually on the increase. In so far as it proposes to prevent crimes and reform criminals, the classical school has been a failure. All that the system can claim is that it has regulated private vengeance by transferring the authority of taking revenge from the injured party to the state.

#### CLASSICAL SYSTEM DOES NOT FOLLOW ANY SCIENTIFIC METHOD IN AWARDED PUNISHMENT

But the chief objection that may be raised against the classical system is that it does not follow any scientific method in awarding punishment and that there is no attempt,—except what is attempted in a very slight measure by leaving a strictly limited discretion to the judge and jury,—at individualization. This lack of scientific method has resulted in an abstract empiricism. Mr. Garofalo has made a nice exposition of this aspect of the question in the following lines: "From the earliest period of my legal studies, the question has begun to present itself to my mind: How has the law-maker arrived at an exact knowledge of the kind and degree of punishment appropriate to each of the various criminal offences? By what means has he reached the conviction, for example, that five years in the penitentiary is the proper punishment for one kind of larceny, while, for another, two years of a milder form of imprisonment will suffice? What steps has he taken to weigh this or that aggravating or extenuating circumstance with such exactness as to warrant an increase or diminution in the punishment of six months, one year, five years, ten years as the case may be? Where has he found his criterion, his thread of guidance in this labyrinth?" (Garofalo's *Criminology*). It is this question that has prompted the scientists, the sociologists and the jurists of the present day to look at the system of penal law from an angle, wherefrom it was never looked at before.

GRADUAL SHIFTING OF EMPHASIS FROM CRIME  
TO THE CRIMINALS

While the spirit of the classical school has lingered to influence Court procedure and the theory of crime down to the present day, its defects became conspicuous soon after it obtained incarnation in the French Code of 1791. In the revised Code of 1810, while the essential principles of the classical school remained, as they had been, the system of defined and unalterable punishments was modified. The judge was given discretion to vary punishments between the maximum and the minimum fixed by the law. In doing so, however, the judge was not permitted to take into account the subjective circumstances, for in the classical theory these circumstances have nothing to do with responsibility. The revised Code of 1810 did not admit extenuating circumstances for crime. When, however, put into practice, the classical theory revealed its utter lack of contact with the stern realities of life. Consequently, there began to arise suggestions for changes. In the course of time, the suggestions so made modified this theory in actual practice and gave rise to what has come to be known as the Neo-classical school, represented by Rossi, Garraud and Joly. Like the classical school, it is based upon the theory of responsibility and responsibility rests upon the theory of freedom. Ere long, the results of practice in the courts, however, showed that the assumption of free will in all cases made by the classical school was untenable. Careful observation reveals that everyone is not free; that some, who commit crime, deserve our sympathy while other excite our hostility. The popular sense of justice, therefore, refused to accept the punishments visited under this system upon those who by reason of insanity, lunacy, infancy or a justifiable passion were incapable of exercising free will. The psychologists, psychiatrists, biologists, anthropologists, sociologists and jurists, who became acquainted with the latest scientific discoveries refused to believe that everyone was free to choose in the moment, when he committed a crime, one course or another. So, the new school recognises extenuating circumstances in the criminal himself, which must be taken into account

in punishing him. In a word, with the advent of the Neo-classical school, the emphasis gradually shifted from the bare idea of crime and punishment to the more fruitful study of the criminal mind and to the difference in treatment of different types of offenders.

## CESARE LOMBROSO

A little more than one hundred years after the appearance of Beccaria's *Crimes and Punishments*, a small pamphlet entitled *The Criminal in Relation to Anthropology, Jurisprudence and Psychiatry* was published by Cesare Lombroso (1836-1909), another Italian. Out of this pamphlet and subsequent publications by Lombroso and a number of other eminent Italians, developed a school of criminology and penology attacking the positions of the classical and neo-classical schools. Lombroso was the founder of that school, which was known as the Italian school. Born in 1836 of a Jewish family, Lombroso was educated in medicine. Through his publications, which rapidly became famous all over the world, Lombroso focussed the attention of the scientists, sociologists and jurists to the criminal as an object of study. Thus, history was slowly but surely preparing the way for this new-born science.

## STARTING-POINT OF MODERN CRIMINOLOGY

Now, a distinctive feature of the Criminal Law or Jurisprudence is that it has neither grown nor been studied as a science. More often than not, it has been tacitly assumed that it exclusively depends upon the will of the sovereign authority. So, if one were to know of Criminal Law, all that he would be required to do was to seek for it either in the statute books or in the common law of the land. It has been treated as a detached branch of knowledge. Aristotle, Dr. Kohler and others laid bare the fallacy of such a position times and again. The cumulative effect of all this and other forces is that the system of Criminal Law gradually came to be recognised as a factor in the march of world history and world evolution, and that as such it is intimately connected with science like Sociology, Psychology, Physiology, Psychiatry, Anthropology, —that deal with humanity and human affairs.



This attempt to make Criminal Law a science may be said to be the starting-point of modern Criminology,—the science of the criminal and of crime.

#### MAIN DUTY OF A CRIMINOLOGIST

The criminologist must begin with studying the criminal just as a true physician studies the patient. He must try to find out and understand the causative factors as well as the nature of crime, exactly as a physician diagnoses a disease. Like a physician again, he must, after careful observation, find out and then try specific remedy for a specific crime. In his *Historical Jurisprudence*, Prof. Vinogradoff has aptly said, "The judge stands to the offender in the same position of the physician who selects his remedy after diagnosing the disease and the resources of the patient's organisation."

Prevention is better than cure. In order to prevent crime, the 'total' person need be dealt with in all the levels—economic, social, psychological, etc.—and in all the spheres—home, educational institutions, community, etc.—that are likely to condition his personality and colour his conscious, sub-conscious and unconscious reaction to the multifarious new situations he is normally to encounter in an average span of life. This appears to be by far the better procedure. The common attitude towards the criminal is more often than not hostile with insistence that he be made to suffer. It is, however, felt now that the attitude should be one of enquiry, a desire to comprehend the situation and to work out methods of control based on this comprehension. Infliction of pain may be necessary in the process of control, but such infliction should only be incidental and not the direct aim of the process. This attitude is evident nowadays in the juvenile court procedure and is being gradually extended to the criminal courts, prisons, reformatories and the systems of probation and parole of some countries. Social utility resulting from punishment constitutes the justification of punishment. In this context, punishment as a deterrent is justified. Experience has shown that under emergent circumstances such as serious crime-

wave, race riot, communal riot; etc.; swift certain and severe punishment of known offenders serves to deter others from crime and that it has a great preventive value for that reason. This is more or less like a shock therapy and if administered after taking all relevant factors into consideration, it may very well produce the desired effect.

#### CONCLUSION

In conclusion, I deem it worthwhile to touch upon as to how individualization has to a certain extent been attempted by some of the advanced countries of the world.

In England, besides the jury and assessor system of trial, the judge, prior to sentencing an offender, enquires into his character and antecedents as the law vests in him discretion in the matter. Individualization of treatment is also the basic principle of prison management.

The American Elmira Reformatory is a monumental illustration of individualization. A few other allied reforms have also been recently introduced.

The Russian Code empowers the judiciary to take into consideration the character and antecedents of the accused person.

In India, the taking into consideration the age, character or antecedents of the offender and releasing him on probation of good conduct are provided under Section 562 of the Criminal Procedure Code. In the States, the Court, under the Probation of Offender's Act may release an offender after admonition or on probation of good conduct and under the care of probation officers. As in England, the jury and assessor system of trial is also prevalent here. Some prison reforms have also been initiated.

In spite of all this, however, the efforts so far made in that direction appear to have only touched the fringe of this mighty problem. The real need of the moment is a rapid development of the system of individualization of offenders and punishments in a right line—and the sooner that is accomplished, the better for the society and the humanity as a whole.

## INDIA AND WORLD PEACE

By Dr. J. EDWARD SCINDIA, M.A., (Cal.), L.T. (Allahabad), A.M. (Columbia),  
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### HISTORIC MISSION

INDIA'S historic mission is the mission of peace. Marshall Tito visiting India recently (1955) remarked that "in her long history of over 7,000 years she (India) never snatched an inch of foreign land. . . . Non-aggressiveness as a national characteristic applies more to India than to any other nation. . . . India has not caused tears to anybody. Christ's teaching of turning the other cheek is perhaps followed in actual practice more by the Hindus than by Christians."<sup>1</sup> The remedy for land grabbing, one of the most potent causes of war, is reflected partly in Zemindari Abolition by the State, but largely and more fundamentally by Acharya Vinoba Bhave's Bhoodan Yagna whose world-wide implications future alone can tell. What, however, seems clear is that it is directly in line with the teaching of *Ahimsa* (non-killing), preservation of all life, practice of universal toleration, brotherly love till recently marred by the most inhuman and ingenious Untouchability whose practice in any shape or form is punishable by law according to Article 25 of our present Constitution. On the political plane India's historic process has eventuated in "Peaceful Co-existence," Non-Aggression, Non-Interference, Mutual Co-operation, Peaceful settlement of international disputes, known as "Panch Shila" which the United Nations' declaration affirmed on 19th Dec. 1957. But the social revolution initiated by Vinobaji, Gandhiji's spiritual successor, India's walking ascetic since 1951, is of immense significance for the life of the world as a whole. The Philippines deserve congratulations for awarding the Ramon Magsaysay Foundation Prize to Vinobaji this year in recognition of his outstanding service rendered "in rousing the majority of his countrymen toward solving one of the causes of social injustice and economic equality"<sup>2</sup> (inequality).<sup>2</sup>

Nehru, the "Angel of Peace" and Vinoba,

1. A. N. Purohit, *India's Message of Peace*, p. 239.

2. *Sarvodaya*, Sept., 1958, p. 143.

the Apostle of Peace, the political and spiritual successors respectively of Gandhiji, the Prophet of Peace, who "looked upon his life as an attempt to live the Sermon on the Mount"<sup>3</sup> of Christ, the Prince of Peace, have doubtless a contribution to make to India's mission of peace handed down through Gautam and Asoka to our own day.

### PEACE IN ACTION

India's conduct with reference to peace can be viewed with regard to matters both internal and external. In matters internal India can be legitimately proud of the fact that she won political freedom through peaceful means and has continued to retain the love and esteem of her former rulers, the British. For "of all the revolutionaries who have dominated this century's stage—Lenin, Mussolini, Hitler and Mao—Gandhi alone offered hope for reform without destruction."<sup>4</sup> Gandhi's Truth and Non-Violence enabled peaceful withdrawal by the British. Five hundred and eighty-four princes ruling over hundred million people agreed to merger (allowed to keep their jewels, and most of their palaces, and granted life-long pensions and even became Raj Pramukhs) which is adjudged to "be one of the peaceful revolutions of all times."<sup>5</sup> While India's Independence involved division into India and Pakistan, forty-five million Muslims chose not to go to Pakistan, but stay in India's secular state "in which freedom of religion," according to Chester Bowles, "is a fact, not a theory" and which "has come about largely through the determined effort of the Prime Minister (Nehru) following the principles laid down by Mahatma Gandhi."<sup>6</sup> Demilitarisation and plebiscite made irrelevant in the context of continued aggression by Pakistan in Kashmir at present await better times when differences might be solved amicably across conference table. The recent Nehru-Noon meeting has

3. Chester Bowles, *Ambassador's Report*, p. 74.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 79.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 104.

been an attempt in this direction. The French possessions in India have been restored to India peacefully but the Portuguese possessions still await a similar consummation. India is wedded to "seeking peaceful objectives by peaceful means" letting the matter rest with the pressure of world opinion. India has been meeting the challenge of casteism, communalism, provincialism, narrow nationalism, etc., in a democratic way and must continue to do so as a long-range educational policy. Even Communists have been dealt with peacefully and in a democratic way even though they consider any means sacrosanct provided they help them to achieve the objective. In treating every man as Amritasya Putra, born of immortality, a child of God who must not be injured by thought, word or deed, we put into practice the method of "seeking first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness." This is the way to true peace which "means an order in which men are free to live under justice and according to righteousness; in which the resources of the world are developed and distributed for the benefit of all; in which the only war is against poverty, ignorance, disease and oppression; in which the results of man's knowledge and discovery are used not for destruction but for enlightenment and health."<sup>7</sup>

Recently (Sept. 21, 1958) 'Christianity in India at Cross-Roads,' an article appearing in *A. B. Patrika*, stated among other things "that Christianity will have a fair chance so long as Jawahar Lal Nehru is on the scene . . . A time may come when the Constitution can be amended to undo Christianity." Reference was also made to Neogy Report against conversions and growing left-wing politics in India. There is no doubt about Nehru upholding the Constitution, including the right to profess, preach and propagate religion. Only last May 12, 1958 he was reported in the *Patrika* as saying, "I am not prepared to tolerate communalism at any cost. . . . For India religious toleration was only practical good sense. There is no alternative to it but civil war."<sup>8</sup>

7. *The Lambeth Conference*, 1958, p. 263.

8. Nehru reported in *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, May 12, 1958.

But it must not be overlooked that Nehru himself is thrown up by a long historical process as are his "Peace Lords," like Rajagopalachari in Madras, Morarji Desai in Bombay Govind Ballabh Pant in U.P. (now in Central Government), Sampurnanand in U.P. at present, B. C. Roy in West Bengal, etc. So far as growing left-wing politics is concerned it may be pointed out that Hindu Mahasabha, Jana Sangh, Rashtriya Seva Sangh too swear by democracy and are not beyond redemption. Besides the chances of their implementing the Neogy Report recommendations are admittedly slim. Further more who would dare to rush in to implement the so-called Neogy Report recommendations when, according to Mr. A. Krishnaswamy, a special reporter of the United Nations Economic and Social Council's Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities, points out that the charges against Christian Missionaries in India published in 1956 by the Christian Missionaries Activities Enquiry Committee in the State of Madhya Pradesh have been declared "not proven," and adds, "Even if the instances mentioned in the Committee's report had been substantiated, they would not have justified the Committee arriving at the conclusion that foreign missionaries pursued activities of an undesirable character . . . the general consensus of opinion in India has been and is opposed to drawing up a bill of indictment against missionaries, and it is therefore, not surprising to find responsible men belonging to different political schools of thought criticising the Neogy Report, not only for erring in its presentation of facts but also for overstepping the bounds of propriety and national interest in attempting to reverse the general trend in favour of a broad-based freedom." Above all history appears to have selected India as one of democracy's chief testing grounds in which methods of discussion across conference table have already made considerable headway and have enabled India to contribute its little bit towards peaceful settlement of international problems. Was it a meretricious wish or a genuine conviction that led

9. *The Tablet*, Nov. 30, 1957, p. 492.



Dr. Neogy to conclude, "We wish Christianity in India to become truly Indian and truly Christian and the religions of India to come together in genuine co-operation giving a lead to the nation in peaceful co-existence."<sup>10</sup> In view of the above there is not much room for pessimism as entertained by Shri R. Dorai Rajan but rather for optimism since India has accepted the democratic way of life for which Christianity provides the ethical foundations, a religion which has as good a right in India as any other and which according to Dr. Radhakrishnan, "has not merely the rights of a guest but the rights of a native."<sup>11</sup>

In matters external, India's record of international conduct merits examination. In a formal note to U.S.A., on Aug. 23, 1951 India pointed out that the treaty they concluded with Japan "did not give to Japan a position of honour, equality and contentment among the community of free nations."<sup>12</sup> India served as a mediator in Korea and Indo-China, sided Egypt when she was a victim of Anglo-French aggression and when the Indian representative remained neutral in the voting on the resolution condemning the Russian intervention in Hungary and actually opposed the proposal that the Soviet troops should be asked to withdraw, learnt a healthy lesson from the storm of protest which occurred all over India. In a moment of weakness India entered the Tripartite Agreement with Nepal and Great Britain permitting Britain to recruit Gurkha soldiers on the Indian soil but soon made amends by notifying Britain about the closing of the depot and ending of the undemocratic arrangement. India has been one of the first to recognise the independence of Ghana, Iraq and Algeria. For the sixth time she tried to have Communist China get a seat in the United Nations Organisation this year, though unsuccessfully, because she honestly believes that the recognition of Communist China "in no sense implies either approval or disapproval of that government's policies or philosophy. It is simply an acknowledgement that such a government's authority clearly

exists as a matter of fact within its own boundaries."<sup>13</sup> India attempted to persuade U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. "to stop the present plunge towards more and more destructive weapons of war and turn the corner that will start our step firmly on the path towards lasting peace." In the recent crisis that has developed between Communist China and the U.S.A. over Quemoy, India's name has been suggested by the Foreign Minister of Yugoslavia as a mediator. Mr. Krishna Menon who is already making efforts for conciliation on the Far East crisis, has expressed willingness to offer India's good offices in that direction.

The few instances noted above seem to indicate that where freedom is menaced or justice threatened or where aggression takes place India cannot be neutral. Yet India follows the policy of Non-involvement and has made "no secret plots or arrangements formal or informal with any country. The only kind of treaties India has made with other countries are treaties which have been published," so that by example and precept she may be able to help the cause of peace through peaceful means. This policy of peace, however, presupposes sovereignty both internal and external of each one of the peacefully co-existing nations. The natural desire of each nation to be captain of his own fate is voiced by Nehru in these words: "The countries of Asia, however weak they might be, do not propose to be ignored, do not propose to be by-passed and certainly do not propose to be sat upon."<sup>14</sup> Unless a country like U.S.A. which has made collective defence treaties with forty-two nations during the past ten years, or U.S.S.R. bent upon expanding the bounds of communism, get a clear idea of India's mission of peace in the modern world, India's actions are likely to be mis-understood and mis-interpreted.

#### ATOMIC ENERGY AND PEACE

India like many other countries of the world does not possess the atomic secrets and is, therefore, not in a position to wage atomic

10. *Neogy Report*, Vol. I, p. 159.

11. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, *East and West*, p. 35.

12. *The Light House*, Aug. 1, 1953, p. 3.

13. Chester Bowles, *Op.Cit.*, p. 244, quoting Nehru.

14. Chester Bowles, *Op.Cit.*, p. 400.

warfare. But her mission in the atomic age is not to possess atomic secrets and to wage atomic warfare, but rather to hold aloft the banner of peace and to persuade others to accept the philosophy of peaceful co-existence. The most persuasive argument for peaceful co-existence appears to be presented by the discovery of atomic energy itself. Never in the history of world were the alternatives so clear-cut: either peaceful co-existence or total annihilation which atomic warfare necessarily entails. Man has talked about the last war to end war. Today he is face to face with that grim reality of a last war ending all war as no one is likely to survive to fight another war. Even experimenting to perfect atomic weapons creates radiation hazards which contaminate air, water, food, all life, plant and animal amount, to a bacteriological warfare which treats friends and foes, peace and war times on the same footing. The grim prospects of maimed, blind, contaminated babies to be born only to experience lingering death from agonising diseases point to one and only one lesson which is to stop forthwith all further experiments for the effects of experiments have no geographical limits.<sup>15</sup> They render all health services meaningless.

#### RELIGION AND PEACE

The "noblesse oblige of human dignity necessitates the adoption of a law of existence higher than the law of the Jungle. The law is the Law of the Cross, not of the A or H bomb,"<sup>16</sup> says Purohit, presenting India's message of peace. Concerning Gandhiji, the Apostle of Truth and Non-violence, Chester Bowles remarks, "Yet, who has lived a more Christlike life?"<sup>17</sup> Has such a man of peace a message for our distracted world? He claimed that if Christ would come today he would claim him as a true Christian. Tagore said of him that he has what is known as the Christ-Spirit for there was hardly any who could equal or surpass Gandhiji in Christlikeness. And who

could dare to live Sermon on the Mount as Gandhiji did? 310 Arch-Bishops and Bishops of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church in communion with the See of Canterbury assembled recently (July, 1958) in Lambeth Conference proposed a resolution (No. 106) which Gandhiji himself might have proposed. It runs thus:

"The Conference reaffirms that war is a method of settling international dispute is incompatible with the teaching and example of our Lord Jesus Christ and declares that nothing less than the abolition of war itself should be the goal of the nations, their leaders and all citizens . . . framing a comprehensive international disarmament treaty which shall also provide for the progressive reduction of armed force and conventional armaments to the minimum necessary for the maintenance of international security and the fulfilment of the obligations of States to maintain peace and security in accordance with the United Nations Charter."<sup>18</sup>

{ India's long history of peace obligates her in a unique way to profess, preach and propagate peace and make the world and herself peace-conscious. Hitherto she has put the Kingdom of God and His righteousness first and her path has been not from log cabin to White House but from Mansion to Mud Hut. The Spiritual has taken precedence over the Physical which is the keynote to India's life, India's culture, India's philosophy and has made India a home par excellence for genuine Christianity. If by and large the West has Christianity without Christ, India seems to have Christianity without Christ. During the last ten years every reform India has made goes directly towards the Christian position and not on away from it, says Stanley Jones. Christ has India's heart, hence her greatest Prophet of Peace, Gandhiji, insisted on the purity of means to achieve the end. In this we have failed a times and may fail many times more in the future but we are determined to fight to the last, leaving the results to God.

15. *Sarvodaya*, Sept., 1958, pp. 135-136.

16. A. N. Purohit, *Op.Cit.*, p. 231.

17. Chester Bowles, *Op.Cit.*, p. 74.

18. *The Lambeth Conference*, 1958 pp. 1.54-1.55.





BEPINCHANDRA PAL

Born: Nov. 6, 1858

Died: May 20, 1932





Past  
Photo: Ram Kinkar Sinha



And the Present  
Photo: Ram Kinkar Sinha



# JAGADIS CHANDRA BOSE AND THE MODERN REVIEW, 1907-1938

## A Bibliography

By SOBHAN BASU, M.A.

[Sir Jagadis Chandra Bose was intimately connected with *The Modern Review*. The founder-editor of this journal, the late Ramananda Chatterjee, was a student of the Presidency College when Jagadis Chandra was a Professor there. This sweet relationship of *guru* and *sisya* was maintained throughout their life. Those interested in the life and work of Sir Jagadis Chandra Bose will find ample materials in the old issues of *The Modern Review*. He contributed a large number of articles to this journal and his first contribution, "Automatism in Plant and Animal," appeared in May, 1908. There were also articles on Sir Jagadis Chandra Bose by some of his well-known contemporaries. His scientific and other activities and foreign tours were covered in the 'Notes' written by the editor and the excerpts reprinted from Indian and Foreign periodicals. *The Modern Review* also published reviews of his scientific works and a large number of pictures of Sir Jagadis Chandra Bose and his experiments. Below is a classified list of his own writings, notes and articles on him by the editor of *The Modern Review* and others and also excerpts from the periodicals, reviews of his works and a list of pictures.—EDITOR, *M. R.*].

1. Contributions By Jagadis Chandra.
2. On the life and work of Jagadis Chandra.
  - A: By Various Hands.
  - B: "Notes" By Ramananda Chatterjee.
  - C: Book Reviews.
  - D: Foreign Periodicals: Gleanings and Indian Periodicals.
3. Portraits.

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2. "Literature And Science" [substance of the Presidential Address given in Bengali to the Bengal Literary Conference at Mymensingh, April, 14, 1911] [illustrated]; May, 1911.
3. "Automatic Record of Speed of Nervous Impulse in Plants," [illustrated]; October, 1913.

4. "History of a Discovery," December, 1915.
5. "Quest of Truth and Duty" [Sir J. C. Bose's address to the students of the Presidency College on receiving their *Arghya* and congratulations on the occasion of his knighthood], March, 1917.
6. "The Voice of Life" [Sir J. C. Bose's inaugural address dedicating the Bose Institute to the nation], December, 1917.
7. "Memory Image and its Revival," November, 1918.
8. "The Night-watch of Nymphaea," February, 1919.
9. "Wounded Plants," March 1919.
10. "The Menace of the Hyacinth," September, 1922.
11. "Life and its Mechanism," December, 1924.
12. "The Unvoiced Life," [illustrated], December, 1925.
13. "The Mechanism of Life," December, 1926.

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2. Jagadananda Ray, "Dr. J. C. Bose on Memory," November, 1907.
3. Indu Madhab Mallick, "Recent Discoveries of Dr. J. C. Bose," April, 1908.
4. "An Account of Prof. J. C. Bose's Researches," December, 1912.
5. Sudhindra Bose, "Professor Jagadis Chandra Bose in America," [illustrated], May, 1915.
6. Prof. Jakob Kunz, "On the Scientific Work of Professor J. C. Bose," July, 1915.
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10. "The Movements of Plants," March, 1920.
11. Basiswar Sen, "The Crescograph" [illustrated], July, 1920.
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13. Professor Patrick Geddes, "The Bose Research Institute Revisited," December, 1922.
14. R. K. Das, "Sir J. C. Bose in Europe," October, 1926.
15. Professor C. A. Timiriazeff, "The Movements of Plants: The History of Our Time," December, 1926.
16. Dr. Taraknath Das, "Sir Jagadis Chandra Bose: A leading figure of Asiatic Renaissance," November, 1928.
17. Prof. N. C. Nag, "Bose Institute Magnetic Crescograph," August, 1929.
18. J. K. Majumdar, "The Philosophical Importance of Sir J. C. Bose's Scientific Discoveries," August, 1930.
19. Basiswar Sen, "The Bose Research Institute," December, 1933.
20. Nagendra C. Nag, "Sir Jagadis Chandra Bose" [illustrated], December, 1937.
21. Ramananda Chatterjee, "The Hero As Scientist," December, 1937.
22. Rabindranath Tagore, "Jagadis Chandra Bose," December, 1937.
23. Rabindranath Tagore, "Jagadis Chandra Bose," [Authorised translation by Surendranath Tagore of the Poet's talk to the students at Santiniketan, on receiving the news of death of Jagadis Chandra], January, 1938.
24. Rabindranath Tagore, "Jagadis Chandra Bose And His Institute," December, 1938.
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13. "Prof. J. C. Bose thirty years ago," October, 1913.
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15. "Evidence of Prof. J. C. Bose" [before the Public Service Commission], January, 1914.

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2. "Prof. Darwin anticipated by Dr. J. C. Bose," November, 1908.
3. "The Bengal Literary Conference," Dr. J. C. Bose's Presidential address at the Mymensingh Conference], May, 1911.
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18. "Indian Universities and Professor J. C. Bose's Researches," April, 1914.
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20. "Prof. Bose at Cambridge. Appreciation of Sir F. Darwin," August, 1914.
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26. "Invitation to Dr. J. C. Bose to deliver lectures," September, 1914.
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28. "Professor Bose's Work in the West," July, 1915.
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35. "The Nation's Duty to Professor Bose," February, 1916.
36. "To Students of Prof. J. C. Bose," March, 1916.
37. "Bose Research Institute Studentship Fund," September, 1916.
38. "The Viceroy at Dr. Bose's Laboratory," January, 1917.
39. "His Students Congratulate Sir J. C. Bose," March, 1917.
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41. "Bombay's Reception of Sir J. C. Bose," February, 1918.
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43. "Sir J. C. Bose's New Discovery," May, 1919.
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60. "Professor Bose's Address to Presidency College Students," February, 1925.
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1. Dr. J. C. Bose (1896?), October, 1907, facing p. 363.
2. Prof. J. C. Bose lecturing on his discoveries at the Royal Institution . . . , October, 1913, p. 333.
3. J. C. Bose and Rabindranath Tagore: Deputation to Santiniketan to congratulate Rabindranath (at prayer), January, 1914, p. 107.
4. Professor and Mrs. Bose with some of the members of the Hindusthan Association at State University of Iowa, May 1915, p. 560.
5. A flash light picture taken at the home of Dr. Edwin Herbert Lewis of the Chicago Lewis Institute, May, 1915, p. 561.
6. The interior of Dr. J. C. Bose's laboratory at Maida Vale, London, January, 1916, p. 83.
7. Professor J. C. Bose, February, 1916, facing p. 188.
8. Dr. J. C. Bose at the Royal Institution, 1897. March, 1916, facing p. 356.
9. Dr. J. C. Bose at the Royal Institution, 1914. March, 1916, facing p. 357.
10. Sir J. C. Bose: from an oil-painting by Mr. Atul Basu, May, 1921, facing p. 667.
11. Extraordinary response in the Living and the Non-living: a colour-plate. Artist—Mr. Gaganendranath Tagore, July, 1921, facing p. 1.
12. Sir J. C. Bose, September, 1922, facing p. 344.
13. Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose, January, 1923, p. 128.
14. The Revealer: the invisible waxing and waning of life revealed by the moving trail of light. Artist: Mr. Gaganendranath Tagore, December, 1925, facing p. 718.
15. Sir J. C. Bose, December, 1926, facing p. 668.
16. Jagadis Chandra Bose, February, 1935, facing p. 260.
17. Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose, December, 1937, facing p. 706.

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## AMERICA—WHAT IT TEACHES US

BY SUDHANSU MOHAN BANERJEE

THE first question that is often asked of a person who visits America is—What is the peculiar characteristic that strikes one above other things? Each one of us has his own reaction and impression according to our taste, predilection and mental outlook. When the giant plane in which we were travelling from London swooped round New York and you could see silhouetted against the earth's background the so-called giant sky-scrappers and how small they looked, tiny from above but huge from below, the truth flashed that it was the perspective that counted, *i.e.*, the angle from which you see things. The great island of Manhattan with its girdle of the East and West rivers, containing the world's first city and its statue of Liberty, its Empire State Building, its famous fifth avenue, symbolizes for many of us Walt Whitman's two lines,

I hear America singing  
The varied carols, I hear.

This is the characteristic of America, where various peoples have integrated—the English, the Dutch, the Irish, the German, the Belgian, the Italian, the Spanish—practically the whole of Europe have come here. Many say that the USA has been the greatest single achievement of European civilisation. Many of course came in search of gold, a few in search of soul also, like the pilgrim fathers of the Mayflower and all we may say, paradoxical though it may seem, in search of life and adventure as they understood it. Call it a spirit of rugged individualism or a spirit of adventure and be they Boston Brahmins, the Cabots, the Lodges, or those who go West.

I go West  
Then Ho brother Ho  
To California go  
There is plenty of gold in the  
World we are told  
On the banks of Sacramento.



Here the Lowells talked to Cabots and Cabots to God. Here were the Utah Mormons and Salt Lake City with their philosophy of plural marriage and marriage unto eternity. Here were also the Chicago bosses and gangsters or the film artists and producers of St. Barbara or Beverly Hills or Los Angeles where according to Aldous Huxley, thought was barred in this city of dreadful joys of Nineteen suburbs in search of a metropolis. As Gunther puts it; Years ago F. Scott Fitzgerald wrote—France was a land, England was a people but America was still an idea. That is partially true even today. We talk of integration. But the critic would say that integration we talk about is the integration of the whites and in spite of anti-slavery laws, in spite of the writs of the Supreme Court, in spite of public wrath aroused, there are still incidents like the Little Rock incident, still the Negro problem, still the caste system and untouchability. In Chicago alone there are 4 lakhs of Negroes. New York claims Harlem as a Negro Town by itself

    Eenee Miniee, Miniee mow  
    Catch a nigger by the toe  
    If he hollers make him pay  
    Fifty dollars every day,

is not dead yet. These questions of colour, education, segregation and isolation are still problems. I can only say that better conscience of America is alive keenly to these issues and some satisfactory solution is sure to be found.

When we think of America, we must think of its vastness, its enormous natural resources and its less teeming millions. It was the first nation to produce, on a gigantic scale, coal, petroleum, steel, electricity, copper, cotton, timber and other multitudinous agricultural and industrial products. It is said that it contains 4/5ths of world's automobiles and one of half of its telephones. One hundred millions of dollars of cosmetics are spent on its home consumption. The possibility of power generation on the Pacific coast is so tremendous that 42 per cent of the total potential Kaiser shipyards and industries are flourishing today and atomic researches going on because of this power development, e.g., Boeing plants at Seattle. A few years ago it was 120 billion KWH. It will almost double in a few years. The romance of

Tennessee Valley as part of F.D.R's New Deal is almost a history of the past. St. Lawrence of Canada is going to be another vast power potential which would make Chicago a sea-port. But in America you will find controversy still going on between private and state capitalism. Take the history of Grandcoulee dam. Two hundred million dollars were spent to build it. 10,0. millions of cubic yds of concrete were poured in, two hundred million cubic yds of excavation. The Roosevelt Lake it built was 15 miles long, it holds 436,000,000,000 cubic ft. of water. The drainage area is 74,000 sq. miles. The issue of Missouri Valley Authority and its operation which would constitute the greatest peacetime public undertaking is still being debated. Here was a nation in the making which have introduced some of the essential features of socialism without being doctrinaire socialists. The merging of various peoples have given also a vitality to society. They believe in making money but not in amassing it.

In America one notices that the prop of internal economy is credit. Increase your consumption, produce more and more consumer goods, market them by any means. Advertisers give facilities, make propaganda by television, radio and newspapers. Give easy instalments. This revolving credit—open a charge account—is the mainstay of their internal economy. Provided you have a job or you are in business i.e., you are creditworthy, you sign over the dotted lines, and at once you get what you want—big limousines, houses, radios, refrigerators, televisions, going abroad on vacations or to sea-beach or a world fair.

One of the problems that struck me there rather prominently was in respect of our ward and boys trained abroad who are averse to come back.

If I remember correctly a roster of trained scientists and technical men abroad was being compiled recently by the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research. The total number I am told is about 5,000. Only about 1,000 have registered for service in India. A question is often asked—do they pitch their salary demands high? This seems a very minor point, if not a myth. The average salary which these Indian nationals expected was Rs. 620. 67 per cent would be satisfied with less than Rs. 700/-

85 per cent with less than Rs. 1,000|- and 23 per cent with less than Rs. 500|- to start with.

Let us analyse the figures a little closely. Average earning in Britain is Rs. 800|- with a maximum of Rs. 2185, in USA 1,800 with a maximum of Rs. 3,800. In Germany the average technologist gets Rs. 570.

In India though the average earning of a scientist or a technical man is less, it is more in comparison with our national income, which is at least 25 time less than USA. We, however, need all these men for the bettering of the very standard for which they are clamouring and we have to pay them higher wages—a compromise between their sense of a national patriotism and sense of their creature comforts. We cannot afford to lose our brothers and sisters not merely from the emotional standpoint but more from the solid selfish point of view that we want trained men.

I could talk of America in many other ways, borrow the words of Patrick Henry or Thomas Paine—give me liberty or give me death,—of its miraculous dakotas where four heroic statues lie hewn on the mountains each 480 ft. high, of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln and Roosevelt, of the Government of the people, by the people, for the people or waging of war against any form of tyranny. I could talk of its poets and statesmen, of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Edgar Allan Poe, Longfellow and Walt Whitman, I could talk of its Ford and Rockefeller, Carnegie and Chrysler, of its general motors and G.E.C., of its grand Canyon, Colorado, or the Smoky Mountains, its Texas oils and the role of the railway companies in the colonisation. I could talk of its sex and sensation, rock and roll, its Reno and Las Vegas, of marriage and divorce, its juvenile delinquencies, and adult cruelties, its broadways, and little ways, its stars and stripes but I am reminded of that boyish verse in a Kansas Primer which begins—

I am a jay hawker

I do not have wings

I can sing

I can run, I can laugh

I can work

I was born in Kansas.

That is the spirit. It is the idealism of a new world imposed on the cynicism of an old. It is re-making in a virgin soil upturned, not reforming or remodelling. A sceptic who has seen the top of the world and its seven seas may say of America as still immature and emotionally unstable. Its love of television, quizzes, its love of chewing gum and sometimes extra quixotic incidents, its love of the cult of the spectacular or mysticism, may make one think that "America has not yet come of age" but think of the dynamism, think of the frankness, think of the probe and purity attached to it. Entering the big hall of the New York's public library on the famous Fifth Avenue one could see at a corner a forgotten book by an almost unknown author published in 1784 named *Oracles of Reason* by one Anthony Haswell who advocated the doctrine that Reason was the only *Oracle of Man* and considered it his supreme duty of preaching it to reform mankind from superstition and horror. Every nation has to go through trials and struggles, has to have its challenges and opportunities. World is moving fast. Its technology, its knowledge, its sense of values, its compartmentalism, are dwindling away. We see it in our own lives, in our own thought compartments. If it is a failure, it will be a glorious failure to use an expression of Herbert Hoover regarding Woodrow Wilson, moving with the pace of a Greek tragedy. One American told me that 'we follow nationalism in politics, rationalism in religion and humanism in relation to man.' That may be broadly true. In the words of Melville, one of its poets—it is life—life within life. It has its pitfalls, it has its virtues.\*

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\* A Summary of a talk at the Rotary Club, Asansol.



# TOLSTOY'S CHALLENGE TO CHRISTIANITY

By DR. NARAYANI BASU, M.A., D.Phil.

ONE day in a remote corner of Russia a boy was telling his young brother about his possession of a green stick. The secret of this magic stick when disclosed would remove all misery and misfortune, all would love one another and all would become 'Ant-Brothers'. The boy in his childish curiosity even arranged a game of 'Ant-Brotherhood' which consisted in sitting under chairs, sheltering with boxes, screening with shawls, and cuddling against one another while thus crouching in the dark. Thus the Ant-Brotherhood was revealed to him but to his utter disappointment the chief secret was left unknown. This tiny boy whose life was in search for this green stick of childish dream is L. N. Tolstoy.

## A PAGAN

Curiously enough, Tolstoy started his life as a Pagan and the religious faith that taught him in his childhood soon disappeared. He started reading philosophical works at a very early age and as a result at the time he was 16 he ceased to say his prayers and ceased to go to Church. His indifference to religion was blended with an element of ridicule. Tolstoy says that when his brother Nicholas devoted himself to have a pure and moral and religious life they called him Noah to amuse themselves. One disastrous effect of this conscious rejection of the religious doctrine was that he was completely lost. Having spent his youth in extravagance and in dissoluteness Tolstoy married at the age of 34.

## SEARCH FOR TRUTH

The marriage which he so earnestly desired did not give him lasting satisfaction. From the external world of riches soon he turned to the internal meaning of life. He was searching madly for the elixir but life could not give it as death appeared to him as the inevitable end of life. A feeling of despair and hopelessness pervaded his whole life. At the age of fifty he was brought to the verge of suicide and his position became like that of a wanderer overtaken on a plain by an enraged beast. It was as if escaping from the beast he got into a well, but a dragon was sitting there. Not daring to climb lest he should be destroyed by the en-

raged beast and not daring to leap to the bottom of the well lest he should be devoured by the dragon he seized a twig that grew up in a crack in the well. But two mice were gnawing at it. As soon as the twig would snap the traveller would fall into the dragon's jaw. Even knowing that the traveller would perish soon he looked around and found some drops of honey on the leaves of the twig, reached them with his tongue and licked. So too Tolstoy clung to the twig of life and licked the honey. But the honey no longer tasted sweet as his eyes were staring at the dragon of death. In those days of intense suffering and torment when Tolstoy was roaming about amid the gleams of mathematical and experimental sciences, out of the darkness he found an exit in the teachings of Jesus Christ. Death could no longer frighten him for he who had heard the call of Jesus to build the Kingdom of God will be immortal.

## CHRISTIANITY

Jesus simply brought the message of the Kingdom of Heaven but man will have to fulfil this mission by his own efforts. The true enemy of mankind is not 'Death' but the worldly temptations. So beware of the temptations of enmity and anger which destroy the goodness of life. God does not want offering but mercy from his devotee. Jesus said to his disciples: "You have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not kill and whosoever shall kill shall be in the danger of judgment. But I say unto you that whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause\* shall be in the danger of judgment. . . . If therefore, thou art offering thy gift before the altar and go thy way, first be reconciled to thy brother and then come and offer thy gift." (Matt. v. 21-6).

Another evil that ruins human welfare is lustfulness. The old Mosaic law knew it and

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\* Tolstoy thinks that the phrase 'without a cause' is an interpolation by the Christian commentators for nobody is angry without a cause. Jesus wanted man to be free from anger even when the cause for anger exists.



laid down the law that one must not commit adultery and one must give a letter of divorce if he is separated from his wife. But Jesus told unto his disciples not even to look upon a woman with lust for whosoever looks upon a woman to lust after her commits adultery. Adultery arises because man and woman look upon each other as an object of desire and desert the soul with whom they are first united. Husband and wife are one flesh united by God and it is a sin to become separated. Christ's dictum upon divorce is clear and indubitable but strangely enough more than half of the people of the Christendom desert their wives and commit adultery.

The third temptation which ruins the welfare of man is the temptation of oath. Jesus said: "Ye have heard that it hath been said by them of old time, Thou shalt not forswear thyself but shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths. But I say unto you swear not at all. For man is entirely in God's power and cannot beforehand promise to do what his oath binds to do." Christ forbids taking of oath for many evils in the world are rooted in it. Demanding allegiance to the nation it causeth the separation of man into nations and the formation of the military class. The deception of oath consists in this that the worst of all crimes, violence, war, murder are all sanctified by the oath. Soldiers who do all violence call themselves the sworn.

The fourth temptation depriving man of his welfare is that of resisting evil by means of violence. The doctrine of non-violence elevates Christianity and makes it more sublime than the Mosaic law of retaliation. In place of the old Jewish law of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth Jesus gave his simple, clear and practical commandment: "Resist not him that is evil, but whosoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek turn to him the left also. And if anyone would go to the law with thee and take away thy coat let him have thy cloak also." So Jesus told his disciples: "Don't resist evil, do not meet violence by violence, if they beat you, endure it, if they wish to take from you what is yours, give it up." Failing to recognize the true meaning of Christ's teaching the Christians accuse Jesus of extolling suffering. Tolstoy says that it is a mistake to suppose that Jesus extolled suffering. Christ does not command us to pre-

sent the cheek and give up cloak in order to suffer. "It is just like a father sending his son off on a distant voyage, who does not order the son not to sleep at night and not to eat enough and to be drenched and to freeze, continue your journey, nevertheless; Christ does not say 'offer your cloak' but 'Resist not him that is evil and no matter what befalls you do not resist him'."

—*What I Believe*, p. 318 f.

Tolstoy must be credited for popularising the doctrine of non-violence but long before Tolstoy the American Quakers and people like W. L. Garrison and Adin Ballou discovered it and noticed the very foundation of Christianity in the doctrine of non-resistance of evil.

From the fourth commandment comes the fifth one, 'Be enemy of no man.' The temptation of enmity is such that it separates man from man, nation from nation. People become an easy prey to this temptation as enmity hides itself under the garb of that gross fraud called patriotism. Christ's advice to the people is: "Behave like the good Samaritan, God does not make any distinction between people and sends His blessings to all. He wants us to do likewise."

Thus Tolstoy understood the teaching of Jesus. Fulfil the teaching of Jesus and life will be meaningful to you. Man has come to the earth to live in the spirit and not in the flesh. Those who will abide by the teaching of Jesus will serve the spirit and will act cleverly like the wise manager of a rich man who knew that however well he might serve his master the master will dismiss him leaving him nothing. The manager while managing his master's affairs did favour to other people. Then when the master dismissed him those whom he had benefited received and sustained him. Men should behave similarly in the bodily life. Bodily life is the wealth not our own entrusted to us for a time. If we make good use of our own wealth that is spirit, we will survive in the long run.

#### CHRISTIAN LAW OF EQUALITY

The ideal of life Christianity sets before mankind is one of love and universal brotherhood. This brotherhood will have no worldly aims. It will not seek either to dominate the

world of nature or the world of man. None will become rich and enjoy wealth at the cost of others. In God's kingdom everyone will have to earn his bread by the sweat of his brow. Work is duty; if a man does not work he shall not eat. On the other hand there will be no self-enrichment. It is harder for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven than for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle. It is really a sin to possess wealth. So Jesus told unto his disciples: "He that hath two coats let him impart that hath none and he that hath food let him do likewise." Life based on love and equality will alone receive the blessings of God. There is no royal road to salvation.

#### CHURCH AND CHRISTIANITY

The words of Christ which are so simple and categorical have been clouded by dogmatic theology and its defender, i.e., the Church. Christ's teaching is really a teaching of conduct—of how we shall live each separately and altogether. This ethical aspect of his teaching demands and as such cannot be separated from Christ's metaphysical explanation of why people should live in that way. Life on the earth is blissful indeed but man can attain the bliss only by his own efforts. Contrary to the demand of Jesus the Church extolls faith and asks his followers to have faith in God. It says here that life here is an imitation of true life; it cannot be good. The best way to live such a life is to despise it and to live by faith and the son of God will redeem the faithful. Obviously all the love of goodness and truth which lies in the soul, all the strivings of life and the victories of reason become unimportant and meaningless but only the life in faith that is to say 'life in insanity' becomes a true one. Distorting the metaphysical explanation of life the Church has replaced the ethical teaching by rituals. Is it not strange that while all religions demand from their adherents besides ceremonies the performance of certain good actions and abstention from certain bad actions there is nothing obligatory for a Christian to do something or to abstain from something? Like a spectator he should merely grieve for the fall of Adam and rejoice in the redemption of Christ. Nothing can be more insane than these ideas.

The influence of this doctrine of redemption is so deep-seated that the Christian world is either oblivious of or reluctant to fulfil the teachings of Christ. Christ's advice to the people was: "Resist not him that is evil. Give your left cheek to him that smites you on the right." But instead of turning the left cheek the Christians themselves are hitting the cheeks the Jews have turned to them. It is really regrettable that a people with so lofty an ideal is leading such an unscrupulous life. But the mischief is done by the Church. So, roared the voice of Tolstoy: 'Deery the Church.'

#### A CHALLENGE TO CHRISTIANITY

There are two things that make Tolstoy peculiarly disconcerting to the Christian propagandist and make it a challenge to Christianity. The first is that he enlivened the Christian ideal and that he denounced the Christian Church for the reason that the Church had shelved Christ's Sermon on the Mount as an ideal, as an impractical code for the modern man. Due to the preaching of the Church the Christians have dared practised contrary to their ideal. They are committing all those atrocities that the most barbarous of nations would shudder to think of although Christianity teaches them the doctrine of love. Christ himself cannot advocate this separation of ideal from conduct without wiping out his life of suffering and toleration. In fact, Jesus lived out and died in vain had he not intended to regulate our conduct according to his own preaching. Just like the Buddha Tolstoy believes, Jesus has shown his followers the fivefold path of right conduct: "Do not commit adultery, swear not at all, resist not him that is evil by violence and be enemy of no one." He wanted us to observe these principles for no amount of preaching will accelerate the journey to Heaven unless man by his own efforts quickens his pace. Tolstoy himself heard this imperial call and submitted to it. To be true to his creed he abandoned his vast property in favour of his family (as his wife wanted to appeal to the Tsar against her husband's will, Tolstoy was compelled to give up the decision of total abandonment), renounced the money from his writings and lived the life of a peasant tilling the land in Yasnaya Polyana.

Like a meteor detracted from its path Tolstoy fell upon the Western world and it could not face up to him. So it tried to dispose of this apostle. The Holy Synod excommunicated him from the Christian Society. His enemies called him a hypocrite living in self-indulgence at the expense of his wife. Even his family resented his mode of life. But Tolstoy never fell from his path and bore all humiliations.

Whatever may be the lot of Tolstoy the fundamental problem still remains to-day. As Tolstoy says: "Being poor does not deprive men of reason. They never have admitted and never will admit that it is right for some to have a continual holiday while others must al-

ways fast and work. Where there is a man not working because he is able to compel others to work for him—there slavery exists. . . . The ideal of an industrious life has been replaced by the ideal of a magic and inexhaustible purse." The magic of the purse has really been proved to be illusory in the homeland of Tolstoy himself. The West does not seem to have learnt any lesson out of it. Her life is still based upon the quicksand of social slavery. But sooner or later the workers will refuse to live in the state of slavery. If the West fails to realise the full implication of Christ's teaching or refuses to earn their bread by their honest labour, the Christian world will fall like the house of cards.

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## MY TRIP TO MADRID

By DR. MATILAL DAS, M.A., B.L., Ph.D.

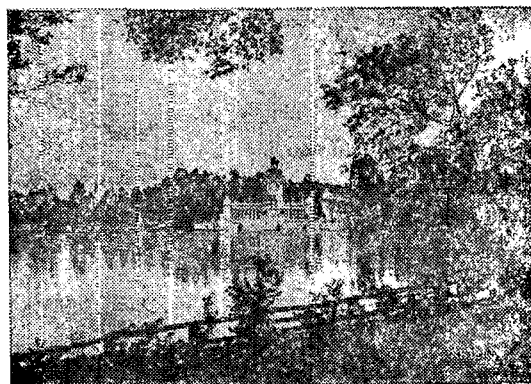
I WAS dreaming of Spain—the land of romance where one finds the charm of the East mingled with the speed and comfort of the West. I was weary with the long hours of travel and I was dozing, when the tumult of the passengers of the Iberian Airways woke me up from my dream.

We were circling over the International Air-port at Madrid and it was near midnight. I touched the soil of Spain in the sleepy atmosphere of night.

The journey in the bus from the Air-port to the Office at Plaza de Carsova was a pleasant one. I had met a Spaniard in the plane and he knew a little English. I asked him to find a cheap hotel for me. He works in a film business and I had hopes that he would not fail to help a stranger to his city. But unfortunately, he did not think it worth-while.

The people in the office advised us to go to the Palace Hotel which was nearby but its charge was very high. So I decided to take my chance and began to walk with my heavy suitcases in both hands. As I moved around, I saw an attractive feminine figure. She was old but

had a kind face. I asked her for guidance. She said in a sympathetic tone "Please come along with me." She noticed my troubles in carrying



Retiro

the heavy baggage and asked a porter to carry my things.

"Are you Indian?"

"Yes, I am on a world-tour to lecture about the culture and glory of Mother India."

"Oh, I am so glad to meet you. I am from



Switzerland and I come every year to enjoy the sunny climate here."

This was a first class B hotel and the room I got was nice and comfortable. I shall have to find out. The old lady was very energetic.



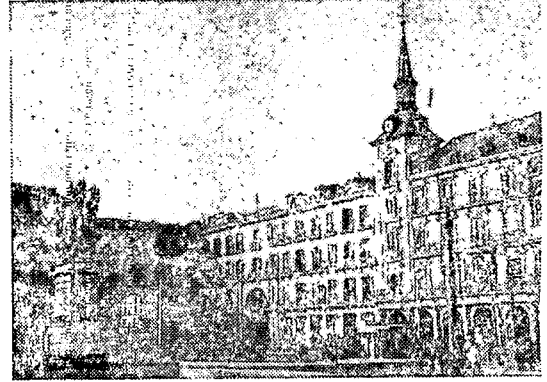
A view of the city of Madrid

After taking me to the hotel, she again went out to enjoy a local performance. It was Christmas Eve.

I went inside and soon fell into deep sleep. My roof was on the road-side and during early

hours of the night I saw people going in merry procession dancing and singing to celebrate the Christmas.

Next morning I strolled out at 8 A.M. The view of the city was nice—the clear blue of the



Plaza Mayor

sky, the green of the trees in the broad streets and the concourse of people, happy and cheerful, were pleasing to the eyes.

I met a Hungarian gentleman near Plaza de Independencia. He was a very nice person and we had a long talk about India. "We are new to the business of self-government but we are doing very well with our zeal and our efforts are sure to show a new way of life"—I told him with warmth and enthusiasm. "I hope you would enjoy your short stay here. I shall see if I can arrange a talk for you in the . . . where I live." I thanked him for his interest. He took my address but I did not hear from him. Perhaps his friends were not eager enough.

After leaving him I went to a zoo nearby. The gate-keeper was a shrewd man. He cheated me while giving me change. The zoo was not attractive but it had a well-kept garden inside.

The oriental role is evident in Spain and gives a glamour and delightful charm to her cities and towns. The Moors occupied Spain for many centuries and they left an abiding impression upon the character and appearance of Spain. Unfortunately, I could not go and visit the Alhambra in Granada, the Giralda tower in Seville and the Mosque in Cordoba, but I found in the Spanish people round about a familiar note. This and the sun gave me a

homely joy in the sights and sounds round about me.

I saw the Prado Museum and was charmed by its art-collections of incalculable value. It is one of the best Museums in the world and has been well kept up. Many masterpieces of Greco, Velasquez and Goya are there and all lovers of painting must make it a duty to visit the splendid art-galleries of the Prado.



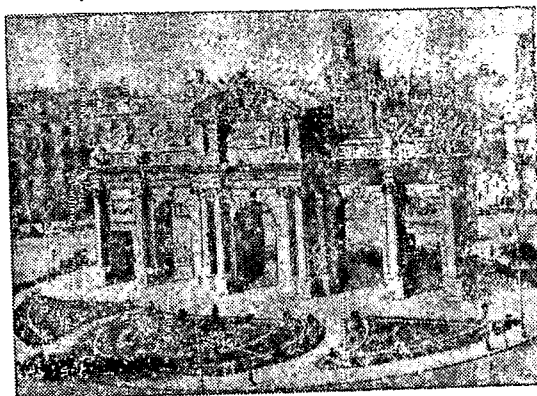
Paseo Del Pardo

The ordinary people in Spain have not the sturdy character of the Western people. They lack the honesty and straight dealings of the people of the northern neighbours. I asked a shoe-black to polish my boots and he agreed to do so at one piseta. He, thereafter, said that he should make necessary repairs and demanded 125 pisetas from me. With tact and a little anger, I was able to get out of his clutches on giving 25 pisetas.

I saw a few Spanish films. The Spaniards are lovers of dancing and skill. Because of this, the bull-fighting still survives in Spain. This aspect of Spanish character is also to be found in the Cinema. Cinema pictures are made with an eye to excitement so that they abound in fighting and adventures.

Every one is familiar with the great classic *Don Quixote* written by Cervantes (1547-1617). It is acknowledged as the greatest romance of all literature. This Quixotian characteristic is to be found in the national character of the Spanish people. But one should not forget that notwithstanding her weakness Spain was one of the world's great powers at one time and her vast and colossal empire in South

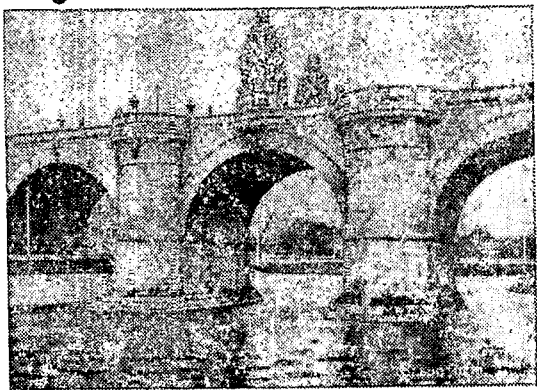
America is a glaring example of her one-time heroism. She gave her language, her culture and her faith to millions in America but alas that Golden Age is no more and to-day the



Puerta De Alcala

flame of Spanish genius is burning low, but who knows that it will not have a brilliant future\* The signs of a new life are pulsating there.

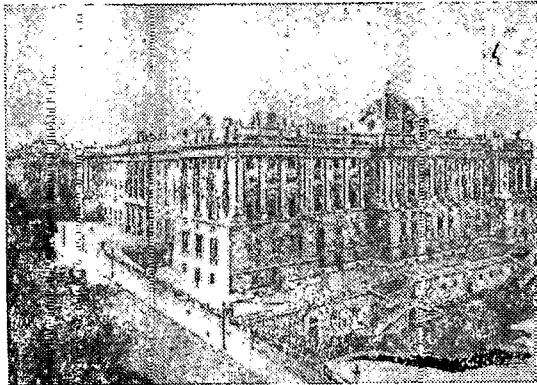
Madrid is almost in the exact centre of the Peninsula. It is a large city with a huge population and the surrounding suburbs are yearly being absorbed in the metropolitan city. But though busy and teeming with population, it has many old world aspects.



Toledo Bridge

One can meet small alleys and crooked lanes just walking a few steps from the nice thoroughfares of the modern city. Madrid has a bracing climate and my short stay there was pleasant and comfortable, though I had an attack of influenza.

I do not mean that all the Spanish are wicked. While going to the Lazaro Galdiano Museum, I asked a Spanish gentleman who was purchasing a ticket for self and his wife, how much it would cost. Noticing that I was a foreigner, he purchased a ticket for me and gave it to me. I thanked him heartily for his courtesy.



Royal Palace

I went to have a sight of the new Royal Palace. It is situated in a nice place having a beautiful landscape round about it. It was the most important building erected by the Bourbons, designed in keeping with a conception of the Baroque different from the Spanish one, in which the basic architecture is considered more important than the decoration. I could not see the inside.

I also saw many of the Baroque churches which are to be found all around. They are noted for a new style which has a great tendency to lavish decoration.

The city has several ancient gates as are to be found in Delhi and other places in India. The gates called Alcala, Toledo and Puerta de Hierro are attractive in appearance.

Some of the fountains placed on the broad highways are magnificent. These fountains such as Cilules, Aholo and Alcachafa were mainly erected in the 18th and 19th Centuries.

There is no Indian Embassy in Madrid but there is one of Pakistan. Janab Saheer Sharwady is the Ambassador there. I went to meet him but unfortunately he was absent from Office.

As I did not know the Spanish language it was not possible for me to go to the hear of the people, but for the little I saw and talked, I can say that the Spanish are a hospitable people. I had no contacts in Madrid, so it was not possible to meet people that count. I had been able to speak on the legacy of ancient India in almost all the countries I visited except in Spain in course of my round world-tour. It was unfortunate but one of the reasons for it was the political condition of the country. General Franco rules Spain with a reign of terror and it is not easy to have free scope for international concourse and amity.

My experience while leaving was not happy. I had toured round the world with a big suit-case and a small air-bag. None of the many Air-Lines charged me anything for excess baggage. But the man in the T.W.A. Office here was a villain. I do not know why he managed to charge excess baggage for the same. I told him that I could carry my camera, a book and a few other things free but he did not pay any heed to my remonstrance. The passengers who were in the room did not come forward to help me but that was because of the Western attitude not to poke their nose in others affairs. I was, therefore, forced to pay a sum of five dollars for it.

I do not still know whether the man wanted any bribe. I did not offer any tips but paid the excess charged. I made a complaint to the T.W.A. authorities but it is rather unfortunate that they did not care.

I would like to go back to Spain with its warmth and brilliance of the sun and study the influence of the Moorish invasion there. Spain with its extraordinary variety has a never-failing charm. I hope that our Government would soon establish an Embassy in Madrid and thereby promote business and cultural activity between the two countries.



## DIGHA VISITED

By S. K. GHOSH, M.A., B.T.

THE great poet Wordsworth, before he visited Yarrow, had written:

"Be Yarrow stream unseen, unknown!  
It must, or we shall rue it:  
We have a vision of our own:  
Ah! Why should we undo it?"

My feelings were almost the same before I had actually visited Digha, the would-be Brighton of Bengal.

What I had heard and read about Digha seemed at times nothing but journalistic fanfare sounded at the instance of the Publicity Department of the Government of West Bengal, or more correctly in deference to the wishes of her popular but redoubtable Chief Minister. But I must confess that Digha often conjured up before my mind's eye seascapes of Byronic grandeur, glorious scenes of sunrise and sunset and romantic beaches flooded with the light 'that never was on sea or land'.

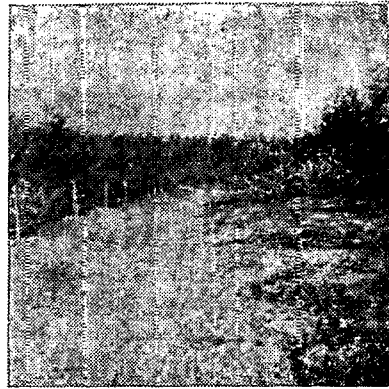
The call of the sea and of Digha was irresistible. One fine morning in February, 1958, we started for Digha. I was one of the 36 pedagogues who were invited by the West Bengal Government to attend an educational seminar organized by its Education Department.

A notoriously slow passenger train of the South-Eastern Railway took me in 12 hours to Contai Road Station which was 56 miles from my destination. This part of the journey was done by a public bus. Thanks to the fine road and a comfortable upholstered seat by the driver's side, the journey was not a bone-shaking experience but a thrilling and enjoyable ride instead. As the bus sped along at an average speed of 30 miles per hour, I feasted my eyes on scenes of rural beauty that flew by. What specially charmed me was the endless avenue of mango trees laden with a heavy weight of blossoms but from which the leaves had almost disappeared.

In spite of half an hour's halt at Contai (the sub-divisional town) where another seminarist got in we covered the whole distance in

2½ hours. As the bus was negotiating the last curve I heard the distant roar of breakers. In a minute or two a charming seascape burst upon our view and then vanished like a flash of lightning. The next moment the bus came to a dead stop for it had reached its journey's end.

We were warmly greeted at the bus stop by two amiable gentlemen who guided us to our temporary home, the 'Banerji Lodge'. We met there other seminarists who had already arrived, but we were too tired to talk. We unpacked our luggage in the room allotted to me and my companion from Contai. A third gentleman soon joined us there. We were much relieved to find that our room was provided with electric lights.



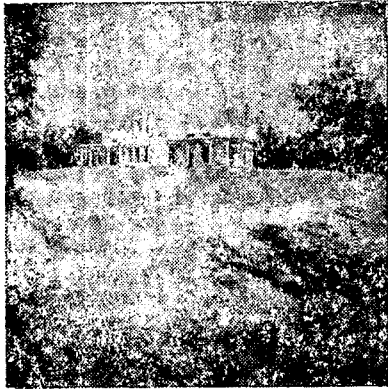
On the way to the sea

Tea was waiting for us at the cafeteria (the only one of its kind at Digha) sponsored by the West Bengal Government. It is housed in a red, double-storied building with its well-ventilated rooms. The amenities provided are not very costly. But we were surprised to find that there was no decent approach to the cafeteria. Heaps of sand lay scattered all around. A gravelled path and a fenced-in garden would have added to the charm of the place.

Tea was served in the southern verandah of the cafeteria. The clump of *jhoru* (tamarisk trees) which we faced and just beyond which the sea was breaking, was a pleasing sight for us. The sea breeze added a zest to our cups

‘Eat cheer but not inebriate’. While taking tea we talked rather freely and soon felt we were a merry company. But the sea was calling me. So leaving our seminar-minded friends in the company of the Director of the Seminar (Mr. H. R. Bhatia) I hurried with two of my new room-mates to the beach to see the sunset. We walked quite briskly, yet we missed the sunset by a few minutes. The golden twilight scene, however, was a sight for the gods to see.

We stood in silent rapture, gazing at the sky and gazing at the ‘glorious mirror where the Almighty’s form glasses itself’. The rolling of the endless breakers of the dark grey sea made us feel the omnipotence of Nature and our own impotence. We stood like pigmies looking at the Titans.



A house on a sand dune

We were lost in reverie till one of us spoke out, ‘Look at the moon’. The shades of evening were deepening but the moon was rising in all her resplendent glory. It was another unforgettable scene, the scene of the sea ‘that bares her bosom to the moon’. It was a dark and silver sea under the spangled heavens. We would have stood there for sometime longer, but the sudden chorus of about a dozen jackals called us back to reality. We were the only three souls standing in the deserted beach. We saw the last street light twinkling about half a mile away and with hasty steps we made for our lodging.

We had not rested long when dinner called us to the cafeteria a second time. It was a community dinner and the Director himself was there. We talked in a lighter vein than is usual

with seasoned pedagogues. The sea-fish which was a novelty to many of us met with a mixed reception. The abundance of chillies in our dishes was an ordeal for the majority. But the manager of the cafeteria was all attention and he knew how to tackle his hypercritical customers. Dinner over, we walked back to our respective lodgings. We were none too pleased to learn that our electric lights would go out at eleven. We were however too tired to keep awake up to that hour and the distant murmur of the sea was a lullaby to put us soon to sleep.

Early next morning we hurried to the beach to see the sunrise out of the sea. It was a grand and refreshing sight to ‘one who has been lonely in city pent’. The orient was suffused with vermilion glow. All of a sudden the golden rim of the rising sun leapt out of the distant waters. We watched it rise higher and higher but the last stage was too quick for our eyes. Ages ago the same scene must have inspired the Ved *rishis* of old to pour out their hearts in immortal hymns to God and Nature.

The sun was high up in the sky when we turned back. Now was the time to enjoy the sea-breeze and walk along the never-ending beach of Digha. The sea here is not so deep as at Puri and naturally the breakers are not so high and thrilling. But the magnificent beach at Digha stretched east and west as far as the eye could see. One can walk in a straight line mile after mile. Looking like a man-made road just smoothed by a heavy steam-roller it offered an easy landing ground for helicopters. One would however miss there the shells of thousand and one varieties that lie bestrewn on the sands of Puri. Almost every breaker brings in there thousands of them and the thousands of shell-gatherers fail to exhaust the endless supply. For those who fight shy of the crowd the beach of Digha has a special attraction. Very few sight-seers and holiday-makers are seen there. It is an ideal place for poets and philosophers who would spend a week or so ‘far from the madding crowd’.

On our way back we noticed that the embankments of the sea were an almost continuous series of sand-dunes, sparsely overgrown with tamarisk (*jhow*) trees. We learnt that the

Forest Department of the State Government was planting tamarisks all along the Digha coast to protect it against the possible ravages of the sea. These tall, graceful trees would also add to the natural beauty of the place. The two other common species of vegetation native to the soil are the screw-pine (*keya*) and the cashew-nut. The Chief Minister recently suggested to the local people that the cashew-nut for which there is a great demand in the market, should be sown more abundantly and in an organized and planned way.



Under the tamarisk trees

During our fortnight's stay at Digha we had our breakfast, lunch, afternoon tea and dinner at the cafeteria. Our daily programme also included morning and evening walk on the beach and seminar work from 9 to 11 A.M. and again from 3 to 5 P.M. At the seminar we discussed educational problems in groups and in full assemblies. It was a fruitful and refreshing experience for all of us. But more fruitful were the new personal contacts that were made. Young and old, all were levelled to the same age and we felt rejuvenated. We called it the Digha spirit, and it made us forget our hearth and home.

Efforts are being made to develop Digha into a popular health and holiday resort but it is even now a lonely place except on special occasions. There is a talk about providing Digha with a small aerodrome for the convenience of international tourists and V.I.P.'s. But the local people apprehend that the sea may approach the site of the cafeteria and other new

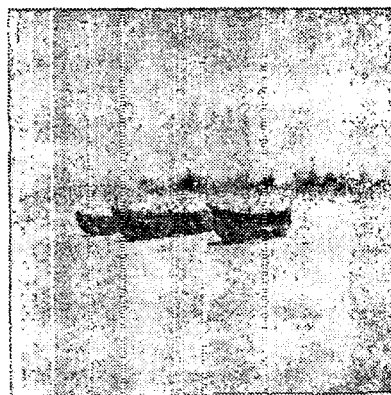
buildings. They also say that the afforestation scheme of the government is not likely to prove a successful one. New buildings are, however, being erected for the would-be health-seekers and holiday-makers. There are some fine bungalows belonging to some well-known Zaminders of Midnapore.

The sea at Digha being shallow, bathing here is not so thrilling as at Puri. But it is a safe place for those who would take their first lessons in sea-baths. One can go far into the sea without being drifted away and drowned. Digha has no *nulias* as there are very few bathers here.

Fishing is done at Digha on a limited scale. While taking our early morning walk on the beach we saw fishermen go out to the sea in their fishing boats. We were told that their catch was often very poor. But they had to go out

For men must work, and women must weep,  
And there's little to earn and many to keep.

The commonly available and edible fish were the mackerel and the pomfret. We were



Fishing boats on the beach

often served with these two varieties at the cafeteria but we did not relish them. Quite a few among us suffered from disorders of the bowels as a result of taking sea-fish. Very often we saw inedible fishes and marine creatures like jelly-fish lying dead on the beach.

During the second week of our stay a party of reputed film-stars came to Digha to shoot



some desert scenes. The news of their visit spread like wild fire among the neighbouring villagers. It reached even the distant subdivisional town of Contai. Digha leapt to fame overnight and became the Mecca of the whole subdivision. They came by bus, by bicycle, and on foot. As we had our meals at the cafeteria where some of the famous stars were putting up, we shone in their reflected glory. The stars attracted men, women and even children from remote villages as a bright fire in the wood attract thousands of moths that burn themselves to death. They waited patiently for hours on end near the cafeteria

to have a chance *darshan* of the stars and their planets and their satellites.

At last came the final day of our departure. At the appointed hour we boarded the special bus which was to take us to the Kharipur Railway Station. We cast a 'longing lingering look behind' to bid good-bye to the familiar cashew-nut bushes, the tall tamaris and the sand-dunes beyond which the sea is moaning. The driver blew his horn, the engine chugged and we waved our handkerchiefs bidding farewell to our friends at Digha. The bus started with thirty souls on board whose heads must have said, 'Au revoir, Digha!'

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## LEAD PENCIL—ITS POTENTIALITY

By PARIMAL CHANDRA MUKHERJEE

TALK about the difficulty of foreign exchange has almost become a byword in the context of the Second Five-year Plan. The only possible way to get out of this is to earn and save foreign currency. For that purpose we have to export much more than what we import. Although the Government of India have of late been taking measures to encourage export, it must be remembered that the scope in that direction is limited by the already existing competitors. It is, therefore, evident that a great stress will have to be placed on the reduction of import; we cannot think of eliminating it altogether till we are ready to stand on our own feet. It is not merely a question of installing machines, but it is also vitally linked up with the problem of establishing machine tools or machine-making machines. As our resources are limited, such inescapability of importing foreign machines for our basic industry means curtailing imports of consumer goods. In this field also such reduction may be possible only in respect of items falling under the category of luxury goods.

The situation is then really tight for us. But it should not be forgotten that unless the

production of consumer goods is proportionate to the establishment of heavy industry, the country is likely to face an awkward situation arising out of a general discontent, apart from the possible consequences of an unbalanced economy. A very great emphasis therefore should be laid on the production of consumer goods under the small-scale or cottage industry scheme with particular reference to the items which do not call for the import of foreign machines or materials to any appreciable extent or the production of which can possibly be multiplied by intensifying our own efforts and exploiting the existing potentialities.

Looking about and around us we can find quite a few things on which we can concentrate our efforts. To mention one of these is the so-called lead pencil. Although there are so-called eighteen factories in India which according to an estimate have produced some 71,51,000 gross pencils in 1957, this figure is only a negligible fraction of the total quantity consumed. Taking into consideration our stride towards literacy, it needs no effort to prove that the consumption of pencils will increase by leaps and bounds from year to year. It is, therefore, essential that due attention be paid to devel-

## LEAD PENCIL—ITS POTENTIALITY

this industry. Further, almost all the higher grades of pencils required for specialist work have to be imported today. Being of special grades their costs are also necessarily very high. That is to say, quite a good amount of money have to be paid in terms of foreign exchange. But, if we analyse the requirements of its manufacturing details it will be easy to conclude that efforts alone can yield good dividends.

Major raw materials required in pencil manufacture are graphite, clay and timber. Although the occurrence of graphite is widespread in India, all the varieties cannot be suitably processed for the manufacture of even tolerably good quality pencils. It is known from reliable sources that Mexican, Ceylonese or German graphite is mostly used in Indian manufacture. But the main problem lies in processing the existing ores. It is not, therefore, unreasonable to assume that intensification of research work and methodical exploitation of the already known techniques may lead to self-sufficiency. The National Physical Laboratory of India, and the Indian Standard Institute may help in this matter as they have already focussed the attention of the public through the *I.S.I. Bulletins*.

The second item is the clay for which no import is needed as it is available in plenty in India.

Then comes the timber, between two slices of which the pencil-stick is sandwiched. The quality of timber is no less important to make pencils of good quality. It should be easily mendable with an average school-boy pen-knife. Cedar wood mostly used for railway slippers is said to be the ideal timber for this purpose. This wood becomes suitable for use in the manufacture of pencils when it can no longer be used as railway slippers. That is to say when the timber due to exposure to the hazards of weather loses its essential oil content, it becomes soft enough to be used for pencil making. But, unfortunately this timber mostly comes from North America. Although these Cedar trees grow in certain Himalayan Ranges, its occurrence is too thin to be of commercial use. Not only it is therefore necessary to intensify its plantation as a long-term

policy, but all efforts should be made to find substitute timber which may be easily available in this vast sub-continent. In this matter the Forest Research Institute of India in Dehra Dun can do a lot. In fact, some preliminary work has already been done in this respect. One Mr. K. R. Rao of the wood workshop there claims that waste bamboo which is thrown away daily as useless, serves as one of the best substitute for Cedar. As, such bamboo pieces can be procured or obtained almost free of cost, its utilisation in the manufacture of pencils will reduce the price considerably which, considering small per-capita income, is not a mean factor in the manufacture of lead pencils.

Processing of such bamboo pieces is as simple, says Mr. Rao, as the mending of a good-quality pencil. In fact, Mr. Rao has made it a household affair. Grinding the graphite, mixing it with clay, he makes the pencil all finished ready for use. He does it without any elaborate tools. As the quality of pencils depends on graphite-processing and its proportion to clay, on which its softness or hardness and blackness depend, a pencil made in this crude method cannot be compared to any imported variety, but it may certainly be useful to the school-boy and can surely serve other simple needs where the question of cheapness is concerned and a readable impression is acceptable.

While bamboo waste may not serve the needs of the bulk of manufacture, it can surely meet small-scale needs. And who can say that there are not other waste timbers and things like that which we are just throwing away and which can be of immense value in pencil manufacture. To increase the production of lead pencils it would therefore be proper.

- (a) to assess the production capacity of the existing manufacturing concerns and to introduce shift system to the maximum extent,
- (b) to devise ways and means for improving the technique of graphite-processing so that the indigenous varieties can be extensively used,
- (c) to make systematic research work to utilise indigenously grown timber or its suitable substitutes, such as bamboo wastes,

d) and to encourage small-scale industry for producing cheaper varieties.

Before concluding it may not be out of place here to trace in a few lines the history and growth of the use of pencils and its manufacture.

It is said that the use of pencil came into vogue in about the sixties of the sixteenth century when graphite mines were discovered in Cumberland in England. This graphite was found ready for use; pencil sticks had only to be cut into size and shape. But as soon as the

mines were exhausted, graphite ores occurring in nature had to be processed with clay; and Germany and France have done pioneering work in this field so much so that their standard is so high that we accept their products blindly.

These countries have achieved this position through sheer force of will, industry, and tenacity of purpose. What is needed then for us to-day is to harness our own mental forces which alone can provide work and food to the millions and save the much-desired foreign exchange.

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## THE QUEEN AND HEAD OF THE COMMONWEALTH

By PROF. KAMALAKSHA BHATTACHARYYA, M.A.

QUEEN ELIZABETH, in the Christmas Day radio and television broadcast, said:

"Today things are very different. I cannot lead you into battle, I do not give you laws or administer justice, but I can do something else—I can give you my heart, and my devotion to these old islands and to all the people of our brotherhood of nations."<sup>1</sup>

This concept of monarchy is, indeed, 'one of the finest devices that modern democracy has for the conduct of public affairs.'<sup>2</sup> It is an interesting episode of history that in a grim struggle between the power of Parliament as against the crown, one King lost his head while another had to seek refuge outside his territory. As matters stand, the monarch, to become strictly constitutional, has divested himself of many of the original powers, the loss, nonetheless, has largely been offset. To the British people, the constitutional monarchy

stands today as an institution of pride or, even some should say, that it is 'the envy of the entire world'.<sup>3</sup>

### REPRESENTATIVE OF THE BRITISH NATION

The monarch in Britain as its Ceremonial Head is, to use Mr. Morrison's language, 'the incarnation of the state', the esteemed non-party representative of the nation as a whole'.<sup>4</sup> We learn on the authority of Sir Harold Nicolson's celebrated work *King George V. His Life and Reign* how King George crystallised the functions and duties of a constitutional monarch when he came to the throne. Sir Nicolson admirably estimates: "His faith in the principle of monarchy was simple, devout even; but self-less. All that he aspired to do was to serve that Principle with rectitude; to represent that was most straight-forward in the national character; to give to the world an example of personal probity to advise, to encourage and to warn. To few men has it been granted to fulfil their aspirations with such completeness"<sup>5</sup>.

1. Extract from Queen's Radio-TV Broadcast on Christmas Day, 1957—*Fortnightly Review of News and Events*, Dec. 1957—Jan. 4, 1958, pp. 5-6.

2. H. V. Hodson, *Parliamentary Affairs*, Commonwealth Issue, 1950.

3. Prime Minister Harold Macmillan, Oct. 23, 1957 (U.P.I.—A.F.P.).

4. H. Morrison, *Government and Parliament*, (O.U.P.) 1954, p. 87.

5. H. Nicolson, *King George V, His Life and Reign*, pp. 61-63.



It will be ungracious to think that the sovereignty of the crown has toppled down to a vanishing point; the diminution of so-called powers have added to the lustre and dignity of the institution. The status of the crown has been immeasurably and progressively elevated as the Empire transforms itself into the Commonwealth of Nations. It is almost a revolution how the present Queen, within little more than half a century since the demise of Queen Victoria (1819-1901), could speak herself, both in law and fact, as 'Queen of Canada' and 'Head of the Canadian Nation'. She is Queen of Canada and Head of the Nation of Canada, of Australia, of Newzealand, of South Africa, of Ceylon and Ghana in the same constitutional sense as she is the Queen and Head of the United Kingdom. In India, Pakistan and the Federation of Malay<sup>6</sup> (per se Kutuan Tanah Melayu) she is the Head of the Commonwealth (India and Pakistan being republic—members of the Commonwealth). It is really another surprise of history that the British Empire right up to 1876 was without an Emperor when Queen Victoria by the Royal proclamation dated April 28, 1876 added to her style and titles the words 'India Imperatrix.' The Republic of India no longer owes allegiance to the British monarch, still it is interesting to recapitulate, that the Hindu view of kingship closely approximates to that of the British idea of a sovereign.<sup>7</sup>

The subjects (*prajas*) used to regard themselves as the progeny of the King who in relation to his subjects was the father for his fondling care and protection.

6. On 31st August, 1957, the Federation of Malay achieved independent nationhood and became a member of the Commonwealth. Juan Ku Abdul Rahman ibni Al-marhum Juan Ku Muhammad, Ruler of Negri Sembilan, was formally installed 'as King and Ruler of the Federation of Malay.' The Queen's status in the Federation is derived solely from her position as Head of the Commonwealth.

7. See also Sir Jadunath Sarkar's article 'The British Monarchy in Indian History.' *The Statesman Coronation Magazine*, III.

#### MONARCH—A SOCIAL SYMBOL OF THE PEOPLE

It has been said that 'the king reigns, but does not govern.' Speaking in a metaphorical sense it can be said that an English monarch rules supreme in 'the fond breast' of the loving subject. The feeling of the common people was dramatically expressed on a great royal occasion when an East London slum put a banner carrying the humorous slogan: 'Lousy but loyal'.<sup>8</sup> Queen Elizabeth I once remarked: 'Though God hath raised me high, yet this I count the glory of my crown that I have reigned with your love.'<sup>9</sup> The tradition of deep personal feeling continues. On the very day of the Coronation, Queen Elizabeth II in a world-wide broadcast said. "As this day draws to its close I know that my abiding memory of it will be not only the solemnity and beauty of the ceremony but the inspiration of your loyalty and affection."<sup>10</sup>

It is true that Queen Victoria laid the firm foundation of monarchy 'while society was still highly stratified and quite reasonably only the top strata were associated with the crown.'<sup>11</sup> Society in the Victorian sense is an anachronism to-day and the effect of maintaining the traditions of the court would strain the sympathy of the mass of the people who may very reasonably like to see their appointed representative 'the image of themselves at their finest' one with themselves in their simplicity.

Recently Lord Altrincham and Mr. Malcolm Muggeridge criticized\* rather strongly the presentation parties at the Royal court which give the appearance that the Queen just stood 'at the apex of our aristocratic and plutocratic pyramid'; they expressed resentment in no uncertain terms against the whole system of 'titles,

8. H. Morrison, *Government and Parliament*, p. 92.

9. Quoted in the *Most Excellent Majesty*, H.M. 50, 1953, p. 33.

10. Extract from the Coronation Broadcast, *Statesman*, June, 1953.

11. Ivor, Jennings, *The British Constitution*, 1950, p. 117.

\* See Malcolm Muggeridge's article: 'Does England really Need a Queen?'

snobbery and accent<sup>12</sup>. In fairness it should be added that the Queen personally too did not favour so much of ostentation and formality and she was thinking to dispense with these long before the criticisms were hotly and publicly made. It is noteworthy that the Queen had professed to make her television appearance with the hope that her message would be 'more personal and direct.'

It may not be out of place here to reproduce what Sir Leslie Munro spoke so tersely and beautifully about the Queen while she addressed the U.N. General Assembly on Oct. 21, 1957. In thanking the Queen for her address to the United General Assembly of the Nations, Sir Leslie Munro, President of the U.N. Assembly, paid her tributes which I think deserve to be quoted for they bring out her representative qualities:

"Your Majesty as Head of the Commonwealth expressed the devotion of its farflung and diverse peoples to the purposes of peace, advancement and justice. I venture to say that there is not one among us who does not rejoice in the presence here to-day of a Queen, a wife and a mother who is symbol, in her lovely person of the noble ideals of womanhood."<sup>13</sup>

#### THE COMMONWEALTH AND DEMOCRACY

Emerson wrote that an institution is the lengthened shadow of one man. Of the institution of Parliament<sup>14</sup> it may equally be said that it is the lengthened shadow of the British Crown (notwithstanding party system and the cabinet, the two noble characteristics of the constitutional monarchy). It is the Queen who stands at its pinnacle and facilitates the process of Parliamentary Government and functions as an upholder of freedom and representative Government.<sup>15</sup> The formal centraliz-

ing institutions of the Empire are fast disappearing as the Empire graduates to the status of the Commonwealth, which to use Sri Jawaharalal Nehru's fine expression, represents not only the democratic institutions but in a considerable measure the content of democracy.<sup>16</sup>

The British Queen as the Head of the Commonwealth has a far more wider range than the British Prime Minister. To her the Commonwealth not merely owes life but continuance of life.

#### COMMONWEALTH CONNEXION—A PHASE OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

In India the issue to be within the Empire or outside it made its regular appearance on the agenda of the Indian National Congress till the last date of the calendar year of 1929 when all speculations were set at rest by the Congress acceptance of the complete Independence Resolution under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership. The Congress answer to the British connexion without compromise to its Independence Resolution was 'Hail—but not farewell.' The Commonwealth and India's membership of it, to agree with V. K. Krishna Menon, was an integral part and phase of our national development and fulfilment. India, a sovereign democratic republic country in 1950 continued her full membership of the Commonwealth of Nations accepting the Queen as the symbol of free association of its independent nations and as such the Head of the Commonwealth.

The Commonwealth declaration of 1949 has been a classic and crucial formula. It can be interpreted as a re-statement of India's national approach. India rather than breaking the existing association had placed it in a better light and broadened the nucleus of co-operation. The position of Pakistan since 1956 (also Ceylon when the republican constitution

12. Elizabeth II is popular but powerless, *Statesman*, Oct. 15, 1957.

13. *Fortnightly Review of News and Events*, BIS, Oct. 13-26, 1957, pp. 3-4.

14. S. Gordon, "Our Parliament". *Hansard Society*, 3rd edn., p. 7; used in another context.

15. H. Morrison, *Government and Parliament*, p. 92.

16. See Nehru's welcome address to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference, New Delhi, December 2, 1957.

would be inaugurated<sup>17</sup>) is largely patterned on the Indian model

#### THE VISIT OF THE HEAD OF THE COMMONWEALTH

The idea of the Commonwealth is almost extraordinary. Etymologically, there is no conflict between the concept of the Commonwealth and that of the peaceful co-existence of Nations. The great thing about the Commonwealth was, observes Mr. Nehru, "not the points of similarity but the points of differences among its members which had not been allowed to come in the way of their meeting and conferring together."

Since Independence India has the privilege of receiving a large number of distinguished personalities of whom many were Heads of different states. So far of six British monarchs from Queen Victoria to Queen Elizabeth II only one visited India and that was two scores and seven years ago.

It is needless to emphasise that the State

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17. At the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' meeting (27th June to 6th July, 1956) the Prime Minister of Ceylon stated that in accordance with their declared policy, the Ceylon Government would introduce a republican constitution. The other Prime Ministers took note of the statement and expressed their agreement to Ceylon's remaining a member of the Commonwealth.

visits, on the top of all, afford great ceremonial occasions and promote mutual trust and cement the chords of friendship. The Queen herself, during one of her tours to Auckland, New Zealand, in 1953, said:

"I set out on the journey to see as much as possible of the people and countries of the Commonwealth and Empire to learn at first hand something of their triumphs and difficulties and something of their hopes and fears. At the same time, I want to show that the Crown is not merely an abstract symbol of our unity but a personal and living bond."<sup>18</sup>

In the case of the people while they cheer the Queen and sing her praises they cheer the triumphs of democracy and its great custodian.

India's reception to the first visiting Prime Minister of Britain was spectacular and it was an eloquent commentary on India's direct and intimate connection with the Commonwealth and its Head.

The proposed visit of the Queen to India, if it materialises, will, no doubt, create a tremendous impression at a time when the Commonwealth is responding to the spirit of adventure and continues to admit independent members into its fold of Nations. The greatest days of the Commonwealth are, however, still ahead.

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18. *The Monarchy and the Commonwealth*, Col. London, 1955, p. 8.





## A PLEA FOR MUNICIPAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN CALCUTTA

By PRABUDDHA NATH CHATTERJEE, M.A., B.L.

THE Municipal Act now in force for Calcutta drastically curbs local self-government in the city. It places the executive power of the Municipality virtually in charge of the State Government. All the important functionaries of the Calcutta Corporation including the Chief Engineer, the Health Officer, the Finance Officer and the Chief Accountant are placed under the Commissioner who is a nominee of the State Government and removable only by the State Government. A creature of the State Government, the powers vested in the Commissioner do not emanate from the Corporation, while under the former Calcutta Municipal Act of 1923,—the handiwork of the great Surendra Nath Banerjee—the powers exercised by the Chief Executive Officer were really those of the Corporation itself, i.e., of the elected body set up by the citizens of Calcutta. Because previously the Corporation itself selected and appointed the said Chief Executive Officer and could also terminate his services. Whereas under the present law though the Commissioner has much more powers than those ever enjoyed by the Chief Executive Officer of the former times, the Corporation can neither appoint nor dismiss him.

This is hardly municipal self-government. According to Prof. Sidgwick (*Elements of Politics*) municipal self-government means an institution which though completely subordinate to the State Legislature, is independent of the State Executive in appointments and to some considerable extent in its decisions. Local officials of the State Government and the Commissioner in the present instance is nothing but a mere local official of the West Bengal Executive—however beneficially entrusted with functions of local interest cannot form local or municipal self-government.

Local or municipal self-government has been for a long time universally acclaimed as

a school for good citizenship. It promotes public spirit and civic sense among the people. Within a representative Government it is an invaluable important educative agency.

But for this the local self-governing body must have sufficient powers and sufficiently responsible functions to discharge.

Under the present Act, the powers of the Councillors elected by the people are drastically curtailed and with the Commissioner able to defy the elected Councillors—their accredited agents—the rights of the citizens are also correspondingly diminished. Unlike the Act of 1923, the present Act rarely makes the decisions of the Councillors mandatory on the Municipal Executive—mostly they are made to be of an advisory or recommendatory effect. We have seen that the Councillors have been comparatively listless in coping with the recent cholera epidemic in Calcutta. The mournful comment of the Mayor Shri Triguna Sen that they may have plans but they have no power to make Calcutta a better city, is well grounded. This negation of self-government is an affront not only to the Councillors but also to the people of Calcutta who elect them. It seems that the authorities which made the present Act had lost faith in Democracy.

One of the declared objects of repealing the previous constitution of the Calcutta Municipality was to put an end to "continued mal-administration" in the Corporation. But the West Bengal Government which took upon itself—through its agent, the Commissioner—the powers previously vested in the Corporation is itself certainly not, to say the very least, a paragon of virtue or a model of good administrative machinery. Its own record of administration is not as yet very creditable. Charges of gross corruption and nepotism against it are legion. Various High Court judgments bear testimony to this. In circumstances where the kettle calls the pot black,

should the citizens of Calcutta be required to trust the West Bengal Bureaucracy more than their own elected representatives in the Corporation in the management of what is purely their own local affairs?

Of course, in matters partly of local interest and partly of wider interests of the State, it is proper that control should be absolutely with the State Government. Even there, the rule is that while the determination of principles and general supervision should be left to the State Government, the actual executive work should be left to the local authorities.

But at present the State Government—and this means the State Executive or the bureaucracy—may control or carry out through its nominee the Commissioner even the details of the administration of purely local interests in Calcutta. If the State Government desires it, this will be so against the avowed and expressed wish of the elected representatives of the citizens. What else can the motive be for the nomination of the Commissioner by the State Executive when it has otherwise already sufficient controlling power over the acts of the Corporation?

Section 19 of the Calcutta Municipal Act, 1951 frees the Commissioner from responsibility to the Corporation and makes him absolutely a creature of the State Government. The power to require his removal given by sub-section (3) of Section 19 to the Corporation is illusory. In practice it is often next to impossible for the Corporation to get rid of even that Commissioner who persistently flouts the mandate of the Corporation or the opinion prevailing in the Corporation; the Commissioner in such cases has only to make sure to be in the good books of just a biggish coterie inside the Corporation which will not join any motion to bring about his downfall. On the 29th March, 1958 last, the Commissioner could not be removed by the Corporation though as many as 38 Councillors constituting the majority of the Councillors present voted in favour of the motion recommending his removal and not a single Councillor voted against such recommendation. The ruse em-

ployed by the Commissioner was clear. Though he could not persuade any councillor to vote in his favour yet by some means or other he could arrange that a certain number of councillors be absent from the Corporation meeting or at least remain neutral when the vote is taken so that the number of votes against him—though unquestionably in a majority—did not reach the decisive figure of 44.

Also, in the background of the unprecedented powers of exclusive jurisdiction given to the Commissioner, the power given to the Corporation by Section 25 of the Municipal Act is more of an academic than of practical content. Protected by his exclusive jurisdiction it is almost always relatively easy for the Commissioner to disregard any resolution that may be passed by the Corporation concerning him.

It is not that the Government of West Bengal has otherwise no controlling powers over the Corporation. The Corporation has all along been, apart from anything else, placed directly under the control of the Minister for local self-government. What more in all fairness could be required? But no, the authorities designed to make the Calcutta Municipality substantially a mere department of the West Bengal Executive and, therefore, enacted the present Municipal Act.

When we think of the extremely reduced power and jurisdiction that our elected representatives as constituted in the Corporation have, we are reminded of the warning Prof. Gilchrist uttered on this subject, "Experience shows that the greater the responsibilities of a local body, the more likely it is that a better class of men will come forward to serve the community by being members of the local body. Where a local body merely interprets and executes the will of a Central Government, it is difficult to secure public-spirited men of the proper type."—*Principles of Political Science*: Chapter on Local Government.

The *Calcutta Municipal Gazette* frequently laments in its pages that "most people treat municipal subjects with indifference and unconcern" but it is not because of "everybody's business being nobody's business" that this is

so—people take a good deal of interest in the working of the national Government though that is also everybody's business in a true sense—but because they have little hand in influencing the cause of the municipal affairs with their representatives in the Corporation given so little power and responsibility. Only the other day (8.11.57) councillor Shri Biman Mitra was complaining that though he was the accredited representative of the Corporation in the Hospital Inspection and Advisory Committee of Nilratan Sircar Hospital, the Hospital authorities did not care to call him to a single sitting of the Committee and on being questioned they saucily replied that Shri Mitra might represent the Corporation but until they heard from the Government about this matter they could scarcely recognise him. The result is that *inter alia* due to lack of proper supervision from the city fathers the administration of the Hospital is far from satisfactory.

In short, it is extremely necessary for genuine local self-government to increase the power and responsibilities of the municipal legislators and to delete the provision in the Municipal Act that the Chief Executive in the Calcutta Municipality shall be merely a nominee of the State Government. A more democratic method of "recruitment" of the Chief Executive would be appointment by the Government from only the panel of names suggested by the Corporation but the best method is election—direct or indirect. In some of the politically-advanced countries the Chief Executive in a municipality is the Mayor who is an elected official. We may with advantage adopt the system prevailing in those countries in this respect. We may likewise make the Mayor of Calcutta the Chief Executive in the city municipality. The Mayor may be elected by the Corporation Councillors as in Britain or in France, or if it is desired to make him as the Chief Executive, a separate body from the legislative or the directive body in the municipality, *viz.*, from the Corporation Councillors—in accordance with the principle of separation of powers—let the Mayor or the Chief Executive be elected directly by the citizens of Calcutta. This is the rule in American cities. If this rule is adopted, the election

of the Mayor and of the Corporation Councillors should take place at the same time and at equal intervals. This would probably ensure both the Chief Executive and the majority of the legislators of the municipality being returned from the same political party which may at the time hold public opinion on its side. If both the executive and the bulk of the legislators are returned from the same party the chances of friction and of conflict between the two bodies are reduced to the minimum thus facilitating a smooth and efficient conduct of administration. For similar reasons and also to economise the time and energies of the people by a symmetrical pattern of electoral system—for elections are great disturbers of public mind and of the even tenor of public life—it is advisable that the time of municipal elections should synchronise with and be the same as that for general elections to the country's legislature and the term of office of the Chief Executive as well as that of the Councillors in the municipality should be five years.

For the protection of the Mayor, *i.e.*, the Chief Executive, he should have the power to veto acts of the councillors assembled in the Corporation, as is the system usually obtaining in American cities. Again, to prevent executive arbitrariness in this respect, the veto may be over-ridden, if say, two-thirds majority among the councillors is in favour of the measure that is vetoed.

For promptness of decision and energy of action it is necessary for the Chief Executive to have the very full powers. It is necessary for him to have the entire authority as regards appointments, dismissal, etc., at the same time feeling that he is directly responsible to the Corporation or to the citizens of Calcutta for his actions. These features are conspicuous by their absence in our present municipal constitution. We want an elected official to be the Chief Executive with very full powers and then to make him solely responsible for good or ill. To maintain responsibility at its highest there must be one person who receives the whole praise for what is well done or the whole blame for what is ill. It is thus that the res-



straints of public opinion are best exercised. Responsibility alone makes the Executives careful in the conduct of their duties. There may be a provision for recalling the Mayor or the suggested Chief Municipal Executive if he is proving unsatisfactory on the petition of a sufficient percentage—let us say 40 per cent of the electors. After his term the Mayor should be re-eligible for election, so that the continuity of a satisfactory policy and of a prosperous regime might be possible.

On these lines of reasoning it is clear that the Municipal Service Commission should not be appointed by the State Government as it is now. As it is, the Municipal Service Commission is really nothing but a branch of State Public Service Commission with no logic for its separate existence. The best thing for the Commission would be to be set up by the Chief Municipal Executive himself acting on the advice of other Chief Officers of the municipality. It is they who in a system of responsible Municipal Government, as envisaged above, have the strongest motive for appointment of the fittest persons to assist them in building up the reputation for efficiency and good administration.

Much of the above-stated suggestions are features of the United States' local or municipal self-government and considering the prosperity even grandeur of cities and towns in the United States and the amenities enjoyed by their citizens, there is no reason why we should not adopt some of their methods and laws in this respect.\*

\* *Vide Government of Cities in the United States* By Harold Zink, Chapter XV.

We cannot close without mentioning another monstrosity in the present Calcutta Municipal Act, *viz.*, that of limiting the franchise in municipal elections to direct contributors to the municipal revenue. The name Corporation should not make the municipality a Joint Stock Company where only share-holders, *i.e.*, who are the owners and contributors to its finances are eligible to vote. In a proper analysis the Corporation of Calcutta is a local government so far as its jurisdiction goes and hence in a true democracy all adult citizens without disability, whether tax-payers or not, should be entitled to exercise the vote in choosing their representatives in the institution whose functions affect their day-to-day life. The poorest inhabitant of a *bustee* is as much interested, if not more, in the efficient functioning of the municipal routine as the proud owner of a palace and the distinction made as among citizens of India in matters of wealth is base and invidious and against the spirit of our national Constitution. Only last November (1957) the Corporation in its general meeting of its councillors adopted a resolution advocating adult franchise. Elections for both Bombay and Madras municipalities are conducted on the same principles. None can say that municipalities in those places are inferior to Calcutta Corporation. In particular, the Corporation of Bmbay has a greater reputation than its counter-part in Calcutta and is spoken of as the premier municipality in India.



## A STUDY IN EVOLUTION OF ARAB NATIONALISM

By JASWANT SINGH

THE Arab world is at the threshold of momentous developments. Dictatorial Egypt and Syria, followed by theocratic Yemen, joined together to constitute the United Arab Republic. Monarchical Iraq and Jordan had jointly proclaimed the Arab Federal State but monarchy in Iraq has lately been swept off. The Lebanon is still recovering from a powerful civil strife. Other Arab countries are subjected to tremendous pressure, not exclusively internal. The events in themselves, however, hardly initiate a smooth and rapid evolution towards Arab unity. They only underscore the increased polarisation of forces and accentuation of inter-tribe conflicts in the Arab world.

Ever since their dramatic debut into civilisation, the Arabs have exhibited powerful centrifugal trends. At the fag-end of the fourteenth century, the great Arab historian and sociologist, Ibn Khaldun, laden with wise long years, noted with dismay that the "fierce character, pride, roughness and jealousy of one another, especially in political matters" had made every Arab regard himself as "worthy to rule." He found that an Arab "submitting willingly to another, be it his father or his brother or the head of his clan" had become an extremely rare phenomenon. Ibn Khaldun, therefore, concluded more in sorrow than in anger that the Arabs were "the most difficult people to lead" and "incapable of founding an empire." History since indicates little abatement in Arab turbulence.

However, the long-drawn Ottoman rule and the Western impact engendered in the Arab mind an irresistible impulse to recapture its old splendour and lost self-respect. The consciousness of Arab unity and nationalism is a by-product of this great endeavour over the past decades.

The Western interest in West Asia, undoubtedly imperial in essence, was primarily directed to secure and safeguard the vital imperial communications to the East, since the dis-

covery of oil reserves was a rather late development. The Arab world had only strategic significance for the West. The French occupied Algeria in 1830 and Tunisia in 1881; the British occupied Egypt in 1882. The Turks were left undisturbed to hold sway over the rest of the West Asian landmass.

But it was not only soldiers and guns that came from the West. Besides came a large number of teachers and books dispersed in innumerable American, British and French mission schools that sprang up everywhere. In 1866, the Americans founded the Syrian Protestant College, the present-day famous American University of Beirut which receives as many students from Jordan, Iraq and Syria as from the Lebanon itself. The Americans in particular greatly contributed in the revival, development and modernisation of classical Arabic—the one positive denominator of the Arab world—and in the printing and dissemination of Arabic books. From across the Atlantic, the Lebanese emigrants like traveller Amin Rihani and mystic Khalil Gibran helped Arab renaissance by imbibing and transmitting to the Arab world the cultural influence of the West through their writings, both in English and Arabic. The nineteenth century concepts of nationalism, freedom and democracy thus began to stimulate and fertilise the Arab intellect.

The growing national consciousness of the Arabs sought fulfilment in the ambitions of the local potentates, the most astute amongst them being Hussein, the Sherif of Mecca (the Custodian of the Holy Places of Islam), and a descendant of the Prophet's family who had earlier been a virtual political prisoner in Constantinople for fourteen years. But they could hardly venture to attempt liberation on their own. The Sherif sent his elder son, Abdullah, to Cairo in February 1914 to sound Lord Kitchener if the British were interested in supporting Hussein against the Turks. The British were not. But

when with the First World War Sultan Abdul Hamid of Turkey joined the Germans and issued an appeal to all the Muslims to rise in *jihad* against Britain, the British were only too eager to turn to Hussein for help. He could now bargain; and he did. Protracted negotiations followed. The British eventually agreed in secret to the formation on the Arabian Peninsula of a single, unified Arab kingdom under Hussein subject only to certain reservations regarding the British dominant influence in the Baghdad province and the traditional French interests in the area. Later in the year, Hussein proclaimed himself King of the Arabs, and with the help of Britons like T. E. Lawrence launched a revolt against the Turks. Nationalism and unity for the first time appeared to the Arabs as a live, immediate, practical proposition.

But disillusion was in store for the Arabs. For they had reckoned without the ambivalence of the British diplomacy and its makers. That was truly characteristic of the Arab mind which, according to a modern Arab thinker, is swayed more by words than by ideas, and more by ideas than by facts. Between 1914 and 1918 the Foreign Office in London, the Arab Bureau in Cairo and the British Indian Government in New Delhi were frequently working at cross-purposes and often ignorant of each other's moves in West Asia. Within a few months of their agreement with the Arabs, the British were signing the Sykes-Picot Agreement with the French and the Czarist Russia under which Iraq *minus* Mosul and Jordan were to pass under the British, Syria *plus* Mosul and the Lebanon under the French mandate, and Palestine under an international regime. The Agreement was kept a closely guarded secret; it was only when the Bolsheviks after the war published its text to spite the allies that the world came to know of its existence.

The allied victory pushed the Turks back to their geographic home. The Arabs, liberated mainly with alien help, could not but continue to breathe in the climate of dependence. The Americans before long relapsed into their traditional isolationism. Lenin in the north was busy with consolidating the gains of revolution;

his theory of conquering London and Paris *via* Peking and Calcutta had relegated West Asia far back into the oblivious corners of the world communist schedule. The British, too clever for the French, thus emerged as the paramount power in the Arab world. Masters of the technique of divide and rule, they played their part extremely well. It only whetted the Arab appetite for unity and freedom.

In 1919, came the provocative Anglo-French agreement on Syria confirming the Sykes-Picot arrangement. The Arab forces and nationalists in Damascus with, paradoxically enough, British approval proclaimed Hussein's two sons—the stormy petrels of the Arab revolt—Abdullah and Feisal as Kings of Iraq and Syria, respectively. Then followed the Great Power agreement placing Palestine and Iraq under the British, and Syria and the Lebanon under the French mandatory rule. Soon after, the French forces marched on Damascus. Feisal had to flee for his life.

The mandate over Iraq provoked a fierce three-month long rebellion which cost the British £40 million to quell. To pacify the people, the British proposed and the bulk of the populace accepted Feisal as constitutional monarch under the British overlordship. Foreign affairs and finance were in the hands of the British till 1932 when Iraq became the first free Arab country to join the League of Nations. For more than a decade, Feisal successfully held a delicate balance between the British and the Arab extremists.

Emir Abdullah appeared in Transjordan to engineer an armed rebellion against the French in Syria. The British offered to recognise him instead as the Emir of Transjordan under British protection to which he readily agreed in 1922. The British persuaded the League of Nations to make Transjordan immune from the provisions of the mandate allowing Jewish immigration and land-purchase. Renamed Jordan, it became completely independent a few years ago.

By stubbornly opposing the Jewish immigration into Palestine, Hussein, the King of Arabs, alienated British sympathies. By arrogating to himself the Caliphate of Islam he aroused intense jealousy of other Arab rulers



especially of Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud of Nejd, his erstwhile foe who had earlier beaten back an attack by Abdullah. On the pretext that Hussein had intrigued against Nejd, Abdul Aziz invaded Mecca in 1925. Hussein abdicated and the holy cities of Islam were added to Abdul Aziz's realms, later renamed Saudi Arabia. In return for British recognition—he was an old friend of the British who had remained lukewarm in the war because of his feud with Hussein—he agreed to the British demarcation of his frontiers with Iraq and Jordan. A balance of power was thus achieved on the Peninsula.

The freedom urge in Egypt became powerful and vociferous after the First World War. In 1922, the British unilaterally proclaimed Egyptian independence reserving for future settlement the questions of the Sudan, the security of the British imperial communications, defence and the protection of alien residents and native minorities. The Egyptians, however, continued to agitate till 1936 when a regular Anglo-Egyptian treaty was concluded providing for twenty years' alliance between the signatories and terminating the British military occupation of Egypt.

The history of the French in Syria and the Lebanon was little different from that of the British elsewhere in West Asia. Jolted out of complacency by a powerful rebellion in Syria in 1925, the French too decided on a policy of reconciliation and appeasement. In 1936, during the Popular Front Government of Leon Blum, they negotiated for a treaty relationship with Syria and the Lebanon, conceding a substantial measure of independence to them and promising French sponsorship for their admission into the League of Nations. The treaties, dissimilar though they were in certain respects, were ratified by the Syrian and the Lebanese Parliaments, but unfortunately the Blum Government fell before their ratification by the French National Assembly.

Thus by 1936, both the British and the French had by and large pacified the Arab national sentiment except in Palestine. Having divided the Arabs into artificial and mutually suspicious principalities, the West could well afford to be magnanimous without jeo-

pardising its own vital interests it had secured by treaties with the newly-liberated countries.

Palestine presented the most stubborn and intricate problem. On November 2, 1917, Britain issued the Balfour Declaration proclaiming that the British favour the establishment in Palestine of a "national home" for the Jews, at the same time safe-guarding the "civil and religious" rights of the non-Jews. From the equivocation of this Declaration have stemmed the two mutually hostile currents of Arab and Jewish nationalisms defying solution. Further clarifications only made the confusion worse confounded. While the Jews asserted that Palestine as envisaged in the Declaration would be as "Jewish as England is English," the Arabs vehemently opposed any such interpretation. They saw in Zionism a foe more deadly and lasting than the imposition of European rule on this country or that. So imbued were they with the absolute justice of their cause that they refused to foresee any possibility of their defeat.

From 1920 onwards violent outbursts in Palestine became a normal permanent feature. In 1922, the British issued a policy statement clarifying that they had pledged not to convert Palestine into a Jewish national home but only to create a Jewish national home *in* Palestine. A violent Arab outburst in 1929 elicited another British declaration maintaining that the establishment of Jewish national home in Palestine would not be allowed to take precedence over the British obligation towards the non-Jews in Palestine. The phenomenal rise in the Jewish immigration into Palestine (by 1936 their annual influx was touching the figure of 60,000 in a land of a million and a half souls) caused by the increased persecution of the Jews in Nazi Germany, provoked the most bitter and violent Arab resistance. The two-month long Arab general strike was followed by a rising that 20,000 Tommies failed to quell completely; the advent of the Second World War alone could put it in cold storage. The Jews felt sure that the revolt was British inspired. It had also inflamed the Arab passions everywhere.

The British tried to pacify the Arab senti-

nient. But they could not at this late stage have backed out of their commitment to the Jews. Besides it would have been utterly inhuman. The British Royal Commission found out in 1937 that the Balfour Declaration was hopelessly unrealisable; it recommended partition of Palestine into Arab and Jewish states. When the war came, the British convened a round table conference to which, besides the Jews and Arabs of Palestine, were invited the Arab delegates from Egypt and Iraq. An agreed solution having failed to materialise, the British unilaterally issued the White Paper of 1939, embodying the British intention to set up within ten years an independent Palestine State, both the Arabs and the Jews sharing in its government. In the meantime Jewish immigration was limited to 150,000 and land-purchase by them in certain areas was prohibited. The Arabs, however, remained sullen and unsatisfied.

All through the Second World War, the Arab Governments remained passive and uncommitted, if not actually hostile towards the allies; the Arabs were constantly fed by anti-British and anti-Jewish propaganda broadcast of the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem from the German radio, exhorting them to rise in revolt against the British and to kill the Jews because it would please God, religion and history. They declared war against the Axis only in March 1945 when the allied victory appeared round the corner. The Jews actively sided with the allies; they thus acquired the military experience and skill that stood them in good stead after the war.

As the war drew near its end, the British, still by far the most experienced and astute diplomats of the world, conceived of a master plan to hinge the Arab world on to the chariot of a pro-British alliance. Thus was founded in Cairo on March 22, 1945 the Arab League. It was the rudimentary form of the United Arab nation that had impelled the Arabs ever since their modern reawakening. But the British mové suffered from one lacuna; it reckoned without the deep-rooted anti-West sentiment born of a generation of Arab distrust. Even their subsequent role in the expul-

sion of the French from Syria and the Lebanon, and the grant of independence to Jordan failed to penetrate the solid crust of anti-West feeling encompassing the Arab mind.

In the post-war Arab world, Palestine became the burning issue of Arab nationalism. During the war, out of the six million and a half of the pre-war Continental Jews, Hitler physically liquidated over five million. To them who were left and saved by miracle from the most poignant human catastrophe, Europe looked like a vast graveyard and Palestine the only haven of security—in the long run. Milk of human kindness flowed for them. The British, though not without reluctance, at last agreed to partition Palestine to carve out the Jewish State of Israel and withdraw. The Arab League proclaimed its intention to prevent by force the creation of Israel. On the night following the official proclamation of the birth of Israel, the Arab armies from the neighbouring countries crossed the Israeli borders. They were badly mauled. Rent by acute local and dynastic rivalries, they failed to evolve any proper co-ordination. But for the intervention of the United Nations, Israel borders would have greatly advanced.

✓ The Arab defeat marked the turning point in the evolution of Arab nationalism. It exposed the inherent weaknesses from which the Arab regimes suffered. The internal stability of many an Arab country seemed to be in jeopardy from the resultant frustration and disillusion. The ruling circles began to find it more discreet to divert the gaze of the people in outward directions. The Arab world was itching for the second round against Israel whose disappearance became an article of the Arab faith. It was the touch-stone on which the Arabs came to test their friends and foes. King Abdullah of Jordan was murdered because he was suspected of lacking in anti-Jewish fervour. King Farouk was thrown out because he was friendly to the pro-Jewish British. When King Ibn Saud called for a holy war against Israel—"a cancer to the human body"—and the sacrifice of ten million Arabs, if necessary, out of the total fifty million and odd, he was only giving vent to the innermost thoughts of

the humiliated Arabs. It was a sentiment which Arab governments could ill afford not to share publicly.

The discovery of oil in the Arab world greatly influenced the national consciousness of the Arabs. It had at the same time provided a potent economic argument for Arab unity, since oil was found only in some of the Arab countries. Primarily a wartime development, its importance could hardly be exaggerated. Whereas West Asia produced 16 million tons of crude oil in 1938, its production in 1955 exceeded 163 million tons which amounts to 64.6 per cent of the then total world production. Not only that, but also whereas till 1929, of the 50,398 exploratory wells drilled in the United States over 95 per cent brought no results (the disproportion having considerably increased since), in Saudi Arabia no more than 160 exploratory wells fully tapped the entire oil resources there. Besides, in contrast to the average daily output of 2 tons per well elsewhere and 25 tons per well in Venezuela, the West Asian average was more than a 1,000 tons of crude oil per well per day. The Arabs rightly felt much more important and powerful than others were prone to admit.

Nevertheless, the Arab world continues to be a vast sea of seething discontent and instability. Underdeveloped industry and primitive agriculture do not provide sufficient employment opportunities to the rapidly expanding middle classes imbued with new urges and aspirations derived from cinema, radio, press and widespread education even amongst women who are emerging out of the traditional seclusion. The lower classes continue to be steeped in grinding poverty, appalling ignorance and almost universal illiteracy. The fabulous oil royalties only go to enrich the royal personal fortunes. Politics has become a close preserve of a corrupt plutocracy. Governments fall as easily as they come into power.

The Arab rulers are acutely divided and their hatred for each other knows no bound. Danger to their own regimes alone impels them to seek each other's friendship. A unified Arab State must make in the long run short shrift of most of them but they must not relent in their

championship of Arab unity. In fact, each ruling house, royal or plebeian, is seeking to achieve it at the cost of others. West Asia has become a world where there is little security but plenty of opportunity. It is waiting like ripe fruit to fall into the lap of the Nassers and Kuwatlies if they only play their game in as shrewd and masterly a manner as they seem to have been doing hitherto.

The gushing oil wells and lack of stability have sucked West Asia right into the vortex of international diplomacy. The British and the French were already there. The Americans came during and after the Second World War. In 1943, a U.S. Senate Committee presided over by the then Senator Truman, apprehending inadequacy of indigenous American oil resources, recommended "full diplomatic backing" to the U.S. nationals for "large-scale expansion" of their foreign oil holdings. President Roosevelt finalised an oil deal with Ibn Saud at the time of the Yalta meet, and President Truman managed a major oil concession for the Americans in the Anglo-Iranian oil crisis. No longer locked up in the traditional isolationist traps, the Americans became a grand presence in the Arab world. They provided West Asia's only hope to economic betterment in the near and foreseeable future.

The Soviet Union could hardly remain behind. With Peking already fallen and Calcutta being the immediate target (at any rate in 1948), the West Asian landmass was no longer lost in the oblivious corners of the world Communist schedule. The stationing of the Soviet troops in north Iran during the war made it easy for the Kremlin to spread its influence through Peace Councils and other front organisations that began to crop up in the Arab world. But Stalin had to withdraw his forces; having little immediate stake in the Arab world, he chose not to provoke a world conflict in West Asia at a time when major gains were accruing to him both in the East and the West. He could very well afford to wait and see.

The West has extended vast economic and military aid to some of the Arab countries like Iraq, Jordan and Saudi Arabia. It has as well witnessed the emergence of anti-West regimes



like those in Egypt, Syria and Iraq. With 40 per cent of the entire Arab population living within her borders, by extending unstinted support and asylum to the North African Arabs fighting against the French, by consistently opposing the British, and by constantly clamouring and preparing for the second round against Israel, Egypt has become by far the most important Arab power. Psychologically, Egyptian and Arab nationalisms have become two streams running into and out of one another. Over a million Arab refugees from Israel—half of them living in Jordan to which were added the Arab areas of Palestine—desperately waiting to re-enter their lost homes, have provided Egypt with an effective handle against the governments that refuse to accept the Egyptian supremacy. The Western effort to rehabilitate them permanently in their new homes has evoked little if not hostile response. Iraq, the traditional rival of Egypt for Arab leadership and the West's main hope in the Arab world, has effectively been swept aside.

The West Asian and the world developments during the past decade and more have made the Arab world a hotbed of international intrigue. The dice is, however, loaded heavily against the West. For the West not only appears to the Arabs as an imperialist—as in Algeria—it as well refuses to help the Arabs prepare and equip for the second round with Israel. Jordan and Saudi Arabia, so abundantly aided by the West, have scrupulously avoided any link with the Baghdad Pact which has become all the more taboo since the Anglo-French police action against Egypt. Jordan had, in fact, expelled the British commander of the Arab Legion who helped her to possess one of the finest fighting forces in the Arab world. That she recently invited the British paratroopers to land and stay in Jordan was only due to the monarch's anxiety to save his throne

from the immediate peril. Of the Arab countries, Iraq alone took courage to be a Baghdad Pact participant. That she suffered primarily on that count is no secret.

(The Soviet Union is singularly free from the handicaps the West suffers from. She has consistently harped upon the anti-West themes in her propaganda floods directed to the Arab world. Having nothing to lose in an armed conflict in West Asia, and having no political pressure or moral compunction to be fair to the Jews, the Soviet Union has plentifully supplied the Egyptians and the Syrians with arms to fight against Israel which the West is rightly determined to prevent. That anti-West regimes like those of Nasser and Kuwatly should have spearheaded the movement for Arab unity is of immense gain to the Soviet Union. She could not have wished for a better opportunity to infiltrate into the Arab world. Her patience has been amply rewarded.)

Democracy in the Arab world is at the cross-roads. Its material base—a fairly rapid economic advancement, adequate indigenous technical know-how, a large number of conscientious politicians with vision, and a tolerably efficient administration—is the weakest. Economically advanced countries can certainly make up for some of these shortcomings but the danger involved is forbidding. The presence of foreign experts will only help revive bitter Arab memories. The Western persuasion to extend frontiers of democracy in friendly Arab countries will only add to the anti-West resistance without evoking sympathetic response of the Arab in the street. The presence of the Soviet influence will end to retard if not actually undermine the democratic evolution. The Arabs are truly sitting on the verge of a live crater.



## ODE TO SHELEY

By KALIDAS RAY

SAVE the Ocean vast that soul so great  
who else could have borne and held  
In his bosom sublime?  
Is it for this it merged at last  
In the fathomless brine?  
That soul-sprung voice doth rumble still  
In the majestic drums of waves  
And surge and swell shore to shore  
With endless rebound.

Age to age it rolls forth,  
Ebbs and flows, far and wide,—  
Assumes forms, e'er-new and varied;  
And fashioned in mighty melodies,  
Hymns the world's rebirth.

Its echo is carried to the core of the Conchs  
In the bottomless abyss of the sea;  
It's blown to-day in a myriad homes  
Upon our Earth;  
Then leaping into space, it explores the Stars  
And litters the beach of heaven  
With dreams of gold,  
—Thy fancies untold.  
Carries Neptune away in his gorgeous car  
Thine creations grand,  
And rolling thro' the paths of Eternity,  
Resounds every aeon and strand.

Thy boat had sunk, but not thy creation fine.  
No flood can ever wreck it, I know.  
It floats for aye furrowing the Sea of Time  
In weather fair and foul, defying storms and  
snow,

Thy ashes, great with fire celestial,  
Were washed ashore,—  
The fire that Mediterranean could not quench;  
Nor Oblivion contrive to chill  
The hearts of thy race  
Wherein enshrined, Love arrays thee evermore  
With all its grace.

NAY, thy bones were not made  
For the victuals of the worms,  
To whiten in the grave obscure.  
That's why they sought no useless coffin,  
That's why were they placed on the pyre,  
Like incense on the fire.  
And from off that unextinguished flames,  
As from the crater inexhaustible,—  
Thy spirit is scattered to the world,  
Thy message among mankind.

THOU Priest of Beauty Intellectual,  
Woer of Love, and Spirit of Delight!  
Dreamer of dreams and seer of visions,  
No ugly thing couldst thou bear in life.  
Lest infirmity comes and overtakes thee,  
Age and disease cripple thee,  
Thou didst dedicate thy full-blown youth  
With all its splendour rich,  
To Sea and Fire of eternal youth,  
That never know decay.

—Translated from Bengali by  
UMANATH BHATTACHARYA





# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

## ENGLISH

RAMAYANA: By C. Rajagopalachari. *Bhavan's Book University* (44). *Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay*. Pp. 357. Price Rs. 2.00.

This is a reprint of the English version of the story of Valmiki's immortal epic published by the author along with its Tamil original serially in two South Indian Journals some time back. Written in a simple unaffected style mainly, as the author tells us in the end (p. 326), for the benefit of the children, the work reflects in many striking episodes of the career of the hero something of the beauty and pathos of the great Sanskrit epic. The author has further earned the gratitude of his readers by occasional quotations from the parallel versions of the two great vernacular poets of mediaeval India, viz., Tulsidas in the north and Kamban in the South. A useful glossary of Sanskrit terms is given at the end. On one important point the reviewer has no other choice than to join issue with the author. Sri Rajagopalachari has left out completely the story of the *Uttarakanda* with its narrative of the tragedy of the last phase of the career of Sita. This is justified purely on psychological grounds. For, as the author says (p. 327), "Although there is beauty in the *Uttarakanda*, I must say my heart rebels against it. . . . We may take it that it mirrors the voiceless and endless suffering of our womenfolk." On the other hand, one cannot but highly appreciate the spirit reflected in the author's statement (preface, p. viii) that the writing of the two books wherein he has retold the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* is in his opinion the best service he has rendered to his people in the course of a busy life during a great and eventful period of Indian history. For, as he finely observes, "The real need of the hour is a re-communion between us and the sages of our land, so that the future may be built on rock and not on sand."

U. N. GHOSHAL

## AMARNATH JHA MEMORIAL

VOLUME, 1957: Edited by K. K. Mehrotra, *Reader in English, Allahabad University*. Pages viii + 294. Price not mentioned.

Few men in recent years have played such a conspicuous role in the educational life of U.P. and for the matter of that, of India as Dr. Amarnath. Appointed Lecturer in English, Muir Central College in Allahabad University, he rose to be the Vice-Chancellor of Allahabad University in 1938, before he had completed his thirties. For nearly ten years he served the University in that capacity and then became Vice-Chancellor of Benares in 1948 and pro-Chancellor of Rishikul University in 1949. During this period he served U.P. in other capacities, as Chairman of Public Service Commission, and President of the English Teachers' Conference at Lucknow; while he represented India in international conferences such as the International Universities Conference in 1934, the Preparatory Commission of UNESCO, Paris, 1947.

This eminence was won primarily by his versatility of intellect, catholicity of temper and administrative keenness. How far inheritance facilitated his elevation (as it did conspicuously elsewhere) is a matter best known to those conversant with the affairs of Allahabad University. Long before his election as Vice-Chancellor, when Sir Philip Hartog accosted him, after being introduced by Dr. Sapru, as the Vice-Chancellor, he blandly replied, "not yet."

Dr. Amarnath along with his illustrious Father Dr. Ganganath, governed Allahabad University for twenty years and contributed to making Allahabad a leading centre of learning. Amarnath, as Vice-Chancellor, enjoyed a prestige in Allahabad which is said to be next only to that of the two colossi of our time, Jawaharlal Nehru and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

Yet as viewed by his friends and admirers in the volume under review, his was a singular



personality. In his command over the whole range of English literature excluding perhaps that of the modern times (the writings of whom he sweeps aside as those of the "Futurists, the Imagists and the Transcendentalists"), he had few equals among his contemporaries. His private collection of books on English literature was the most distinguished that any professor ever had. As one of his admirers writes, several Publishing Houses in India and abroad sent him books on particular subjects as soon as they were published, so that sometimes he received three or four copies of the same book from different sources. His interest in Music and Fine Arts was great. He encouraged the scheme of a Music Department in Allahabad University and Music Conferences held in Allahabad received a good deal of patronage from him. With his knowledge of Sanskrit, Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, English and his own vernacular, Maithili, he felt as much at home in the 'Kavi Sammilan' as in the *mushaira* of Urdu poets. He spoke English with ease and grace, so that he was complimented by a group of Englishmen after a speech with the words:

"He speaks English much better than many in our own universities."

His articles on *Rudyard Kipling*, *Sarojini Naidu's Poetry*, *Appeal of English Literature* and some other essays are proofs of his keenness as a literary critic and of his competent style. Many, however, will differ from him in his interpretation of *Siva and the Grass-hopper* which is rather a mockery of the Hindu religion than a sympathetic understanding of the Hindu mind. Amarnath's was a highly cultivated mind, yet strangely enough, he had weakness for show and glamour that recalled the *Indian Nawabs* and their successors in a small section of the high-ups in the Indian Civil Service. This is reflected in an admirer's casual reference to his travel in the railway. An orderly followed by a pair of porters first entered the compartment, carrying all sorts of light and heavy travelling equipments, such as "steel-trunks, leather-attache case, brief case, hat-container, thermos, surahi stand, hold-all and what not. When the luggage was arranged, and the luxurious bed spread out, came in another turbaned peon in scarlet cloth who put a number of new and attractive volumes, beside the lamp, at the head of the bed."

Amarnath had an unusual love of flowers. It was his practice to fix a rose in his button-hole, keep bouquets of flower on both sides of his seat in the automobile. His flair for Western mode of living was patent; his English

dress was immaculate; his ties were of perfect taste; and from his lips protruded a fine cigar.

This pretententious exterior hid the innate, Brahmanic pride in him. So that in his role as the President of the English Teachers Conference he remarked of Nehru's English style in the following words, "Nehru writes a firm, nervous, vigorous style, with a distinct literary flavour. He can write *very poor prose, halting, repeating words and phrases, dragging to unnecessary length, bordering on boredom*" and while addressing the Mysore University Convocation he made a slashing attack on the Non-violent campaign in rather sarcastic terms:

"In circumstances like these, it will be the negation of wisdom and the height of logical imbecility merely to sing hymns and Psalms and remind the aggressor of the supreme value of human life, the folly of his ways and the attractions of non-violence peace."

Hence the effusive words of an admirer expressed in the verse

"Here was a man to hold against the world,  
A man to match the mountains and the sea"  
which is perhaps inapt in the particular case. Nevertheless nobody can deny Amarnath's claims to the grateful esteem of the students and teachers whose lot it was to receive tuition and guidance from him and certain carping remarks made by B. N. Jha about him should have been avoided. The reviewer recommends the study of Amarnath's writings to University students.

N. B. Roy

ATMABAD: *By Lalit Kumar Sen. Das Gupta & Co., Ltd., 54/3, College Street. Pages 872. D.C. 1/16. Price Rs. 10.*

This is a treatise enquiring into the validity of faith in the existence of soul and the position of ethical views of man.

The author has taken great pains and searched the store-house of knowledge—both of the East and the West. He has collected valuable treasures and has presented quotations from various sources in his book. In Indian Philosophy faith in God and denial of God abounds side by side. In the 19th Century, with the rise of science in the West, Atheism and Agnosticism became very prominent. Again in the 20th Century thinkers were born upholding faith in God and Soul. They had their opposite camps who denied both. The author has taken a survey of all these views as far as practicable and dealt with them in his book. The book is undoubtedly encyclopaedic. Out of the 10 sections, the first seven deal with science

and in the last three the author has summed up his views.

The present age is pre-eminently an age of synthesis. Details and complexities have been multiplying on one side and on the other the human mind has been endeavouring to harmonize them. India has all along from the beginning of her history shown her genius in the path of synthesis. In the present age a new line of synthesis opened out with Rammohun and Keshab Chandra, which the latter named the New Dispensation. It is undoubtedly a new dispensation as its technique and achievements are both new. Sri Aurobindo nicely puts it as integration of the intellect, the emotion, the spirit and the mind, the four *margas* of yoga, Bhakti, karma, jnana, ethics and aesthetics combined to form the integral *sadhan*, the new endeavour at harmony.

The author has made Upanishad the basis of his thesis. He has discussed modern science and philosophy in the light of the Upanishads. And again he has put the search-light of modern thoughts on the Upanishads to make them own.

The book is written in lucid Bengali. The author has coined many new terms to express his views. Printing and get-up of the book are good. It is expected that the book will be welcome and useful to thoughtful readers and students of philosophy.

SATI KUMAR CHATTERJI

**EVOLUTIONARY SPIRITUALISM:** *By Swami Ramananda, M.A. Published by Sadhana Karyalaya, Bilaspur, U.P., N. E. Rly. Pp. 160. Price Rs. 2/-*

As this book has no index of contents, it seems to be hastily printed and published. May I conjecture, if there be a printers' devil there must be a publishers' devil. If both join hands the book-business is going to be doomed. Every publisher should bear in mind that publication is a sacred service to the nation and any flaw in it is a criminal dis-service.

The author of this book is a Master of Arts of some Indian University and the author of a dozen Hindi books and four English books, besides the one under review. In this book he deals with the problem and process of evolution in its multifarious aspects in the light of Indian thought. The chapters on Reincarnation, Karma, Prana, the Divine and Ultimate Reality are thoughtfully written. The treatment appears to be hackneyed and commonplace. The author takes the standpoint of spiritual evolution and refutes the materialistic view. He defines Prana as anima characterised by

the external functions of inhalation and exhalation. In our opinion, Indian conception of Prana and the western definition of Life are not synonymous, since Prana is cosmic and like the thread of a garland upholds the Universe. The last chapter on Karma ends with the sentence, 'Wisdom is the state of Karmaless activity.' 'Karmaless activity,' I am afraid, is not a very happy wording. What he means to say is 'naiskarmya,' but it is a state which is desireless, not 'Karmaless'. In the state of wisdom Karma is there, but it is nish-karma, not prompted by desire.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

**GANDHI THE PATRIARCH:** *By Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramaya and C. N. Zutshi, M.A., D.Litt. (Col.). Published by Hans Raj Sharma and Sons, 62, Esplanade Road, Delhi. Price not mentioned.*

Gandhi, "the greatest man of our generation," is also among the Immortals of History. But for him the Indian independence might have been delayed for years, if not generations. It is yet a paradox that India has all but forgotten the ideals of the Father of the Nation. A new generation is rising to whom Gandhi is only little more than a name.

"Gandhi," the authors point out, "was one of those who strove and tried and reached the height of greatness. By sheer love and service, he became as great a saint and teacher as Gautam Buddha." Gandhi, in fact, was a statesman among saints and a saint among statesmen. In the words of a biographer, "The prophet and the practical statesman met in Gandhi. The prophet had his eyes on the Ultimate. When the latter in him came to the fore, he became the leader of men, the unquestioned general, who led his hosts to victory. When the former prevailed, he became the 'voice in the Wilderness,' biding his time." He raised politics to the level of religion. He acclaimed Truth as the only God and Non-violence was his only form of worship.

*Gandhi the Patriarch* is a very timely and useful publication. Meant for juvenile and adolescent readers, it is sure to be read with interest and profit by the grown-ups as well. It gives a brief outline of Gandhi's teachings and principles, his programme and technique. A number of Appendices—six in all—a glossary of Sanskrit and Hindusthani words and a bibliography enhance the value of the volume under review.

We congratulate the authors and publishers on having brought out a handy volume of interest and importance.

S. B. MOOKHERJI

**STUDIES IN PRACTICAL BANKING:**  
*By Parimal Chandra Kar, M.Com., and Kamal Kumar Ghose, M.Com. The Post-Graduate Book Mart, 55, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Calcutta-9. 1958. Pp. 115. Rs. 6.00.*

This is a digest intended for students of commerce and banking—but with a difference in that the authors have sought to utilise the question and answer form to acquaint their rather impatient readers with the different authorities on the subject so that those who may form an abiding interest in the subject would get much valuable clue to further and more serious study.

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

**THE MEASUREMENT OF UTILITY:**  
*By Dr. Tapas Mazumdar. Published by Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London. Price 13s. 6d. Pages 149.*

In the words of the author, "The study is designed to be mainly a methodological contribution to utility (economic welfare). It is not a study in welfare economics." An enquiry has been made into the meaning and operational consequences of the concept of measureable utility in economics. Controversy is going on for the last quarter of a century over the measurability, and the author in his attempt at solution, in the words of Prof. Lionel Robbins, "has shown great courage and great devotion to the pursuit of abstract truth."

Dr. Mazumdar examines in detail the positions of Marshall, Hicks, Samuelson, Morgenstern and Von Neumann—their views are compared and contrasted. The views of those who believe in cardinal hypothesis are set side by side with those of ordinalist. In course of argument, legitimacy of introspection in the analysis of choice and valuation comes in. The question of psychological analysis of the consumer's behaviour is given serious consideration. The author seeks to establish the superior claims of introspective methods and an ordinal rather than cardinal ranking of utilities. Again to quote Prof. Robbins "I confess I find his main position, midway between the extremes of flat-footed cardinalism at the one end and radical behaviorism at the other, one which is congenial and convincing."

The book is extremely valuable for its clear presentation of the different points of view of this controversial subject and even to those who do not accept the position taken by the author, it will be a thought-provoking study. Indeed it is a valuable addition to the literature on the subject.

A. B. DUTTA

## HINDI

**HINDI SAHITYA KE NAVIN DHARAYEN:** *A symposium by Vishnu Prabhakar, Nagendra, Udayshankar Bhatt and Ramachandra Tiwari. Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Delhi-8. Pp. 31. Price six annas.*

Four representative writers in Hindi—a story-writer, a poet, a playwright and a novelist—have written about the new tendencies in their respective fields in current Hindi literature with vision as well as wisdom and vigour. A very informative and significant pamphlet, indeed. The representatives of the various regional literatures and the State Governments concerned will do well to emulate the commendable example of their Hindi counterparts and the present publishers.

**VIDHATA KI BHUL:** *By Jyotindranath. Rajendra Prakash, Patna-4. Pp. 170. Price Rs. 2.*

A collection of fifteen short stories by a writer, who is comparatively new in the field but one who has already proved his mettle in his previous collection, *Pret ki Chhaya*. His outstanding virtue is uncanny directness and engaging simplicity in handling situations and characters. For example, in *Pati-patni* and *Nari ki Mamata* the problems (or plots) are raised and resolved in a manner, which is free from strains and stress of any kind. Fact and fancy are fused in due and delightful proportions, so that reading the stories, the reader is constrained to say, "Well, such is life."

G. M.

**SIKSHAME VIVEK: SIKSHAKA VIKASH:** *By K. G. Mashruwalla. Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. March, 1956. Rs. 1/8/- and 1/4/- only.*

These two are companion volumes. Shri K. G. Mashruwalla has been a well-known associate of Mahatma Gandhi who had enjoyed a position of trust among the select in his circle and who by questions and reasoning cleared up what might have seemed obscure in his teachings. These two books belong to the sphere of



education. The first is concerned with the fundamentals of education, and it consists of three parts—the philosophical aspect, the patterns of activity, and some discussions of problems. The second is concerned with the development of education—from Sabarmati to Sevagram, and it has a foreword contributed by Shri Narhari Parekh on the topics of nayee talim and self-help, and some notes on the lesson of history. The book has, naturally enough, two parts—the first concerned with Sabarmati, the second with Sevagram.

Both these books are compiled mainly from Mashruwalla's old writings—with modifications here and there. They are valuable contribution to the educational thought of our country and they deserve to be translated into other Indian languages. They have, besides, a historical importance, tracing the development of basic education in the momentous days of intense national activity.

P. R. SEN

## GUJARATI

**MADH (HONEY):** By Dr. Kishordas Gupta. Published by the Nisargopacharak Mandal, Bombay. 1951. Printed at the Rupam Printing Press. Thick paper cover, with an illustration of a honey-comb on a tree. Pp. 57. Price four annas.

The Nature Cure Society of Bombay, has been publishing tiny little hand-books on the use and abuse of Natural Foods, such as milk curds and honey. This little booklet deals with honey and its manufacturer, the busy bee, and its factory, the honey-comb. Its uses and doses for preserving health are given. The life and the structure of that body of the bee are given and also how the insect manufactures honey. Its sting contains poison and so does honey contain poison, though in a dormant state; the reason as to why the poison is there being that the bee extracts its food from harmless as well as poisonous flowers like *Dhutura*. It is, on the whole, a very informative production.

K. M. J.

JUST PUBLISHED

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# Indian Periodicals

## Are We Dissipating Our Moral Patrimony?

In the course of an article in the *Aryan Path* Dr. Alexander F. Skutch observes :

We owe to our remote ancestors all those modes of feeling and behaviour which bind men together, making of a society an organic unity rather than a mechanical aggregation of self-seeking men ; but our present social arrangements do nothing to augment this precious moral heritage. On the contrary, they are slowly but surely dissipating it, thereby undermining the innate foundations of any society to which a generous man would care to belong. In the absence of these ancestral sentiments, social living can be based only on an endless minute calculation of debits and credits—a situation so nauseating that a self-respecting person might prefer to dwell as a hermit in the wilderness.

Diverted from its original function of supporting the life of the community, our primitive impulse to help those around us finds certain minor outlets. The first of these is the exchange of gifts. In the more prosperous ranks of society, vast sums are spent on presents for weddings, anniversaries of all sorts and festive occasions of religious or national significance. While some of these gifts are of service to the recipients, a considerable share of them are neither useful nor beautiful ; so that the traffic in these things greatly increases the waste of a society that is already inordinately wasteful. The obligation to give presents becomes for many, especially for those whose relatives and friends happen to be more prosperous than themselves, a heavy economic burden ; and much calculation may be required to find means to purchase all the gifts which are expected by one's circle of intimates in course of a year. For from easing life or diverting one's attention from monetary considerations, the practice of exchanging presents tends on the whole to make life more burdensome and to intensify our preoccupation with the money.

The second substitute for free co-operation is almsgiving, in modern times miscalled charity. The bestowal of money or goods upon the indigent has often been regarded, especially in Muhammedan countries, as a means of purifying one's wealth—which seems to be a tacit admission that a large share of wealth is ill-gotten. Thereby we correct, in a pitiful manner, a small fraction of the ills for which our economic activities are responsible. Morally and spiritually, an ounce of free co-operation in a common endeavour is worth a ton of almsgiving. Moral relations are ideally reciprocal, involving the mutual efforts of intelligent beings to attain and preserve harmony with each other ; whereas the dispensing of alms is a wholly one-sided relationship. We tend to view as equals those with whom we freely engage in a common endeavour, but as inferiors those who subsist on our bounty. Thus free co-operation increases that love and respect for our fellows which is an essential part of charity in the proper meaning of the word, while almsgiving makes a truly charitable attitude more difficult to preserve.

Not the least unfortunate of the effects of money is the perversion of values for which it is responsible. The habit of assessing in terms of a medium of exchange all the services that we perform or require, everything that we supply to others or procure for ourselves, inevitable under modern conditions of life, leads us to undervalue the goods on which it is hardly possible to set a price. Yet it is universally recognized by men of fine sensibilities that the highest and most enduring of all the values which we can experience fall into this class of things for which it is impossible to assign a pecuniary equivalent, and for this reason the ignorant and the vulgar can hardly avoid undervaluing them. The paper notes which today are everywhere the principal medium of exchange are mere tokens, and few of us take the trouble to learn whether those we are constantly receiving

and spending are backed by an equivalent of gold or silver in the public treasury. In many countries they are not so supported. It is obvious that when one takes as his standard of values something which is intrinsically valueless, his sense of values will be profoundly distorted.

This perversion of values makes men easy dupes of unprincipled people whose only motive in serving their fellows is to fill their own pockets. We are offered all sorts of unnecessary, worthless or even harmful goods, and ingenious methods are employed to overcome our resistance and make us buy what we do not really desire or need. There is nothing so ugly or injurious, no deed so vile or disgraceful, that somebody will not offer to provide or perform it for a price. On the other hand, those who have contributed most to their fellows have often received no remuneration, or at most the pittance they needed to support life.

Thus money, which was apparently first coined by the Indians, is one of those brilliant inventions, of which we have too many examples, which in the long run create more difficult problems than they solve. It facilitates industry and commerce on a large scale, but at the price of introducing a subtle poison into human relations. If it does not create, it at least exacerbates avarice, envy and pride; while it tends to destroy good will and mutual helpfulness among men. A society without a medium of exchange must be held together by the loyalty, friendliness and free co-operation of its members; with such a medium, social living becomes an endless selfish calculation of profits and losses. It is understandable why so many planners of ideal commonwealth have kept them free of money. But only if its citizens had in large measure such qualities as mutual good will, co-operativeness, self-respect, loyalty and responsibility could a moneyless community continue to supply the needs of its members. It is doubtful whether any contemporary society, save possibly a few primitive tribes surviving in remote forests, or mountain fastnesses, possesses these traits of character in adequate measure. And the longer we continue our present social arrangements whereby we are slowly dissipating moral

qualities that were developed in closely-knit communities based on free co-operation, the less possible it becomes for a moneyless society, or any society, to hold together. This is the tragic predicament of contemporary civilization; and our best hope is that, before it is too late, there will arise one great enough to show to escape from it.

### Religion and Politics

Dr. Tara Chand writes in *Careers and Courses* :

Religion and politics are two centres round which the history of man has revolved. Both are protean phenomena. There is no age when mankind was not divided into multiplicity of faiths. Every religion has numerous sects, and every sect has history. Religions have grown, have been promulgated, have decayed. Sometimes they have died, some have revived. It is not possible to bring any order into this kaleidoscopic phenomenon. It is difficult to subsume religions under any scientific scheme of classification. Believers of a religion will not accept any fixed formula. Distinguishing attributes are hard to apply—such as natural, ethical, revealed, universal, for all claim to possess them. All regard they are true and possess the key to perfection.

### DIFFERENT DOCTRINES

To evaluate religion may be indiscreet, but to explain it is necessary. The enterprise is beset with difficulties. For, what is common to all religions? Are there any general attributes linking together religions? Early Buddhism was silent on the existence of God and soul. Islam has laid the greatest emphasis upon the unity of God, its Prophet has been called God-drunk. The Christians believe in the triune nature of the divine. Man as a compound of actions and their traces, is involved in a cycle of life and death and is dissolved when he attains Nirvana, such is the Buddhist doctrine. Man is a creature and slave of Allah and is either chosen by Him for heaven or rejected and condemned for ever, holds Islam. Man may be saved from punishment for his original sin, if he has faith in the Christ, whom God sent as the mediator, teaches Christianity.



There are deep differences about other fundamental doctrines.

#### TWO ASPECTS

But apart from these there are matters of form, attitude and also of content which help in understanding the variety of religions and appreciating some of its universal features. For instance, all religions have two aspects—focal and peripheral. The first is that personal indescribable experience which lies at the core. William James and other psychologists have attempted to understand it. But although its characteristics may be grouped under a limited number of types, the experience itself seems to differ from man to man. In some it has been so intense and so possessive as to make of them persons apart from the generality of mankind. Such have been the prophets, seers and saints. The capacity for such experience varies and there are some who seem to have none.

Round such experiences have been built up vast structures of religious dogmas and doctrines. Some religions—Christianity and Buddhism for instance, formulate only spiritual and ethical principles. Others have a wider range. Hinduism and Islam cover the whole ground of man's life—religious, social, political and economic.

But whether the propositional content of a religion is small or large, there is a peripheral content in each built round its focal insight and intuition of reality. This content grows, changes, and is subject to influences emanating from individuals and groups.

#### MYSTIC EXPERIENCE

The mystic experience which constitutes the core of religion is incommunicable. It is impossible to say whether labels of particular religions can be attached to it. From all that is known about it this appears unlikely.

The peripheral content has reference to both supernatural and natural matters. Some of its parts may be based upon direct perception and therefore demand immediate assent; others would enjoy varying degrees of objectivity and validity, depending on the part which reason plays in their formulation. These may indicate ideals of individual and social conduct, prohibitions and permission. They may set out the values which ought to be pursued and the destiny which awaits man.

Politics is less diverse. Human intellect has not been as fecund in producing forms of government and state. Ancient philosophers accounted six as the main types, each covering several varieties. The moderns do not regard the question of classification important. In a sense such state is *suigeneris*.

Religion and state both demand the allegiance of man. The demand of the State is accompanied with extreme sanctions. In states where differentiation between politics and religion is not recognised temporal punishments are reinforced with spiritual ones and both Church and State have recourse to them.

The claim upon the obedience of the individual by these two authorities has been a prolific source of conflicts in history. The modern secular sovereign state has arisen out of wars originating in religious differences. There is a great deal of evidence for the view that as mankind has advanced in civilization the power of the State has increased and that of religion has retreated. From a time when religion and politics were identical, society has moved to the position wherein the State has assumed almost unlimited authority.

#### DIVINE KINGSHIP

In the early history of man the high priest and king were the same person, and kingship was regarded as divine. Miraculous powers were attributed to him. In the Middle Ages in Denmark mothers brought their infants and peasants their grain for him, believing that if he lays his hands on them they both would thrive. The queens and kings of England exercised the gift of healing. King Charles II touched a hundred thousand persons to cure scrofula. That divinity resided in a king was a widespread belief. The kings of ancient Rome claimed to be embodiments of Jupiter, the god of sky. Muslim chroniclers designated their kings as shadows of God (*Zille Allah*). Abul Fazl records a saying of Akbar, "Indeed to behold the king, is a means of calling to mind the Creator". The Dalai Lama of Tibet is even today considered the very incarnation of God.

The kings were not always the heads of the State and of religion. The sacred books of the Hindus, the *Dharma Shastras*, laid

down the duties of the king and the subjects and their injunctions were binding on both.

All the three civilizations have been faced with the predicament involved in the relation between the State and the church, or politics and religion.

#### STATE AND THE CHURCH

In the Christian west the struggle continued for several hundred years. The thirteenth century Popes asserted claims to the highest authority upon earth, and the climax was reached when Pope Boniface VIII (1294-1303) proclaimed the universal supremacy of the Church. The Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and the kings of England, France and other countries were treated as subordinates whose duty it was to obey the dictates of the Holy Father.

This was a challenge. The peoples of Europe were emerging from feudal anarchy and forming consolidated societies under the aegis of centralised governments headed by kings and supported by the middle classes of merchants and entrepreneurs. Both resented Papal interference in matters of internal administration which tended to reduce the authority of the king and to perpetuate division of loyalty and also to cause the drain of wealth to the coffens of the Church, mainly in Rome.

#### RELIGIOUS FANATICISM

The Reformation was a direct attack upon the Papal conception of religion and politics. Many kings and princes and the middle classes found in Martin Luther's movement a powerful aid to their own cause. The struggle that ensued led to war and bloodshed. In France there was a civil war which lasted more than 30 years, and which witnessed a series of brutal massacres, till in the end out of sheer exhaustion political leaders established a compromise and the country turned away from religious fanaticism. England had its religious persecutions, in which the Roman Catholics and the Protestants burnt their opponents at the stake. On continental Europe the Thirty Years' War decimated the population. All this led people to the conclusion that mixing of religion and politics was the source of these conflicts and so from the middle of the 17th century religion began

to be depoliticized, and religious toleration was accepted as the basic principle of State. Today all western states are secular wherever there is an established church, it is subordinate to secular authority.

#### ISLAMIC COUNTRIES

The history of Islamic countries has been different. Islam has always been plagued by sectarian wars and persecutions. In the period of the Caliphate much blood was shed because of doctrinal differences and on the question of succession to the Caliphate. In Iran the Safavi kings who were Shiahs persecuted the Sunnis. There was bitter hostility against such sects as the Karmathians, the Ismailians, and in recent times between the Wahabis and others. Since the Islamic countries have come under western influence liberal and national ideas are making headway. The growth of industrialization and the strengthening of the middle classes promise to stimulate these tendencies.

Even as it is, many Muslim countries have adopted constitutions based upon liberal principles of toleration, equality and freedom.

#### LIBERAL TREND

Examples are Turkey. Article 2 of Chapter I of its Constitution says: "The Turkish state is republican, nationalist, populist, etatist, secular and reformist," and article 75 of Chapter V ensures, "no one may be censured for the philosophical creed, religion or doctrine to which he may adhere." The Iraqi constitution forbids differentiation based on creed or religion. The Lebanese law guarantees complete freedom of conscience and respect for all creeds. In Syria freedom of belief and protection of all forms of worship is ensured. The only concession that it makes to religious exclusiveness is in providing that the religion of the President of the Republic must be Islam, as in England the king must belong to the Anglican Church. The Egyptian constitution prescribes free exercise of religion and belief, and although it still makes Islam the State religion it abolishes religious courts. In Indonesia the State is secular and every one is entitled to freedom of religion, conscience and worship.

The trend towards secularism or separation of politics and religion is in the interests of both State and faith.

#### RELIGION IS SUBJECTIVE

The focal aspect of religion is subjective. It involves the spiritual relation between the individual and God. Obviously it is impossible for any external agency to intervene in the communion of man with the Supreme Being. Laws of State and regulations of society have little relevance to this matter. The other aspect which is peripheral includes morals, laws, social affairs, which may be related to religious doctrines. Now these doctrines are subject to the understanding of man, and it is the experience of history that agreement as to their meaning and application is hard to obtain. Unfortunately differences lead to violence.

#### ABOVE CONTROVERSY

Religion as concerned with spiritual experience and with truths and principles which are absolute and eternal, ought to be above controversy and conflict. Religion, dealing with social, economic and political affairs faces a paradox, for these affairs unlike spiritual matters are variable under the pressure of temporal factors. If they are treated as unalterable and universal, society becomes stagnant, and lack of adaptation threatens it with extinction. If changes in temporal affairs are considered as tantamount to change of religion, then religion is placed at the mercy of every change in opinion. Intellectual freedom, objectivity and rationalism which are the distinguishing marks of the modern age suggest the solution for the freedom in the saying of Jesus Christ, "Render unto Caesar the things that belong to Caesar and to God the things that are His".

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# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## The History of Labor Day in the United States

*American Labor Review*, in its September issue, 1958, presents the following editorial:

On Monday, September 1, 1958, the United States marks its seventy-seventh observance of Labor Day, the national holiday set aside to honor the working people of the nation.

On this day American labor celebrates its past achievements, honors the memory of those who pioneered labor's early struggles, and rededicates itself to the task of co-operating with men of good will everywhere in the common effort to build a world founded on principles of peace, freedom and social justice.

Labor Day is more than a worker's holiday. It is a community event. Not only members of organized labor, but the entire population of the United States observes the day. All stores and factories are closed. It is an occasion for parades, picnics, public meetings, special church services, speeches and ceremonies. In large cities and in small hamlets, throughout the country, Americans from all walks of life gather to pay tribute to labor's progress and aspirations.

The origin of Labor Day goes back to 1882 when Peter J. McGuire, secretary of the Carpenters Union, appeared before the New York Central Labor Union urging that one day of the year be set aside as a general holiday for the working people. "This holiday," he said, "should be dedicated to the strength and spirit of the trade and labor organizations, to the working people who are the great vital force of every nation."

The meaning of Labor Day was prophetically expressed in McGuire's own words, written in 1897 in the flowery language of the period:

"On this day the hosts of labor shout their hosannas! From a thousand groves and hill-sides, by rippling brooks and gurgling streams, comes the glad acclaim. No festival of martial glory or warrior's renown is this, no pageant, pomp or warlike conquest, no glory of fratricidal strife attend this day. It is dedicated to peace, civilization and the triumph of industry. It is a demonstration of fraternity and the harbinger of a better age—a more chivalrous time when labor shall be best honored and well rewarded. In Labor Day we honor the

toilers of the earth, and pay homage to those who from rude nature have delved and carved all the comfort and grandeur we behold."

The first Labor Day was celebrated in New York on September 5, 1882. More than 10,000 trade unionists gathered in Union Square and then paraded up New York's famed Broadway, waving placards and singing songs. A newsman who watched the parade reported that "the men in line made a fine appearance and were applauded loudly by the spectators along the route. Americans, English, Irish and Germans hobnobbed and seemed on friendly footing as though the common cause had established a sense of brotherhood."

The idea of a legal, national holiday for labor caught on. In 1887, five years after the original parade and celebration, the State of Oregon, on the other side of the continent, passed a law designating the first Monday in September as a legal holiday to be known as Labor Day.

Other states followed the example, and in 1894 the U.S. Congress made Labor Day a national holiday. The bill establishing the holiday was signed into law by President Grover Cleveland. The pen used by the President in signing the act was given to Samuel Gompers, the president of the American Federation of Labor and a pioneer among America's great men of labor.

McGuire, the father of Labor Day, was born in New York in 1852. A union man from the age of 15, he was noted for his militant efforts in behalf of labor. In 1881 he organized the Brotherhood of Carpenters and joiners and later was one of the prime movers in the creation of the AFL. He died in 1906.

Speaking at the memorial dedication, Maurice J. Tobin, then U.S. Secretary of Labor, praised McGuire as "a crusader" in labor's cause. He said: "If Samuel Gompers gave to the American Federation of Labor its practical spirit, Peter McGuire gave it its fighting spirit . . . We will always need the practical wisdom of a Gompers, but the fighting spirit of McGuire is the life-blood of the American labor movement. Labor must never lose that crusading zeal, that fearless and restless energy and high idealism that will always be associated with the flame-like spirit of McGuire."

### Where do Atoms come From ?

The *Information Department of the Soviet Embassy in India* recently has published an enlightening article in which A. I. Masevich, the eminent Soviet Scientist, discusses about the origin of atoms :

The Universe is eternal. It had no beginning, and it will have no end. However, it is not static. It is constantly changing and we have grounds for believing that in the visible part of the universe we are able to observe the atoms of heavy chemical elements which did not always exist.

As a result of nuclear reactions hydrogen is being transformed into helium within the sun and in ordinary stars. The energy released in this process is the source of the light of the sun and similar stars.

A detailed study of all possible nuclear reactions within the sun was made in 1938 by Professor Hans A. Bethe, an American physicist, who showed that chemical elements which are heavier than helium cannot originate in such stars.

The physicist and the astronomers had to answer the question : when and where did those elements originate which are heavier than helium and are met with throughout the cosmos : in the stars, the planets, meteorites, in interstellar gas. This question was particularly interesting as regards the heavy radioactive elements which disintegrate spontaneously and have a limited life-span not more than 10 billion years—and, consequently, could not have originated at an infinitely remote time.

It is known that the formation of heavy atoms, calls for very high temperatures of up to one billion degrees and very high densities, approaching the density of the atomic nucleus.

Scientists have to assume that approximately 10 billion years ago our galaxy was in a very hot and condensed state and expanded later on with cooling.

During that pre-stellar period (pre-stellar because there were no stars at the time and matter was in a state of a specific neutron gas) chemical elements were formed which subsequently entered the composition of stars and planets.

These suppositions have provided the basis for various hypotheses put forward during recent decades. However, not one of them

has been able to give a quantitative explanation of the relative distribution of elements in the cosmos, which we observe in reality.

It has been established during the past few years that certain stars pass through states of evolution when their internal temperature and density increase substantially. These later stages in the life of stars are comparatively brief and unstable. Estimates show that it is precisely at these stages that the formation of elements heavier than helium, including the heaviest atoms in Mendeleyev's Table of Elements, can take place in the centres of such stars.

The formed elements are scattered in space together with the matter of the star as a result of a stellar explosion and become mixed with interstellar matter. Young stars which originate in such a medium contain more heavy elements than the stars which were formed at an earlier stage of the development of our galaxy. This supposition seems to be corroborated by the spectroscopic data on the chemical composition of stellar atmospheres. In some old stars the number of atoms of metals and other heavy elements in comparison with the number of hydrogen atoms is less than that in the young stars.

This theory has been put forward by W. Fowler and J. Greenstein from America, and by British astrophysicists Margaret and Geoffrey Burbidge. According to this theory, all chemical elements found in nature have been formed in the stars during the lifetime of our galaxy. The formation of elements is continuing in those stars which are in the latest stages of their development:

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### A Home for the Aged

In the *Information Bulletin*, October, 1958, of the German Democratic Republic, this very interesting report has been given by Wolfgang Gotherl:

Near the banks of the river Elbe, surrounded by the green of ancient trees, a hostel in Dresden, bearing the name of "Klara Zetkin" gives shelter to the aged. 358 men and women, grown old and grey in long years of toil, are spending the evening of their lives here in loving care and free of worry about the coming day.

Before the war the city of Dresden had old-age homes with a total of 2,000 places. Many of them were destroyed during the war. The new and re-construction of old-age homes, started in 1947, helped to bridge over the most dire want. While in 1947 there were 626 places in the old-age homes of Dresden, this figure had increased to 2,096 by 1955. At the end of the second Five Year Plan there will be more than 3,000 places.

\* \* \*

I asked an old couple living at the "Klara Zetkin" home, whether they were happy there and liked it. This was what they replied: "During the three months that we have been here, we have seen more of the good side of life than during all the rest of our lives." They advised me to have a look at the plan of monthly events.

The following are only a few of the events planned for June: an evening of song and dance for the old folks, presented by the ensemble from the Pioneer Palace, Dresden; the amateur art group of the VEB Lace Curtain manufacture present an evening on the life and work of Heinrich Heine; a concert by the folk-music group of the VEB Kosmos factory; a puppet show by the Saalfeld puppet theatre, which, by the way, called forth roars of laughter. Further welcome visitors to this home include the district cinemas, which in June showed the French film "The Honourable Whore" and the DEFA film "Recovery". Altogether 14 nights of the month of June alone were filled with cultural events, arranged specially for the old people at this home; may we mention, that admission to all of them was entirely free.

This survey is in fact rather incomplete, since the cultural life of the home has many more sides to it. Thus, for instance, there is a considerable gathering around the television every evening; this was presented to the inmates of the home by the National Construction Committee, in appreciation of the many thousands of voluntary building shifts which they had worked. Others like to frequent the club rooms; there is one on every floor. In these club rooms there are beautifully inlaid chess-tables for enthusiasts of this game; the old grannies like to have a game of "Doppelkopf" (Card-game, often played by elderly women) while the men prefer a game of skat. And those who used to enjoy knocking down the nine pins can have a go at bowling here in the home as well.

It hardly needs to be mentioned, that ample care is taken to supply reading fans—which include the majority of inmates. The library already has 1,538 books on the shelves, and new acquisitions are added every month; they are partly bought with money from the library fund and part of them are presented to the home by the workers at Dresden's factories and offices.

When I was told that many of the inmates were bombed out during the war, or resettlers, I became interested in having a look at their rooms to see how they were living. Each inmate has one room and married couples have two rooms of their own. Those who came without anything, having lost everything in the war, were completely newly equipped by the management of the home—from modern furniture down to linen. All others, who managed to retain their furniture, brought it to the home and arranged it in their rooms according to their tastes. Nowadays there is a legacy commission at the home, elected by the inmates, which sees to it, that the children of a deceased are handed out all possessions, up to the last piece of linen.

\* \* \*

This leads up to the social and health arrangements at the home. Every inmate pays DM 60—a month for food and accommodation, a sum which lies below the minimum pension. All those who did not work for pay during their lifetime



and therefore receive no pension have this sum paid for them by the city. Moreover, every inmate who only draws a minimum pension or none at all, is given a monthly sum as pocket money, of DM 28.—Simultaneously with the general growth of our national revenue, this sum has also been increased up to September 1950 only DM 5.—could be paid out as pocket money every month; from October 1950 this was raised to DM 18.—a month and as from July 1953 the present rate was introduced.

To illustrate the considerable amount of money, reserved for old-age homes of this kind on the budget of the city of Dresden, we might mention, that the town council spent DM 1,630.—for each inmate of a home during the last year. There is also a first-rate health service available for these old people. A doctor from a neighbouring polyclinic holds regular consultation hours for them and turns up in all cases of emergency. Those who fall ill are cared for at the home's sick-day by a number of nurses, who are part of the home's permanent staff, and attended until final recovery. For the alleviation of ailments, which occur with particular frequency during old age, such as rheumatism, lumbago, etc., the home has its own facilities for ray treatment, *e. g.* latest constructions of shortwave equipment, *ultra-violet* lamps, hot air boxes, *infra-red* ray lamps, etc. As there is a bathroom on every floor, several kinds of medical baths can be given at the home.

In brief: none of the inmates, who fall ill, seriously or slightly, need to despair. They all know that the nursing staff will do all they can to help them. This knowledge in itself helps to recovery; it even makes them feel younger; I talked to quite a few men and women who were some ten years older than they looked.

\* \* \*

"Love and humour pass through the stomach", said comrade Koch, the chairman of the hostel-committee jokingly, when I talked to him about the food. They all confirmed that the food was prepared with much devotion. There is always a choice of two dishes, and diet meals are served for

those with weak stomachs on doctor's orders. Naturally the inmates have a great say in the matter of shaping the weekly menu. Once a term the kitchen commission is re-elected, which is composed of two representatives from each floor. This commission works out the weekly food-programme, together with the cooks, it controls, whether all required components are in fact added to the food according to fixed standards and it supervises the hygienic preparation of the meals.

\* \* \*

In case any more proofs should be needed to convince anyone, that the inmates of the old-age home "Klara Zetkin" are really taking part in life, here it is: In March 1955 there was a small notice in a newspaper, stating that: "The old-age pensioners of the "Klara Zetkin" home have pledged themselves to work 2,000 hours in voluntary reconstruction work this year." Some people incredulously shook their heads, thinking: "They'll never manage that. They had better go to the parks and sit in the sun". Yet he laughs best, who laughs last! It turned out that the "Zetkiners" not only managed to do 2,000, but as much as 4,843 hours. Many of them proudly carry the construction medal in bronze, silver or gold. They don't make much fuss over their contribution. All they have to say, is: "We couldn't sit still when we were young, and even less now that we are old. That would be all the more difficult today, when we are anxiously waiting to see the last of all rubble." Yes, indeed, they are very modest; but the less they say themselves, the more is said for them by cleared sites, new children's play-grounds, where the small folk enjoy themselves in the warm season, and the carefully cleaned bricks, which serve to build new houses and new homes.

The old-age home "Klara Zetkin" is one of many in our Republic. We can proudly look upon the words of praise, which a West German doctor, who came on a visit, entered in the guest-book:

"A system, which considers age worthy of esteem and care, must be a good one!"





THE BRONZE STATUE OF MAHATMA GANDHI

Installed at the crossing of Park Street and Chowringhee Road, Calcutta and unveiled by Prime Minister Nehru on Nov. 30, 1958.

*Sculptor:* Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury





MOONLIGHT  
By Sunil Kar

Prabasi Press, Calcutta.



# THE MODERN REVIEW

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## NOTES

### STOCK TAKING

Another year is drawing to a close. It is necessary to take stock of the nation's assets and liabilities, both in the terms of the concrete and the abstract, at this period. For ever since the dawn of freedom, we have allowed matters to proceed in a haphazard way, right from the top.

In the terms of concrete figures, it is usual to show progress, both in the national income and in national assets. But if the income is adjusted against the purchasing power of the rupee, in the terms of foodstuffs and essential consumer goods, then another state of affairs would be indicated. We would emphatically state here that the price of commodity index figures, as fabricated at New Delhi and elsewhere are totally bogus.

Similarly, if the assets that the nation has built up, in the public and in the private sectors, be equated against the availability to the consumer and the sale price of the products, and overall, to the actual benefits apparently accrued to the Man in India, the assets assume quite a different aspect altogether. Indeed, most of the "assets" are as yet heavy liabilities to the taxpayer of today and tomorrow.

But it is when we turn to the abstract considerations we are aware of a frightful picture of degeneration and demoralization. The people of the country are in imminent danger of a moral collapse due to the total debasement of moral values.

Our complacent tin-gods are not totally unaware of that, as when Kerala is concerned we find that even our Congress President comes out of a trance. But where the Centre is con-

cerned, or the other States are concerned, we find footling excuses, with the Constitution as the main reason. Even where cinema censorship is concerned we find the Cabinet minister concerned putting forward that lame excuse, and what is more astonishing, the members of the Lok Sabha complacently nodding their heads.

We are constrained to make such a deprecatory remark against the Congress President, not because we have any special bias for or against the Kerala Government, but because he is the symbol of what Gandhiji stood for. And the Gandhian tradition is that of uncompromising Truth.

We see, and the world sees, compromise with evil going on, on all levels, in the Congress Governments. Indeed, it has come to such a pass that parochialism, nepotism and corruption is rampant even in high places, as a result of which Evil is being fostered—indeed, supported actively—by those very people who have infiltrated into office under the guise of Gandhism. So, why hold up Kerala?

Mr. Justice Sankaran has remarked in his report that defiance of law and order has become universal in all labour agitations. This is quite correct, and disastrous results have followed in West Bengal, where Bengali labour has become almost unemployable. But then labour leadership is mostly in the hands of leaders who are, to say the least, irresponsible to the point of disruption. Honest people, who have furthered the cause of labour when it was dangerous to do so, are unable to convince labour in the face of a general degeneration of moral values.

Has the Congress President no responsibilities in this respect?



*The Latest Appraisal of the Second Plan*

The Planning Commission in its latest appraisal on the Second Plan has stated that the implementation of Part A of the Plan might involve a total expenditure of the order of Rs. 4,650 crores as against Rs. 4,500 crores previously envisaged. The estimates of financial resources for the last two years of the Plan were shown at Rs. 1,804 crores and that for the five years at Rs. 4,260 crores. Between the minimum outlay target of Rs. 4,500 crores and the estimated resources, there was thus a gap of Rs. 240 crores. On an overall view, having regard to possible shortfalls in expenditure and changes in estimates under individual heads, the gap in financial resources may thus be of the order of Rs. 300 to Rs. 350 crores rather than Rs. 240 crores estimated earlier.

The Planning Commission states that the total investment envisaged for large-scale industries in the Public and Private Sectors together was of the order of Rs. 1,094 crores. In the Public Sector the amount allocated is of Rs. 524 crores in addition to Rs. 60 to Rs. 65 crores provided for the National Industrial Development Corporation; of this amount Rs. 35 crores have been set apart for new basic and heavy industries. Under the latest estimates for the principal industrial projects in the Public Sector, the total expenditure has been placed at Rs. 882 crores, of which Rs. 15 crores are for schemes in the States. The latest estimates have thus raised the expenditure in the Public Sector by Rs. 358 crores.

As in the Public Sector, the investment requirements of the Private Sector has also to be revised upwards. The Plan originally estimated a total investment of Rs. 685 crores for industries in the Private Sector, of which Rs. 535 crores represented new investment and Rs. 150 crores replacements. The foreign exchange expenditure was estimated at Rs. 320 crores. The total investment requirements have increased by about Rs. 155 crores and foreign exchange costs have gone up by about 123 crores.

The Memorandum of the Planning Commission states that as compared to the original estimate of Rs. 1,100 crores, the aggregate

deficit over the Plan period was likely to be about Rs. 1,700 crores. One of the reasons for the increase in the foreign exchange gap is the rise in food imports. In 1956-57, food imports amounted to 2.4 million tons and for 1957-58, they came to 3.7 million tons. In 1958-59, the food imports are estimated to exceed 3.5 million tons. The total value of food imports in the first two years was Rs. 259 crores, of which the amount covered under special agreements was Rs. 173 crores. Outstanding foreign exchange commitments stood at Rs. 990 crores at the end of September 1957, and Rs. 888 crores at the end of March 1958. Of the latter, Rs. 547 crores were on Government account, Rs. 300 crores on private account and Rs. 41 crores for imports of iron and steel for use by both the Public and the Private Sectors.

The Planning Commission has rightly held that an increase of agricultural production by 2 to 2.5 per cent per annum, which has so far been achieved, is not sufficient enough to support a large plan of economic development. In terms of production potential, the achievement in 1956-57 is assessed at 1.3 million tons and in 1957-58 at 2.3 million tons. It is expected that in 1958-59 the increase in production potential may be of the order of 3 million tons. Thus over the three years 1956-59, the total increase in production potential may be less than one-half of the revised target of the Plan period. The reduction in the total allocation for Irrigation and Power under the Plan from Rs. 913 crores to Rs. 832 crores is likely to affect the targets for irrigation and power. It is estimated that in place of additional irrigation of 12 million acres as envisaged in the Plan, large and medium projects are expected to provide additional irrigation to the order of 10.4 million acres.

The impact of the shortage of foreign exchange on the targets of power is likely to be of considerable extent. In the Second Plan, the target of additional capacity has been placed at 3.5 million Kw. of which 2.9 million Kw. are to be installed in the Public Sector, 300,000 Kw. in the Private Sector and 300,000 Kw. in industrial plants providing for their own gene-

ating capacity. During the past two years, the demand for power has been rising steadily. It is now estimated that the additional power installed in the Public Sector may be about 2.5 million Kw., in the Private Sector 175,000 Kw., and in industrial establishments providing their own power 300,000. The total achievement is thus 3 million Kw., or about 1.5 million Kw. less than the additional capacity envisaged in the Plan.

### *Co-operatives at the Cross Roads*

At a recent meeting in New Delhi, the executive committee of the All-India Co-operative Union has urged the Union and State Governments to work principally through non-official leadership in developing the Co-operative Movement in the country. The suggestion explains that national and State Co-operative Unions should be closely associated in the implementation of the co-operative policy as enunciated by the National Development Council. They should also be given adequate financial assistance and facilities to undertake the task of developing the movement with the necessary speed and thoroughness. The committee points out that the Co-operative Movement has not made much headway in West Bengal, U.P., and other places where there was too much official control. In States, like Bombay and Madras, where there was not so much official control, the movement had expanded.

The Executive Committee has also suggested that the agricultural loan programme of a Co-operative Society should assist the farmers in the preparation of the production programme and the proper application of the borrowed funds. We, however, suggest that it is time that the authorities reconsider the entire development and the achievement of the Co-operative Movement in the country. We think the co-operative movement in India has failed, notwithstanding paper publicity. Ever since its inception, the authorities in India have been pursuing after the will-o'-the-wisp to achieve what cannot be achieved for various reasons. The last fifty years of existence of the co-operative movement in India does not hold out

any hopeful prospect for the future. In many countries of the West, there is no co-operative movement. It is not essential for the purpose of financing and developing agricultural operations.

The only solution to the creation of machinery to undertake financing of agricultural operations in the country is to start agricultural banks all over the country on the model of farm credit organizations as they obtain in the USA or the U.K. The co-operatives have become totally outmoded in modern times, particularly in India. At least, that is the verdict of the history of the movement here. To think otherwise is to evade the issue and avoid the solution. In the immediate future, joint stock banks should be asked to open branches in the village areas for the purpose of supplying finance to the cultivators. But that would be just a temporary measure and the ultimate solution will lie in the extensive opening of agricultural banks in the villages under a central farm credit organisation, that is, an agricultural central bank. The Agricultural central bank will work in co-operation with the warehousing corporations which have been set up. More such warehouses will have to be set up to provide a net-work of financial operations in the rural sector.

At the New Delhi meeting, the executive committee has called for close and continuous association of Community Development work with the work of co-operatives in rural areas. But so far as the Community Development Projects are concerned, we need not reiterate that the Community Development movement has been just another failure of a planned project. The Community Development is not only a failure, it has become a machinery perpetrating fraud on the national resources of the country. In the name of community development, crores and crores of rupees are being appropriated and misappropriated without any tangible result. The community development movement should immediately be withdrawn and the task should be entrusted to local bodies like the village Panchayats, district boards and the municipalities where honest men should be nominated if necessary. The Union Government should

divert their resources and energies to work which will have immediate result in providing employment and in raising the standard of living of the people. The Plan has moved to such a point that concentrated efforts are required to make it successful.

### *Law's Lacunae*

There lies a great slip between law's codification and its execution. Indian penal laws are mostly followed more in their breach than in their observance. The Foreign Exchange Regulation Act is an example on the point. This paper has had the occasion to draw attention of the authorities that the leakage in foreign exchange earnings of India considerably accounts for the present shortage of such exchanges. But our caution perhaps did not receive the due approbation. The case of Mr. S. P. Jain is just one example out of many still remaining undiscovered. It was reported in the Press that Mr. S. P. Jain had a bank balance of about Rs. 17 lakhs in foreign banks and this balance accumulated in a clandestine way, that is, the accumulation without the sanction of the authorities had been an act violating the law of the land, particularly the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act and the Indian Income Tax Act.

It would, however, be folly to think that such smuggling or leakage of valuable foreign exchanges of India has been done by only Mr. Jain. There are hundreds of persons doing this sort of act, particularly those who are engaged as agents of foreign business concerns. A large part of commission earned on agency business is kept outside the country and thus India is deprived of its valuable foreign exchange earnings. This point deserves immediate and thorough enquiry by competent persons. The present machinery for finding out such anti-national activities is much too inadequate for the purpose. The Reserve Bank has failed palpably in its task to check the smuggling out of the country or the leakage of foreign exchange earnings of the country. We fail to understand how with the provisions of the Exchange Control Regulation Act, a person can deceive the Bank in not disclosing the

amount which is lying in his account with foreign banks outside the country.

The income-tax authorities are also to blame. If the entire income of Mr. Jain could have been accounted for, then this leakage would have not been possible. The entire apparatus in the country for checking such frauds on the national exchequer is totally inefficient. Now is the time to launch a country-wide search for the hidden income of persons. If the authorities rest with the case of Mr. Jain, they will commit a great blunder. The departments concerned no doubt live in an ivory tower thinking that mere codification of the law will automatically bring about its effective execution. The conduct of the officers concerned of the respective departments should also be enquired into and punishment ought to be meted out in deserving cases. It is our experience that honest statements of people, in smaller concerns, are usually the one's that are arbitrarily challenged by the Income Tax department.

We take this opportunity to ventilate another aspect of our economy and this is a peculiar feature of underdeveloped economy not to be found in any text-book written by authorities on developed economy. This is the question of blackmarketing and profiteering. The instances will be a legion. Just to cite one example and it is that of paper control. The Government of India has imposed control on paper and the standing directions to the dealers are that they should dispose of their stock immediately on receipt of the same from the mills. This has provided a great opportunity for blackmarketing to the dealers of papers. Most of the big dealers have their own fictitious middlemen dealers and the agents or wholesalers dispose of their stock to such middlemen. The agents or the wholesalers always will reply in the negative whenever any enquiry is made as to whether any stock is available. They will promptly reply that they have no stock of the material enquired after. But if "extra" price is offered, the dealers will arrange the supply. The market is not so very short of any quality of paper, rather it is over-full of some. The entire paper supply, thanks to Government's measures, has gone underground.

for the benefit of the few paper dealers and agents. We are compelled to request the authorities—"If you cannot do it effectively, please do not do it."

The very activities of the Government in recent months seem to support the view that they are out to help the blackmarketeers and profiteers and other anti-social elements. Whether it is the import restriction, or price fixation or any other direction, the large body of consumers are made to suffer for the benefit of the few. There is racketeering in medicines, in foodgrains, in paper and in what not. The authorities think that by merely fixing the prices of commodities, the problem of supply will be solved. But the real problem begins there and it is the problem of short supply in open market with a flourish in the blackmarkets. It is not merely quixotic, it is foolish to fix the prices without caring to assure the supply of the related commodities. India is the traditional home of the blackmarketeers and racketeers and no text-book can explain this position of anomaly, that is, of a flourishing underground market with a dwindling open market and that is done under the very nose of the authorities. Any legal measure designed to have curative or ameliorative effect has promptly reacted generating instead anti-social activities within the bounds of law. And the authorities remain a silent spectator, speaking no word on the suffering of the people.

Neither price fixation nor control on distribution can bring about a condition conducive to the benefits of the consumers. Those who preach in favour of private enterprise in India should bear in mind that what India requires today is a state of strict regimentation on the lines of Pakistan or China. Democracy is no answer to the rapid growth of anti-social elements and its machinery is quite ineffective to cope with the situation. The revolt against the so-called democracy in the countries of the East and the Middle East has its deeper roots in objective conditions and that is that democracy in an underdeveloped country does not always confer social justice to all.

### *New Portuguese Trick in Goa*

From January 1, 1959 the Indian rupee would be superseded in Goa by the Portuguese currency *escudo*. This sudden decision to alter the currency in use for centuries in the Portuguese-held territories in India would adversely affect the interests of the people of Goa. The implications of the introduction of this new policy have been analysed in an article in the fortnightly *Free Goa* of Bombay.

The *escudo* would be legal tender throughout the *Estado da India* (that is Goa, Daman and Diu) and only *within the territory* its export out of that State being prohibited. The new *escudo* would not be allowed to circulate in other Portuguese territories nor even in Portugal despite the declaration that the exchange would be guaranteed of all the *escudos* on a par.

The analyst of the *Free Goa* writes: "The law further disposes that the fiduciary circulation limit is fixed at 500,000 *contos* (each *conto* is worth the 1000 *escudos* and each *escudo* Rs. 6) of which 450,000 are in notes and 50,000 in coins.

"If a new currency is going to be introduced against all natural processes only to simulate the impossible integrity of the Portuguese Overseas Empire, such a measure only comes to strengthen Portuguese economy in Goa at the cost of the sacrifices of the people of Goa and the Indian currency which after being depreciated by the exchange rates will go to serve as the reserve fund to guarantee the permanence of the inconvertible *escudo* with the convertible Indian currency.

"Of such a monetary policy can derive various unpleasant consequences like: 1) the provoking of the devaluation of the rupee in Goa and the consequent exchange speculation in favour of the *escudo*; 2) In its turn the Goan *escudo* can suffer devaluation in relation to the *escudo* of Mozambique, Angola and Portugal if the financial and economic position of those colonies and Portugal happens to be sounder than that of Goa; 3) The limitation of the circulation of the *escudo* within the colony points to the intrinsic weakness of the Goan currency which is, for an example, not ex-



changeable in Mozambique, whereas the Indian rupee has international value (its value is higher than that of the Pakistani or Burmese rupee, and is exchangeable in Mozambique). The exchangeable speculation will provoke the artificial devaluation of the remittances of the emigrants in Indian currency; 5) In small populations like those of Daman and Diu where the daily necessities cannot do without the Indian market, in spite of the apparent prohibition, the tragedy will be all the greater as these territories have no outlet but the sea; 6) The Goan students studying in India and the Goan who come to India for reasons of health, etc., will be subjected to the loss and the difficulties brought about by the exchange operations; 7) Finally, when trade between Goa and India becomes free again the mutual relations will be prejudiced by the new currency, causing chaos and despair where before there was mutual understanding, accessibility and well-being."

#### *Company Contribution to Political Parties*

The question of company contribution to the funds of political parties was recently discussed in both Houses of Parliament. In the Lok Sabha the discussion centred upon a non-official bill sponsored by Shri S. Mahanty (Garatantra Parishad—Orissa) seeking to limit contribution by companies to political parties to Rs. 5,000 which was rejected by 93 votes to 25. Shri Mahanty characterised company contribution to political parties as "bribery and illegal gratification" and alleged that, Government had advanced interest-free loans to the Tatas and the Indian Iron and Steel Company "because they contributed funds to the Congress Party."

Opposing the bill Shri Satish Chandra, Deputy Minister of Commerce and Industry, said that Government had taken note of the observations of the High Courts of Calcutta and Bombay stressing upon the necessity for these contributions to be distinctly shown in the accounts of the Company. He added that the matter had been referred to a Committee headed by Shri Viswanatha Sastri, a retired judge and the Committee also had come to the

same conclusion that when companies made contributions to political parties they should be shown in their Profit and Loss Accounts. He also disclosed that Government proposed to bring forward a Bill to amend the Companies Act providing, among other things, that contributions made by companies to political parties should be made public.

Shri Satish Chandra said amidst opposition interruption: "I am sure that, candidate for candidate, the expenditure incurred by the Congress Party during the elections is much less than what was incurred by any other political party or Independents. That is an unchallengeable statement." The accounts of the Congress Party, he added, constituted a public document, while other parties had never disclosed their accounts.

In the Rajya Sabha Shri Bhupesh Gupta (Communist—West Bengal) withdrew his non-official bill to amend the Company Act after the Minister for Commerce and Industry, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, had assured that the matter was under the active consideration of the Government and that the Government would place before the House an amending Bill in the coming session. During the debate Shri Babubhai Chinai, an industrialist member, said that he was proud of the fact that his firm had contributed 1½ lakhs of rupees to the "party in power" at the time of the last General Elections and added: "If it comes to the question of paying more, well, I am prepared to see that that concern pays more also."

#### *All India Radio*

While there has indeed been much improvement in the programmes of the All India Radio, much yet remains to be done. There is obviously the need to make the programmes more diversified and more interesting. The efforts of the authorities are limited by the resources available but the available resources may be used more rationally. On the policy level the Government should decide upon the role of regional languages in broadcasts. It is difficult to see why the Government has failed to implement the suggestion for according the regional languages a more important role in radio broadcasts.

Most of the important talks broadcast regionally are still in the English language. While English should continue to be profitably used in relaying national broadcasts, the authorities need to show some greater concern for broadcasts in regional languages.

A related problem is to ensure that the people would be able in larger numbers to enjoy the benefits of national broadcasts. Though the talk of a people's wireless receiving set has been in the making for nearly a decade now—and the point was reiterated by the Estimates Committee of the Parliament in its thirty-first report on the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting—nothing tangible has been done so far. Neither has anything substantial been done in ascertaining the listener's attitude to the broadcast items. The replies to the questionnaire on programme preferences which had been distributed among the radio listeners at the end of 1956 are still "being studied and tabulated."

Referring to the Estimates Committee's report the *Hindu* writes in an editorial article:

"The Committee's suggestions for the improvement of the spoken word broadcasts deserve attention. Regional news coverage has been inadequate. Government's decision to extend the broadcast of such news bulletins to all linguistic regions should be welcome. When sound radio languished and faced extinction in the face of competition from television in U.S.A., it was its re-organisation with a strong accent on local news and local needs that revived it and made it popular again. More frequent on-the-spot broadcasts should lend greater interest to such news reports and make them lively. Talks on the air are often an invitation to the listener to switch off the receiver and this need not happen if more care is taken in the choice of the subject as well as the speaker, the delivery being as important as the content. The mutilation of Indian names by A.I.R.'s news announcers is so frequent nowadays that some action is called for. 'The Radio Farm Forum' which has been tried on an experimental basis in Bombay State seems to have achieved useful results and its extension to other areas should help to hasten the improvement of villages. These listening-cum-

discussion-cum-action groups should give greater meaning to the rural programmes being broadcast by A.I.R. for many years now. We should also mention that the information about Government's plans and achievements sought to be conveyed to the rural listener in the form of dialogues between villagers would be more acceptable if it were not made to be hailed as great or praiseworthy everytime by one of the speakers. The introduction of a more critical appraisal of Governmental activities should also answer the criticism that A.I.R. is being used all the time for official propaganda."

### *The Official Language*

The draft report of the Parliamentary Committee on official languages was finalised on November 28. The Committee consisting of twenty members of the Lok Sabha and ten members of the Rajya Sabha was set up under the Chairmanship of Pandit G. B. Pant on November 16, 1957 under Article 344 of the Constitution which lays down that "the President may issue directions in accordance with the whole or any part of the report of the Committee."

The recommendations of the committee have not been made public. Commenting on the work of the Committee Pandit Pant said: "We have reached the end of our labours. That is only one stage in our march onwards towards the goal which we have placed before ourselves. The questions relating to language are always complicated, and also delicate. Language is charged with passions and cannot always be handled or dealt with in a prosaic manner. In fact, language finds its bloom in poetry and this shows how intimately and inextricably it is bound up with emotions. Emotions can be novel but they can also sometimes create a sort of a consuming passion which comes in the way of a rational approach."

"I am grateful to the honourable members and to every one of you for the way you have managed the affairs of this committee. It was a very difficult task and in fact most people thought that we would not cover much ground in agreement. Such apprehensions could not be said to be altogether unfounded but in the diversity of our country we have basic unity."

We have got a fundamental uniformity too. So though we may have different approaches to different problems when we are determined to find a solution, we can succeed in extracting out of these complications solutions of a satisfactory and encouraging and heartening character.

"It is not so much, I may submit, the contents of the report or the decisions that we have taken as the spirit which has moved every one of us. We are anxious that somehow or other the spirit of harmony should prevail in the country, the forces of unity and cohesion should be further strengthened so that we may really succeed in meeting the needs of the common man and raise his stature in our country. That is the objective of every democratic system and also of ourselves. First things must come first.

"Language is certainly a very important item but there are other things, too, which cannot be relegated to a second place. There are millions who are starving, there is so much of disease, illiteracy, poverty in the country. Those problems have to be tackled and tackled effectively. But if we get involved in other controversies then our attention is diverted from matters which are of extreme urgency and which cannot wait for solution. I have been throughout trying to secure the support of the honourable members to propositions which might be acceptable to all and with which most of you would agree, as you have done and for this I am grateful. The main idea before my mind was this: There are so many other problems which we have to solve and if we ourselves become the cause for generating further controversies, then the solution of those matters which cannot wait will be delayed.

"I have reason and justification, in the light of public interest, to feel profoundly grateful to all of you, Dr. Mudaliar, Mr. Denge, Mr. Malliah and Tandonji, whom I revere and from whom we learnt our first lessons in public service.

"If on certain occasions the convictions that have been formed and have grown in the course of the decades come in the way of complete agreement in thought or unity in action, that has to be attributed to the way these con-

victions had reacted on the mind and had become somewhat crystallised. So we have reason to feel that we have perhaps rendered some service to the country and the little that we have been able to do will contribute towards speedy progress and enable us to achieve our aim somewhat earlier than it would have been possible if we had gone out with too many voices, thus showing our incapacity for accommodation and understanding."

### *Monopoly in India*

The Rajya Sabha on Nov. 28, rejected by a voice vote a non-official resolution, moved by Dr. Raj Bahadur Gour (Communist—Andhra) urging the appointment of a Committee of members of Parliament to suggest measures to restrict the powers and activities of monopolistic concerns detrimental to the interests of the country. While the resolution failed of adoption it helped reveal many interesting facts about the operation of the Indian economy. Socialist and Communist members referred to specific instances of the growth of monopoly in particular industries.

Mr. P. Narayanan Nair (Com.—Kerala) referred to the foreign monopoly of the country's tea industry and said that 72 per cent of Rs. 100 crores invested was held by a few non-Indian concerns. Foreign companies held the bulk of tea acreage and repatriation of the whole capital by way of profits had been going on for decades. These concerns were not interested in re-plantation and conservation of the industry because of their growing interest in Africa. Internal distribution of tea in the country was also the monopoly of two foreign concerns and the consumer was paying a very high price per pound. Predominant interest in tea auctions also belonged to foreign firms. Unless Government was in a position to take more and more of marketing and trading in tea through institutions like the S.T.C., crores and crores of rupees would be lost to the national exchequer, he said.

Dr. P. J. Thomas (Ind.—Kerala) said that though monopoly was inherent and inevitable to some extent in certain types of industry, it was necessary for Government to have some kind of expert enquiry to go into the



allegations about the growth of monopolistic trends so that effective steps could be taken to curb them. He did not agree with the view that Government management could solve the problem as he said it was not possible for Government to work industries very efficiently without experts. He added that an enquiry through an expert agency would make available to the country information which was lacking at present.

Mr. K. L. Narasimham (Com.—Andhra) gave the instance of cigarette manufacture and said that the bulk of Virginia tobacco grown in Andhra was purchased by a foreign concern which dictated the price, at which cultivators were forced to sell, and controlled supplies to tobacco manufacturing concerns.

Government, he said, had failed to regulate the prices of different varieties of tobacco and thus allowed exploitation to continue. He suggested that the despatch of tobacco to countries, with which India had entered into barter agreements, should be made through various traders instead of through any monopolistic concern.

#### *Privilege Motion in Parliament*

There was much commotion before the Lok Sabha eventually decided to refer Mr. Masani's motion on the alleged breach of the privileges of the House by the Kerala Chief Minister, Shri E. M. S. Namboodiripad to the Privileges Committee. The voting was 138 to 12 with 24 abstentions including the Prime Minister Shri Nehru. Mr. Masani had asked the Privileges Committee to go into the two telegrams sent by Shri Namboodiripad to the Union Home Minister Shri Pant in September last. While on the surface there was much force in Shri Masani's motion the Prime Minister's arguments for dropping the matter was equally forceful. In the end however, the House chose to go its own way disregarding the advice of the Prime Minister. The whole affair was a partisan political affair; the advantages of the motion were however, not very apparent to the ordinary mind.

#### *Bombay-Mysore Border Dispute*

It is strange but nevertheless true that a minor border dispute between two States of the Indian Union—Bombay and Mysore—has been allowed to linger on for more than two years giving rise to much avoidable passion and anger. An aspect (perhaps a little one-sided but nevertheless providing the salient points) of the problem is given by the following comments of the *Bombay Chronicle* in an editorial article:

“As the four-week old Belgaum-Karwar border agitation gathers momentum the Mysoreans are hardening their hearts against any amicable settlement. The harsh methods adopted to suppress the agitation are further embittering feelings. And on top of it prominent Mysore politicians have been proclaiming from house-tops that the border issue was closed for ever and there was no chance of readjustment. It is well that Bombay's Chief Minister, Mr. Y. B. Chavan, has emphatically declared that it is not so. Naturally, he does not want to get involved in a controversy but relies on the good sense of Mr. G. B. Pant for ending the dispute amicably. It is now two years that Belgaum-Karwar and Bhalaki-Santpur areas were included wrongly in the Mysore state. The matter once came up for discussion at the Western Zone meeting. There were many informal talks at the state level. There was also a good precedent to follow in the Pataskar award which resolved the Madras-Andhra border dispute. If the principle enunciated there was to be followed then the disputed areas must definitely come to Bombay State. But the Centre would not firmly say so and the problem, which could have been solved long before an agitation was launched, has been allowed to become a handle for the opposition to spread discontent. No wonder the Marathi-speaking Congressmen from Belgaum bitterly complain that the Congress Government seems to be following the time-honoured way once adopted by the British bureaucracy of “allowing the parties to agitate and then solving the problem after considerable damage both to property and person.” As Mr. Pant's suggestion for arbitration is not

acceptable to Mysore and negotiations between the two Chief Ministers have proved futile, the only feasible solution seems to be that the Centre should apply firmly the Pataskar formula to solve the dispute. The problem has been thrashed thoroughly and no new fact or argument is likely to come up by appointing a fresh commission. It is time the Centre took a firm decision for justice delayed is justice denied."

### *Berlin Crisis*

The political and diplomatic crisis over Berlin has raised a mild storm in the political horizon of the world. The present crisis is not a new one, but it has been given a new momentum by the declaration of Soviet Prime Minister, Mr. Nikita Khrushchev, and the East German Government, that the city of Berlin should be declared a free city and that occupation army should withdraw. The declaration said that Russia would not agree to talks designed to bring about German reunification without the Germans and behind their backs. But the Soviet Union would not refuse to discuss the conclusion of a peace treaty which, in its view, falls within the competence of the four Powers. The Soviet statement rejected the Western suggestions of free election for the whole of Germany as pure demagoguery. It also accused the USA of creating a threat to peace by keeping troops in West Berlin.

The present campaign was foreshadowed in a speech by the East German Communist Party Chief, Herr Walter Ulbricht, on October 27, in which he stated that the Western Powers were no longer entitled to occupy West Berlin by their failure to fulfil their obligation under the 1945 Potsdam agreement; that the whole of Berlin was in the territory of the East German Democratic Republic, and that the city belonged to the East German sphere of authority. Subsequently Mr. Khrushchev made a pronouncement on November 10, in which he said that it was time to abandon the four-Power status of Berlin and that it would be right for the Soviet Union to hand over its responsibilities in the city to the East German authorities. Mr. Khrushchev also pointed out that the Western Powers' rights in Berlin were

derived from the Potsdam agreement, which they had now rendered null and void.

The facts in issue may be stated as follows: The four-Power occupation of Berlin was agreed in 1943 by the European Advisory Commission, and the rights of the Western Powers in Berlin, and their rights of access to the city are derived from Germany's unconditional surrender in 1945. The European Advisory Commission agreements were, of course, made on the assumption that Germany would be administered as a whole. From the very beginning of military occupation by the Allied forces, the Soviet Union made the military administration difficult. The first indication that the Russians might try to force the Western Allies out of Berlin came in 1947 when Soviet protests were sent to Western Powers accusing them of trying to merge their sectors of Berlin with their West German zones. In February 1948, the Soviet authorities refused to allow invited British representatives to attend a German political meeting in East Berlin, on the grounds that Berlin was part of the Soviet zone. Early that year, the Soviet authorities began to take measures designed to impede and restrict access to West Berlin. Various restrictions were imposed on traffic between Berlin and the West. The Western Powers were accused of using West Berlin as a centre for spying and sabotage against East Germany. All these restrictive measures were gradually increased and tightened. On June 16, 1948, the Soviet representative walked out of the four-Power Berlin Kommandatura, and the four-Power administration of the city effectively came to an end.

On the 24th June, 1948, the full-scale Berlin blockade was imposed. This was the most serious and determined Soviet attempt to force the Western Powers to withdraw from Berlin. It failed owing to the fortitude of the population of West Berlin and the effective organization of the Allied air-lift. Over the present impasse, the U.S. State Department has reminded Russia of the Western Powers' declaration of October 3, 1954, when they reaffirmed that they will treat any attack against Berlin from any quarter as an attack upon their forces and themselves.

The present diplomatic manoeuvres by Soviet Russia over Berlin is not a new one. It has become a permanent feature, with periodical intensity. Russia wants withdrawal of Western forces from Berlin. The justification is claimed on the fact that East Berlin is the capital of the German Democratic Republic; that it is under the control and administration of the East German authorities; and that the four-Power occupation has ended. The demand for withdrawal of the Western Powers from Berlin may be regarded as a counter-blow by the Soviet Union to the Western Powers' move to free Eastern Germany from the domination of Soviet Russia. In a recent report on developments in East Germany submitted to the autumn session of the Council of Europe's Consultative Assembly by Mr. Peter Kirk, a British Conservative M.P., an observation was made as follows: "The situation in the Soviet occupied zone of Germany is becoming ever more grave. It is no longer of concern only to Germany or Europe, but to the whole world."

The Soviet-occupied zone of Germany is still a part of Germany. The recent Strasbourg meeting of the Parliamentarians of 15 European member-nations of the Council of Europe acknowledged the Bonn Government as the legitimate spokesman of Germany. A Dutch Socialist Deputy explained this standpoint in the following words: "We recognize only the Government of the West German Federal Republic and the freely-elected members of the Bundestag as the legitimate representatives of the population of the Soviet-occupied zone. We do not recognize the Government of Pankow, which is in fact no more than a group of men forced upon the people in this zone of Germany by the Soviet troops and the Soviet regime." The British M.P., Mr. Kirk, in his report drew the attention of the Council of Europe to the distress of the East German people. He stated that the Pankow regime of East Germany was probably the most "Stalinist" of all the satellite governments. In recent months there has been a heavy influx of refugees from East Germany to West Germany, which is the "western island in the sea of Communism." The Council of Europe in its

resolution stated that the Pankow regime was employing every means to sever the remaining ties between the inhabitants of East Germany and their relatives in West Germany.

German problem deserves a solution without further delay. Reunification is the only solution. That reunification, theoretically, should be achieved by free election among the people themselves. Freedom of decision will be possible only when the occupation army have withdrawn from both the zones. Germany belongs to the Germans and no nation has any right to rule it in any form. Recently there was a tussle between Dr. Adenauer's Government and the Bundestag Committee over the issue of sending a note to Russia on the question of reunification of Germany. Some members of the Bundestag pointed out that what stands in the way of reunification of Germany is not Soviet Russia alone. It is the World Communism which has not given up its hope of outlasting all other systems of Government and replacing them by Communist rule. A feeling is growing all over the world as to whether any lasting understanding with Communism can really be possible on any but isolated problems. The case of the Nobel Prize winner Boris Pasternak is apt to cause scepticism about the hope for a lasting understanding between Communism and Democracy.

### *Africa Awakes*

The awakening of the peoples of Africa is the most significant development of our time. Africa is the last stronghold of European colonialism. The people are on the march there and the future of colonialism is doomed; but in the short run the continuation of colonialism has meant much distress and yet more suffering for the long suffering people of Africa. Therefore, the measures taken against the colonial machinations are of the most profound significance. Four African nations are destined to regain freedom in 1960: Togoland, the Camerons, Nigeria and Somaliland. Yet there would still then be the larger part of the great continent under European yoke: Algeria, Equatorial Africa, Belgian Congo, the British colonies, the Portuguese colonies and the white racialism in South Africa.



The most effective blow to imperialism is the unity of the African peoples. The Accra conference of April (15 to 22) this year was the first move in this direction. In that conference leaders of already independent African States: Ghana, Liberia, Ethiopia, the Sudan, Tunisia, Morocco and the United Arab Republic met to discuss the affairs of the continent and to exchange their points of view on the various problems.

Now a much bigger and more representative conference is meeting in Accra, the capital city of Ghana, to decide upon a course of action for the liberation of the continent. The following organisations are taking part in the deliberations: the People's Convention Party (Ghana), the Nationalist Party of Zanzibar, the Labour Federation of Tanganyika, the National African Union (Tanganyika), the African National Congress of Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the National Congress (Uganda), the People's Convention Party of Nairobi (Kenya), the Youth League of Somaliland, the African National Congress of South Africa, the National Vanguard (Nigeria), the Labour Federation of Kenya, the Trade Union Congress (Ghana), the Organisation of African Elected Representatives (Kenya), the Council of United Farmers (Ghana), the Organisation for African Unification (Liberia), the African League (Great Britain), the United Congress Party (Uganda), the Neo-Destour (Tunisia), the Istiqlal (Morocco), the Juvento (French Congo), the African Forum (Great Britain), the Afro-Shirazi Party (Zanzibar), the National Students' Union (East Africa), the African League (Angola), the African Convention (Senegal), the United Party (French Togoland) and the Pan African Federation.

Some other organisations from Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Somaliland, the Sudan and Gambia are also participating in the conference. The imperialist rulers of Belgian Congo, Ruanda-Urundi (territory held by Belgium under UN Trusteeship system) and Mozambique and Angola (held by Portugal) have not allowed any popular representative from those countries to attend the conference.

The declaration accompanying the invitation to the conference says:

"Unlike the recent Conference of Independent African States, this Conference will be held at a non-governmental level, and will be attended by hundreds of representatives of different organisations, progressive, nationalist, political, trade union, co-operative, feminist, youth, and other popular organisations from every country in Africa engaged in the combat for complete independence."

"Persons of African descent, as well as representatives of non-African organisations approving the Conference's aims and objectives, will also be invited as fraternal delegates and unofficial observers."

"This Conference will be the greatest assemblage of its sort ever held on African soil. It will demonstrate the solidarity and fraternity uniting the awakening peoples of Africa, beyond the barriers of race and tribe, beyond the artificial boundaries that the imperialists have imposed in order to divide us and maintain the evil system of colonialism, racial domination and tribal separatism."

"This Conference will formulate and proclaim our African personality, based on the philosophy of All-African Socialism, the ideology of the African Non-Violent Revolution."

"Henceforth our slogan must be:

"Peoples of Africa, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains! You have a continent to win! You must attain human freedom and dignity!"

"The main goal of the All-African Peoples' Conference must be to formulate concrete plans and to apply the Gandhian tactics and strategy of the African Non-Violent Revolution, concerning:

- (1) Colonialism and imperialism;
- (2) Racism and discriminatory laws and practices;
- (3) Tribalism and religious separatism;
- (4) The position of chiefs
  - in the colonial regime;
  - in a democratic free society.

"The time has come to denounce openly and attack the propagators of tribalism, who are today the most dangerous Negro agents of the imperialists, for their poisonous policy con-

sists in setting Africans against Africans, brothers against brothers, tribes against tribes; therein lies the greatest obstacle to the creation of United Fronts of Freedom Fighters, who alone can rapidly put an end to foreign domination.

"We must denounce and unmask the anti-patriotic role of these African political careerists whose activities serve only to allow the imperialists to prolong their traditional policy: divide and rule. This is necessary if Africa is to reconquer its lost freedom and take its legitimate place in the comity of nations on a basis of equality.

"This problem of 'divide and rule' along tribal lines is a never-ending danger in the so-called multi-racial territories of Central and East Africa, where our uncompromising demands must be:

- (1) The land to the Africans;
- (2) equal voting rights for all, without regard to race, tribe, colour, or belief;
- (3) application of the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man, as worked out by the United Nations.

"The Conference will also examine the question of irredentism and will discuss plans aiming at a regrouping of independent African states on the bases of:

- (1) The adjusting of existing artificial frontiers;
- (2) fusion or federation of territories on a regional basis;
- (3) gradual federation or confederation of regional groups of states in a final All-African Commonwealth, the free and independent United States of Africa."

### *The Referendum in France*

Mr. Pierre Courtade, member of the Central Committee, French Communist Party, analyses the results and prospects of the French referendum in an article in the *International Affairs*. His analysis brings to the fore the magnitude of the changes that have overtaken France—already referred to in these columns.

He admits, like others, that the overwhelming support for De Gaulle was completely unexpected. It marked, as he says "one of the greatest swings of opinion to have occurred in France during the last 25 years and no doubt the most rapid one." He takes note of the fall in Communist popularity and avers that it "would be futile to deny the gravity of this fact." Another aspect of the Communist failure was that "the (Communist) loss of votes was particularly noticeable in the working class areas," though the party was able to retain a larger following in peasant areas. It was further evident that in predominantly working class areas of the North and along the Mediterranean (Marseilles, Nice and other areas) the Socialist dissidents who opposed the Constitution received a far less support than the Socialists supporting De Gaulle.

De Gaulle had won because the people wanted a change from the ineffectual Governments to one "that would govern." The French people thought that it was only De Gaulle who could save France from internal strife. With allowances, the De Gaulle legend had played the same role as the Napoleonic legend had played in Louis Napoleon's success in the plebiscite that had followed the *coup d'etat* on December 2, 1851. But all these even would not have been enough for De Gaulle's victory had the left not been impotent. To the voters there was no meaning for a 'note' vote. The Left was unable to place before the nation a constructive programme. The result was that De Gaulle was vested with powers "such as no sovereign, not even Napoleon I, ever enjoyed."

Another significant admission by the French Communist leader was that the Communist unpopularity had been to a large extent due to their support of the Russian intervention in Hungary.

### *Togoland to be Free in 1960*

Togoland in Central West Africa had been a German Colony before World War I. Under the terms of the Versailles Treaty France received 21,893 square miles, about two-thirds of the territory as a mandate. The territory came under the United Nations Trusteeship

Council on December 14, 1956. The French cabinet in a decision taken on August 24, 1956 granted Togoland internal autonomy as a republic within the French Union. Recently agreement was reached between the Governments of France and Togoland that Togoland should be fully free in 1960. Following this agreement the United Nations General Assembly in a resolution in the middle of November unanimously decided to end the UN Trusteeship over the territory on the date it attained independence. The other third of Togoland had earlier been merged with Gold Coast to form the State of Ghana.

#### *New Developments in Communism?*

The programme of the League of Yugoslav Communists has been roundly condemned by the great majority of the Communist Parties of the World. Most criticism was evidently made without any reference to the text of the programme; the critics' attitude was determined by the position taken by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and, in some cases, by the Communist Party of China. Most of the criticism has been focussed, again not unnaturally as one recalls the manner of the criticism, on the Yugoslav characterisation of the international position and more particularly on the Yugoslav reluctance to toe the Kremlin line. The document, an English text of which is now available in India for the first time, however, contains many ideas of greater profundity though due either to the lack of acquaintance with the text or to a failure of comprehension the critics' attention has not been focussed on those points. The Yugoslav programme is a comprehensive document and whether one agrees with it or not, it will amply repay a reading.

Space does not permit here a full discussion of the points raised so that we will be content to touch upon only one point which refers to the role of the Communist Party in a Socialist State. Heretofore, Communist theory and practice have been emphatic upon the imperative need for the monopoly of power for the Communist Party in the Socialist State—notwithstanding the multi-party experiments in so-called "people's democracies." While the

disclosures of the atrocities of the Stalin era in the Soviet Union opened the eyes of many to the characteristic evils of a one-party State there was no theoretical denial of one-party rule. The Yugoslav assertion that the monopoly of the Communist Party is not an essential ingredient of socialism is more significant because Yugoslavia itself is a socialist country where the Communist Party had enjoyed monopoly of political power for more than twelve years. True, there is as yet no second significant political party in Yugoslavia. That is, however, not relevant to the point under discussion. The rise and fall of political parties are determined by historical conditions and whatever may be done, a second party may not emerge in Yugoslavia, USSR or China for almost the same reasons due to which a third party has failed to establish itself in the U.K. or the U.S.A. The relevant question is whether any deliberate and co-ordinated governmental measures are being taken to prevent the emergence of such parties. Such restrictive measures may even be justified in certain circumstances in the short run and if any such restrictive practice be found in Yugoslavia that is not of much concern. The most significant thing is that a Communist Party in power proclaims that it has come to see its limitations and openly admits the scope of action for other elements.

This boldness on the part of Yugoslav theorists would put a further nail in the coffin of the Soviet propaganda that the loss of monopoly of power by the Communist Party would mean a reversion to bourgeois rule. If after some initial restriction the bourgeoisie could allow the feudal elements political freedom without a reversion to the overthrown feudalism there is little ground to think that a second party in power in the USSR would be able to undo the revolutionary achievements of forty years and re-establish capitalism there even if it wanted to do so. If then the Soviet Party bosses should still cling on to a theory which was perhaps valid for the USSR for the first few years there must be other, more personal, reasons than a selfless devotion to a theory. There is little doubt that the impact of these new and very profound theoretical assertions

would be increasingly felt among the ranks of other Communist Parties as with the passage of time experience bears out the basic truth of the Yugoslav assertions. That some rethinking is already on is provided by Professor Paul A. Baran's article entitled "Crisis of Marxism" in the *Monthly Review* of New York where he lays bare the utter hollowness of the practice of flinging isolated quotations from Marx and Engels on the face of critics of Communist practices. Prof. Baran, an acknowledged authority on Marxian economics, now occupying the Chair of Economics at Stanford University, USA, boldly asserts the need for rejecting the old method of a dogmatic application of Marxism. When the international Communist movement has declared that revisionism (as opposed to dogmatism) represents a greater danger to communism the explosive character of the ideas of Prof. Baran can hardly be over-emphasized—especially as they are based upon a correct comprehension of theory and practice.

#### *Scandals in Russia*

It is very important that Indians take note of the strong points in the Soviet society and developments. However as Prof. Nirmal Kumar Siddhanta, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta, pointed out the other day to a gathering that had come to listen to the experiences in China of Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji and Shri Gopal Halder, it is no less important that Indian approach to these achievements should be in a spirit of understanding, and not of blind eulogy which only tends to create a sense of frustration in one's self. In this context it is essential that Indians also take correct note of the weaknesses of Soviet development and society—a knowledge that may help them avoid many of the mistakes committed in the USSR. There has again been a lot of propaganda on either side denouncing or applauding aspects of Soviet society. Some of the achievements—especially in the economic, educational and military fields are beyond doubt. There are, however, regions where doubt is not unnatural: in the field of literature and creative arts. Again how far the Soviet society is capable of correcting the mistakes or perversions of men in authority? Not much however,

it seems—at any rate there is not much scope for the correction of the faults of those who *remain in authority*. Otherwise a man could not indulge in sex orgies for nearly seventeen years in the full knowledge of many people. The story of Alexandrov's aberrations very much reads like the one recently published about the affairs in the Botanical Gardens, Sibpore.

Professor G. F. Alexandrov, one of the foremost ideologists of the Soviet Union, had for nearly seventeen years indulging in these orgies. The decree of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union refers to the participants in Alexandrov's orgies as young movie actresses, ballerinas, young girls from theatrical schools, and even female Komsomols and party members. Leading members of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party (presumably including Stalin himself) frequently were drawn into these orgies. Summarising the report of the Soviet Party Central Committee, Boris I. Nicolaevsky writes in the weekly *New Leader*: "The orgies were held each week for a number of years at Alexandrov's suburban *dacha*. The subsequent investigation, during which a good many of the participants—including some minors—were questioned, revealed a pattern of brutal coercion: *Those who had agreed to take part had risen quickly in their professions; those who had refused had been persecuted, expelled from their schools, etc.*" Prof. Alexandrov had stuffed his personal library with pornographic literature and drawings but had sought to camouflage them by inscribing on the expensive cases "Marx", "Lenin", etc. (Italics added).

In another instance Prof. M. A. Leonov, another philosopher and Stalin prize winner, was found to have fraudulently used the manuscript of the late Khaskachikh who had left it with the former for safe-keeping. Mrs. Khaskachikh failed in all her efforts to regain the manuscript from Leonov who was awarded the Stalin Prize on the basis of that book. With the disgrace of Alexandrov came the exposure of Leonov, his friend. "Various papers were found at Moscow University and in the files of the Institute of Philosophy. *The most damaging discovery was made in the files*



of the State Political Publishing House, which had brought out the first edition of Leonov's book. It turned out that part of the book had actually been set in type directly from Khas-kachikh's original manuscript."

The treatment meted out to these two defendants has been very lenient. Both are on their jobs in the provincial towns in the USSR. However, the most significant thing is that the victims in either had no channel to remedy their grievances and as Mr. Nicolaevsky makes it clear in his incisive analysis neither Alexandrov nor Leonov would ever have met even this lenient punishment had not their political boss Malenkov had also fallen. No further comment seems necessary.

### *Ting Ling Disgraced*

Reuter reports:

Hong Kong, Nov. 19. Ting Ling, 51-year-old Chinese authoress and a Stalin prize winner, has been dismissed as Shantung province deputy to the National People's Congress, the *New China* news agency reported, today.

Ting Ling, Stalin prize winner, in 1951 for her book *Sunshine Over Sangkan River* was bitterly denounced last year in a purge of rightwing elements in China.

She was reported to have been suspended from all her official duties.

Also dismissed were two vice-governors of Shantung province, Wang Cho Ju and Yuan Tse Yang and four other members of the local Congress. They were all accused of being rightwingers.—In the absence of any further details we can only say that the lot of the intellectual seems as uncertain in People's China as in the U.S.S.R.

### *Test Berlin*

The proposal to turn West Berlin into a demilitarized free city is a very complex proposition as the following partial extract from the special report by Sydney Gruson to the *New York Times* would indicate.

Bonn, Germany, December 6.—The Soviet proposal to transform West Berlin into a demilitarized free city may have a fine-sounding ring to it in Ghana or India or in any other far-off place where communism has not yet become a menace. But here in Germany,

where East Europe's experience sounds a continuous warning, the ring is hollow and the proposal is seen as a sham.

No responsible person in West Germany believes that only the future of West Berlin and its 2,300,000 people is at stake in this latest crisis with the Soviet Union.

Adolf Hitler said in *Mein Kampf*, the blueprint for his conquests that he wrote long before coming to power in Germany: "An intelligent victor will, whenever possible, present his demands to the vanquished in instalments."

The logic of the Soviet drive to win all Europe demands that West Germany become the next instalment if West Berlin falls. But Berlin must be made secure first, for it lies 100 miles behind the Communist's front line in Central Europe, a shining reminder not only to East Germany's eighteen millions but to neighbouring Poland and Czechoslovakia as well that there is a way of life other than that imposed on them by communism.

The East Germans, Poles and Czechs cannot hope to get to Paris or London or New York. But many of them do come to East Berlin and it is only a subway ride from one part of the divided city to the other—from greyness and restrictions to bright lights that somehow have come to be regarded as a symbol of a free if imperfect existence.

The world's future may be decided eventually in the Far East by political allegiances won or exacted from the teeming millions of India and China. But this is 1958, and the balance of power in the world still lies in ancient Europe. The heart of Europe remains Germany.

It is not a question of size. The truncated post-war border of all Germany, East and West, encompass an area that is only a few square miles larger than New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia together. The population is more important—the two Germanys' seventy million form the biggest single nation in Europe outside of the Soviet Union.

But it is not numbers alone that are important in this situation. It is the skills, energy, resources and industrial prowess that these people possess that would tip the scales were they all to fall under Soviet domination.

The great bulk of these skills, energy, resources and industrial powers lie in West Germany. By winning West Germany the Soviets would gather in Europe's most productive industrial complex, including twenty-five million tons of steel annually, 160 million tons of coal and nearly ninety billion kilowatt hours of electricity.

And—most important of all—the capture of West Germany for communism would move Soviet power more than 150 miles to the west. Soviet power would then crouch directly over the rest of Western Europe and would probably suck it up like a giant vacuum sweeper.

There would be no alternative for the United States except to huddle within Fortress America, weakened and alone, and probably make a deal with the Russians to assure survival.

Even if the Western Allies did not have the moral commitment to defend West Berlin's freedom they would need to do everything in their power to prevent its falling to the Communists.

It is not a matter of dying for Berlin as allied officials see the issue. It is not even a matter of saving West Berlin. It is a matter of protecting their own interests.

In any case the Western allies do have a commitment to defend West Berlin's freedom. This is one of a great network of commitments ranging around the world on which the whole Western security system is based.

The vital allied interests involved also are behind the objections of the American, British and French Governments to Communist-sponsored proposals for solving the problem of Germany's division. The two Germanys should confederate, say the Communists. Each should maintain its own political, social and economic systems and Berlin would become the seat of an all-German government. The Communists do not say it this way but the government would have such limited powers that it would hardly be a government at all.

Some Germans are attracted by the proposal, but not those responsible for West German government. Nor do allied policy-makers see any ~~come~~ in it from the point of view of allied interests.

For whatever the Communists say now, the West German and allied officials are convinced that confederation would quickly be followed by an irresistible demand for the evacuation of foreign armies from Germany. The Russians would then go back a few miles to Poland and the Americans eventually all the way back to the United States.

In short, a military vacuum would be created in the one place—Central Europe—where the United States, Britain and France are convinced that a vacuum must not be allowed to exist.

Until Premier Khrushchev opened the Pandora's box that is Berlin many diplomats in Western Europe believed that the Soviets were happy enough with the *status quo* in Germany, whatever Moscow might say for the public record. Now no one is sure. The Soviets are apparently willing to gamble in the belief that the cards are stacked in their favor.

The West has held rigidly to what, in the circumstances, is admittedly the most unlikely solution for Germany's division: free elections to choose an all-Germans government.

But there are powerful voices, both in West Germany and in allied capitals, that argue that one day what now seems a poor bet may suddenly become a winner.

But neither Dr. Adenauer nor the allied officials who ponder these problems are political simpletons. They know that whatever happens the situation in Berlin and West Germany is never going to be the same again. This leaves the question: What to do now?

The brutal, unpalatable truth is that they do not yet know. If there were a great groundswell for confederation or disengagement within German public opinion, the Chancellor might have to bend. But there is not. The voices that speak out for either represent a minority and the Chancellor can honestly say he is reflecting the majority's opinion when he stubbornly refuses to consider either solution.

#### *Pakistan and India*

The new head of Pakistan is following in the footsteps of his predecessors in trying to put the blame of all ills of Pakistan on the shoulders of India. In this respect he is no better, where India is concerned, than the others.

We would like Pakistan to be self-sufficient certainly—but not at the cost of India. This should be firmly intimated to him:

Lahore, Dec. 12.—General Ayub Khan, alleging that India was trying to isolate Pakistan, said that it was not for him to say whether the Indian people should follow Pakistan's example.

It is for them, and they are intelligent enough to realize, that conditions in India are no better than those in Pakistan before October 8, he added.

He further alleged that the "Indian campaign" against Pakistan sought to make the latter friendless and to eliminate American influence from this region.

President Ayub denied the allegation that there was a naked dictatorship in Pakistan and that as such Pakistan has no right to be a member of the Commonwealth.

Continuing he said the objective of these allegations was to deprive this country of military aid from America.

The people of Pakistan, he said, could alone give the best answer to the question whether there was a naked dictatorship in Pakistan or not. The people of this country, he said, regard this change (the October 8 revolution) as something that has saved them from utter ruin.

General Ayub also denied the allegation of massive military build-up in Pakistan. On the other hand, he said, Indian military strength was three times that of Pakistan's despite American aid to this country. India, he said, continued building up its armed strength by utilizing its vast resources at the cost of national development.

He charged the Indian Government of a day and night propaganda against Pakistan not only from Delhi but also from its embassies abroad.

He advised India to stop border incidents forthwith, which, he said, were doing good to neither country.

He told newspaper reporters: "If border incidents go on occurring don't think we have not got an answer to it."

He said the existing pattern of education needed complete over-hauling as it was laid

down by Britons to make nationals of the sub-continent perfect slaves.

#### *India and Pakistan*

Pandit Nehru's survey of foreign affairs, as is given in the following news report, was as usual vague with regard to Pakistan and somewhat stereotyped in general:

New Delhi, Dec. 15.—While initiating the debate on foreign affairs in the Rajya Sabha today, Mr. Nehru took the opportunity of firmly repudiating two charges that the President of Pakistan, General Ayub, was reported to have levelled against India last week.

He said it was wrong, as had been alleged, that India was encouraging conflict on its border with East Pakistan. On the basis of his "objective study" of the incidents he expressed the belief that facts were to the contrary and that local Pakistan officials and residents had often acted aggressively.

The Pakistani President's second allegation that India was trying to "isolate" his country, Mr. Nehru said, was the outcome of the "wrong line of thought" that Pakistan had followed all along. India's opposition to the Baghdad Pact had apparently been wrongly interpreted as an attempt to isolate Pakistan.

Mr. Nehru's review of the world situation was comprehensive but, as was natural on initiating the debate, he spoke of most issues in somewhat general terms. He said he would deal with them more specifically after he had heard the members' views.

He referred with obvious satisfaction to the emergence of the "African personality" and the fact that after centuries of suffering the African nations were "finding their soul." In the South African policy, however, he visualized potentialities of a "mighty conflict" between the African personality and the forces embodying racial hatred.

#### *Law and Politics*

The Report made by Mr. Justice Sankaran into the police-firing at Chandanathope has touched upon some vital issues of present-day political agitations with labour, organised or unorganised, as the medium.

It has become the practice to take the law into the hands of agitators, without any regard for the right of others, with disastrous results

on industries and trades. The officers who are in charge of the administration of labour laws have failed miserably to impress upon the law-breakers, the disastrous consequences on society, of which they are a part, of such reckless and irresponsible action.

We append below the news report:

Trivandrum, Dec. 15.—Mr. Justice K. Sankaran, who conducted an inquiry into the police-firing at Chandanathope, has warned against the “dangerous possibility” of the “favoured” treatment given in the settlement of labour disputes to persons involved in acts of violence and the “liberal manner” in which pardons and remissions were granted.

He expressed himself in favour of withdrawing powers from State Governments, which enabled them to grant pardons and remissions.

In his report Mr. Sankaran has “fully justified” the police-firing in Chandanathope on July 26, in which two persons were killed and six injured. The text of the report was published today.

Mr. Sankaran said that withdrawal of cases arising out of acts of violence against persons and property and the failure to take cases for such offences had become a common feature in the settlement of labour disputes.

Treatment of this kind was bound to have a dangerous effect on those who have committed such offences.

He also said that the liberal manner in which pardons and remissions were granted in favour of convicts was also bound to destroy the deterrent effect of convictions and sentences by courts of law.

“It will be extremely dangerous to bring about a situation which would enable the followers of a political party to entertain a feeling that those among them who happened to be convicted and sentenced for criminal offences can easily get pardons and remissions when their party comes into power,” he said.

He wanted that such a dangerous possibility was fully realized by all political parties “and a joint effort made by all of them to induce Parliament to make suitable amendments to the Constitution and the Code of Criminal Procedure Code” to delete the provisions which

empowered State Governments to grant pardons and remissions.

The power conferred by Article 72 of the Constitution on the President of the Republic to grant pardons, reprieves, remissions would still be there to be exercised in very deserving and exceptional cases.

Mr. Sankaran also said in his report that “a spirit of defiance against law and authority” had become a common feature of the present-day agitations by the working classes in general. This, he said, had to be “effectively checked.”

Mr. Sankaran said: “It is time that the workers are made to realize that they are not entitled in the name of picketing to commit all sorts of penal offences against others. If this position is clearly understood, the chances of labour agitations taking a violent turn, could be minimized to a very large extent.”

#### *University Professors*

Pandit Nehru made an extremely timely and cogent comment, as given in the news report below. The vast majority of our professors have taken up other distractions, thereby abandoning the pursuit of knowledge and research. This is reflected in the quality of the students they teach—or rather fail to inspire:

December 20.—Mr. Nehru said here today that university professors in India were not playing their part in the development of the country. “The output of books from our universities,” he said, “is pitifully low.”

It was not enough for professors, he said, to write text-books. They must produce books which were the result of real thinking. He thought that the lack of such output from professors, not merely on economics but on all subjects, was not because our professors lacked the calibre to produce them, but because they became involved in all kinds of petty disputes and could not devote themselves to the creation of the academic atmosphere that should prevail in any university.

Mr. Nehru was inaugurating the second all-India conference of Planning Forums. Planning Forums are “discussion cells” in universities for spreading Plan consciousness among the students and teachers.



*Kashmir Map in the UN*

It is really strange how the UN map could show Kashmir as part of Pakistan. The whole episode has been sought to be explained away as an unintentional cartographic error. One wonders however how the UN cartographer could conjure up Kashmir as a Pakistani territory disregarding history and political realities. The Kashmir issue has been before the eyes of the world for more than eleven years and a UN man could hardly miss its location. The whole affair emits a bad odour.

The *Hitavada* writes:

"India has every reason to object to the United Nations showing Kashmir, not as a part of India but of Pakistan. The U. N. Day folder as well as the U. N. Year Book failed to show Kashmir as part of India and a large map of the world recently displayed in the main lobby of the U. N. Secretariat showed Jammu and Kashmir as part of Pakistan. The explanation of the U. N. Secretariat, which has expressed regret at the error, that this was due to 'hasty and inefficient draftsmanship by the artist who painted the map' is hardly convincing. There is perhaps some force in the allegation that the 'U. N. started fiddling with the map of India' after the appointment of Mr. A. S. Bokhari of Pakistan as Assistant Secretary General of the U. N., when we remember that all maps showing Jammu and Kashmir as part of India are banned in Pakistan. It is true that a map cannot change a historical or political fact but it can do great harm to a nation's cause by prejudicing other member nations. The matter was discussed recently in the Lok Sabha and it is to be hoped that the Government of India will take all steps necessary to keep the world correctly informed about the position of Kashmir as part of the Indian Union."

*Kalidas Memorial*

India recently celebrated Kalidas Jayanti. On this occasion Dr. Kailasnath Katju, Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, laid the foundation stone of a Kalidas Memorial Building in Ujjain on November 25. The building would cost nearly two lakhs of rupees and would have a spacious hall for dramatic performances and also house a bureau for research into the works of poet Kalidas. The sponsors of the scheme envisage establishing a library to col-

lect all literature written by or on Kalidas. The research bureau would arrange for the publication of translations of the works of Kalidas in the Hindi and other regional languages.

Speaking before a celebration meeting in Bhopal Prof. S. B. Varnekar, the noted Sanskrit scholar, dwelt upon the genius of the great poet and sought to expose the fallacy of the general belief that the genius of Kalidas consisted only in versifying mundane aspects of love and that the ruling sentiment of the manifestation of his poetic genius was "Shringar". The learned speaker characterised such an attitude to Kalidas as gross misrepresentation of all that and his classics stood for. Kalidas was a poet whose life and works were motivated by the highest ideals that a man ever cherished. He was undoubtedly a master of the 'Shringar' sentiment but he was verily a master, and wielded it with such great skill as to sublimate it to the very height of divinity. He was a poet of religion and his works provided a philosophy of life. The doctrine of 'Karma' as expounded in the Holy Gita found lucid and moving expression through Kalidas's divine quill. He sang the song of India's glory as reflected in her Nature and her people and their philosophy. He was the master poet who portrayed with equal ease and charm the subtlest poetic nuances. Kalidas's all-embracing universality, oceanic depth of his expressions and the cosmic comprehension of the creation made him a poet much superior even to Valmiki and Vyas, and made him a supreme poet of all ages and lands.

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MANAGER *The Modern Review*

## INDIA'S TEEMING MILLIONS AND FUTURE FOODSUPPLY

By DR. P. C. BANSIL, M.A., Ph.D.

INDIA's food problem which seemed to have been solved, by the late Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, is again in the head lines. Just two good monsoons and a little of concerted planned effort had practically done away with the necessity of imports both during 1954 and 1955. A continued rise in food prices has, however, placed at naught the assuring statements of the Food Minister in the House of the People. The blame is placed by some on hoarding and inflationary tendencies; others attribute this malady to the increasing pressure of some 11,000 babies that are said to be born every day and lag in food production. The future of food and population relation is again being painted dark, necessitating a correct and scientific analysis of the whole problem.

Our food shortage has actually been traced by no less an authority than the Census Chief in his report for 1951, from the year 1920—the Great Divide as he calls it. The increase in food production according to him fell behind that of population from that year. These readings into future population pressure make one feel nervous. There is, in fact, no lack of such enthusiasts who have been playing the Malthus. Sir William Crooks, during the course of his Presidential address to the British Association at Bristol in 1891 while speaking on the Wheat Problem quoted one leading Indian Economist. Writing in the *Daily Englishman* of Calcutta, dated the 16th April, 1891, the Economist said:

"People do not realise the fact that all the wheat India produces is required for home consumption, and that this fact is not likely to be realised until a serious disaster occurs . . . I believe that comparatively speaking, India will in a few years cease to export wheat, and soon thereafter become an importing country."

India did import wheat for about a

decade, but after fifty years and that also not merely because of population pressure.

Similarly, Dr. Naoroji in his *Poverty of India* showed as early as 1870 from a review of figures which he had collated, that the masses of Indian population were existing in a condition verging on starvation. Prof. Brij Narain in the twenties and Dr. Thomas in the thirties, however, reached conclusions which were opposed to those reached by Dr. Naoroji.

It is difficult to be dogmatic in expressing an opinion on prospects of food supply. The great economist Schumpeter who was a believer in technological progress said:

"It is one of the saddest predictions that in the calculable future we shall live in a profusion of both foodstuffs and raw material."

And it has been possible to produce synthetic rice which is claimed to be much cheaper as well as more nutritious than natural rice. It is quite probable that harnessing of solar energy and peaceful uses of atomic energy may bring a revolution in the field of agricultural production. With the help of atomic energy, Italian scientists have already succeeded not only in increasing the yield of wheat by 45 per cent but also shortening the period of maturity to 64 days, whereas under normal conditions it takes about 200 days. It is, however, not intended in this paper to examine the long-term effects of technology on food position.

### FOOD POTENTIAL

Lest all this should appear too theoretical, it is necessary to examine the existing ills of our agriculture, how they may be removed and what the effect of their removal will be on food supply?

Land in India has actually been nobody's problem. For centuries the peasant re-

ained a "social boycott." Datt was thus right when he said that "India is a veritable graveyard of agriculture." Even today when our land policies are yet half way through, when more than 90 per cent of our water resources have not yet been utilised, agriculture has followed only orthodox methods and when technological as well as scientific improvements have not yet been introduced, a visible sort of dynamism has already been introduced in the ever static nature of agriculture.

With regard to land policy, Zamindaris as is well known are being abolished. The example of Saurashtra, where agricultural production has increased considerably after Zamindaris were done away deserves study. An issue of the *Egyptian Bulletin*, published by the Egyptian Embassy at New Delhi, describes the effect of land redistribution on food production. It points out, on the basis of figures obtained from trustworthy sources, that wheat production increased from 20 to 30 per cent as compared with the average production, before the agricultural reform law actually came into force in Egypt.

Again, nearly 96 per cent of our fishable marine area remain untapped. With our coast line of about 4000 miles and continental shelf more than one lakh square miles, an endless harvest is waiting for us, just for the mere gathering. The earth, sea and the air are the vast reservoirs containing the constituents of our food, simply to be synthesised into palatable dishes. Then the water-power alone—yet to be harnessed—is assessed at 27 million h.p. and is nearly equal to 28 million h.p. of U.S.A.

In the light of these findings, it would be wholly incorrect to say that agriculture in India obeys the law of diminishing returns. It would in this connection be appropriate to quote Colin Clark, who says:

"The law of diminishing returns does not in the least mean what many people believe it to be. It certainly does not mean that the returns from agriculture diminish from year to year. The law has no reference to any supposed diminution in time. All that it does say is that if, on a limited

area of land, you place an increasing number of men, who go on farming by the same methods as their predecessors (this is the important point), then returns per man will go on increasing. For the whole law breaks down if they do not use the same methods; or if they use more capital per man."

Following a detailed study of India's Food potential, it may be noted that the various factors responsible for increasing the food or agricultural production in a country can be divided into two broad categories—extensive and intensive cultivation.

#### EXTENSIVE CULTIVATION

Extensive cultivation is possible where there is sufficient new land that can be brought under the plough. Early writers expressed serious doubts about the possibilities of extensive cultivation in India. Even during the first phase of the Grow More Food Campaign nothing could possibly be achieved in this direction. The availability of 300 tractors of the USA and other Allies after the War changed the whole of this orthodox outlook. The 50,000 acres of malaria-ridden tarai jungles of Nainital now bubbling with activity and a total of more than 3 million acres of the reclaimed area are a sufficient proof of our potentialities in this direction. A cursory glance at our Land Utilisation Statistics would show that out of a total land area of 811 million acres, hardly 315 million acres are being cropped now. There are as many as 69.2 million acres of fallow land and another 60 million acres termed as culturable waste.

Although it may not be an easy task even if we are able to yoke only 100 to 75 million acres out of this vast treasure-house, hardly 50 per cent of the total land area would come under cultivation. As against this in Europe, apart from mountainous countries like Greece, Switzerland and Rumania all the other countries show an average of only ten per cent of the area classed as unculturable. A country like Finland also shows 82 per cent of its total area as fit for cultivation.

With this conservative estimate of an addition of some 75 to 100 million acres to the

existing cropped area in the country, it should be quite within our reach to get some 16 to 17 million tons of foodgrains. It is on the assumption that about two-thirds of the additional area will be devoted for foodgrains production and the cropping pattern and acre-yields remain unaltered.

#### INTENSIVE CULTIVATION

The scope for intensive cultivation in India would be apparent from a study of crop-yields in India and other neighbouring countries. Italy produces as much as 4,050 lbs., of rice per acre, Japan 3,281 lbs., and Egypt 3,155 lbs. as against only 739 lbs. in India. Similarly against 2,964 lbs. per acre yield of wheat in Denmark and 2,286 lbs. in New Zealand, India is getting about 600 lbs. The position is not much different with regard to other foodgrains like maize, barley and millets, in which case our yields are not more than one-third of those in many other countries of the world. A comparative picture of rice and wheat (latest available) for important countries is given in Table I at the end.

Not only this, there are vast differences in the yields in India from State to State. While Coorg produces over a thousand lbs. of rice per acre and Madras as much as 913 lbs., the average yield for Vindhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh is less than half of this. Similarly while wheat-yields in the Punjab and PEPSU are in the neighbourhood of 800 lbs., those of Madhya Pradesh and Bombay do not exceed 350 lbs., per acre.

Besides this heterogeneous pattern of crop production in the various States, we have the example of our 'Krishi Pandits' who with a judicious use of the available resources have already set up new records. The yield of prize crop of paddy has been as high as 11,100 lbs., of jowar 7200 lbs., of wheat 5904 lbs., and potato 60,000 lbs. per acre. It may not be easy to get the same yields all over the country by an average cultivator with average means, yet these achievements break the old notions and set one thinking about our future potentialities.

#### WATER

The main limiting factors in the matter of intensive cultivation are water and manures. We have already under execution some 135 irrigation projects which, when completed, will provide irrigation facilities for an additional 12.9 million acres of land and release some 2 million k.w., of additional power. The total additional area that will be brought under irrigation when the remaining 122 projects on which work has not yet begun are also completed is of the order of 42 million acres. No wonder then, if we reach an humble target of 100 million acres free from the vagaries of nature. Even at present there is nearly 40 million acres of area under rice and other coarse grains where rainfall is above 50 inches. Although rain is not well-distributed throughout the year, with the help of the existing irrigation facilities and those being provided under the Second Five-Year Plan, it would be quite possible to resort to intensive cultivation taking two or three crops one each acre on this irrigated area. If another 15 million acres is thus added to the existing area fit for intensive cultivation, we can easily have about 90 million acres for foodgrains where intensive cultivation would not only be possible, but imperative.

#### MANURES

As for the manurial potential, India is quite fortunate both in the matter of organic as well as inorganic manures. The main deficiency in the Indian soils is that of nitrogen, although recent experiments have shown that the use of phosphorus and potash will also go a long way in building up the quality of our lands so as to be in a position to leave behind better lands for the posterity.

What is normally considered as a great liability, the cattle population in India is a great asset and a blessing in disguise. On the basis of livestock population, of 307 million in India, according to the latest estimates, she has more than one livestock per cultivated area and with a human population of 361 million according to 1951 census, a little more than



one person per acre. Table II at the end gives an idea of the manurial potential of India. If this animal and human waste along with the other waste materials lying about in the countryside could be fully utilised, it alone should be more than sufficient to provide enough of nutrients required for intensive cultivation. The recent Indian delegation, which visited China, has come back with rich experiences in this regard and accordingly schemes for the better utilization of local manurial resources have been initiated in all the States. Raw materials for the manufacture of chemical fertilizers are also more than sufficient so that many more Sindries can be set up and the precious foreign exchange saved for the development of other sectors of the economy.

The pity is that some 40 per cent of the animal waste is said to be burnt and another 20 per cent wasted on the farm. As for the human waste, there has been a long prejudice against its use. A remarkable change is, however, visible on the Indian horizon. Community Projects and National Extension Schemes spread throughout the length and breadth of the country and the Panchayat Acts passed by the various State Governments are doing their utmost to familiarise the cultivator with the improved methods of compost-making. Increasing efforts are being made to bring the laboratory and the field closer. All these endeavours may thus be able to save for our direct use, if not more, at least some 25 per cent out of the 60 per cent of cattle dung that is now being wasted. Animal and other waste has been estimated to place at our disposal some 3.16 million tons of nitrogen, 1.37 million tons of potash and 0.92 million tons of phosphoric acid.

#### HUMAN WASTE

Coming to human waste, China and Japan are the two countries, from whom a lot can be learnt. It is reported that in these two countries some 67 per cent of the nitrogen supplied to the crops is from human waste. It has been estimated that one person voids out something like 11 lbs. of nitrogen in one year. Rural India is already using the fields

as open-air latrines and if properly composted at least 50 per cent of the manurial constituents can be supplied to the lands round about the 5 lakh and odd villages. Legislations have also been passed compelling all Corporations, Municipalities and Small Town Committees to launch upon schemes of urban compost, the total potentiality of which has been worked out at 54 lakh tons.

Animal and human resources alone will thus be able to give us huge quantities of nitrogen of the order of 4 million tons and potash as well as phosphoric acid of one million tons each. Besides this there are other materials like green manure proper and innumerable waste products which when fully utilized will add to the manurial potential of India.

The cultivator is also getting convinced of use of fertilizers and our experience in the recent past has shown that the demand for them is increasing every day. Fears of those who held that Sindri fertilizer will go abegging have already been belied and three new plants are proposed to be set up under the Second Five-Year Plan to cope with the increasing demand.

All this should be sufficient to show that nothing should stand in our way of intensively cultivating the 90 million acres of the area where water-supply is assured.

#### THE POTENTIAL

Dividing the cereal grains into three parts—rice, wheat and coarse grains—we find that rice alone, which accounts for about 40 per cent of the foodgrains supply of the country, has the maximum potentialities.

#### JAPANESE METHOD

The first trial of this method having shown the way in 1952-53 at the Agricultural Research Station, Karjat and Government Agricultural School, Kosbad, the total area placed under the new method in 1953-54 was 2.8 lakh acres; the method was also used partially in three million acres. Since then the area under the Japanese method of paddy cultivation has been increasing continuously every year. In 1955-56 it has been reported to be about 20

lakh acres. Though it is not significant in comparison with the total area of 75 million acres under the country, it is not a small achievement in a brief span of only 3 years. During the Second Plan period all the States have ambitious programmes of bringing larger areas under Japanese method of paddy cultivation. The table given below summarises the results obtained in some of the States:

State	Area under J.P.C. (in acres)	Average yield per acre by local method	Average yield per acre by J.P.C.	Additional production per acre by adoption of J.P.C.	Percentage of col. 5 to col. 3
1	2	3	4	5	6
		(In terms of Rice)			
		Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	
Bombay	1,28,000	15.6	25.0	9.4	60.26
Orissa	13,808	14.0	31.3	17.3	123.57
Travancore-Cochin	24,989	8.0	28.0	20.0	250.00
Madhya Pradesh	25,798	10.0	26.7	16.7	167.00
Bihar	86,727	12.4	30.7	19.3	147.58
Jammu and Kashmir	415	13.0	17.0	4.0	30.77
Hyderabad	1,44,674	9.6	37.4	27.8	289.58

Even if it is assumed that 3 million acres under the partial method is equivalent to 2 million acres under the full Japanese system, a total of 2.3 million acres under this method along with 2.4 million acres of additional area under rice has resulted in raising our rice production in 1953-54 to 27.1 million tons as against 22.5 million tons in the previous year. Thus the additional production is 4.6 million tons. Out of this 0.6 million tons are attributed to favourable seasonal conditions and another one million tons calculated at the standard yield of 902 lbs. per acre may be taken as the production from 2.4 million acres of additional area. The inescapable conclusion is that 2.3 million acres, i.e., 3 per cent of the total area under rice—76.6 million acres—has resulted in a net increase of 3 million tons or more than 11 per cent over the total yield. If only 20.5 million acres out of the existing 23 to 24

million acres of irrigated area under rice are brought under the new method, the total rice production would increase by 100 per cent. This should not in any way appear to be a very high target for it would be achieved within a reasonable time of 10 to 15 years, considering that 2 million acres have already been covered under the full Japanese method.

This gives in nutshell the potentiality in respect of rice which is the staple food for some 50 per cent of the people in the country. The position with regard to other cereals is in no way very different. Experiments already conducted under the auspices of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research provide a solid proof of the fact that on a very conservative estimate, the total production of wheat and millets can also be increased at least by 50 per cent. The results are not different if we take into consideration the effect of manures and water in the experiments that have been conducted on the field of the cultivator himself and those under the dry farming methods. This view is held by the FAO also. According to the special FAO Committee which was responsible for the report on World Food Survey, wheat production in India can be increased by 30 per cent in only 10 years. Additional measures after this period can swell the increase to 50 per cent.

Calculating on this basis, nothing should stand in our way to obtain a minimum increase of 100 per cent in our food production.

It would be interesting to note in this connection the progress made by China which has registered an increase of the order of 90 per cent in food production and even 100 per cent in other cash crops just in a period of one year. This is explained in Table III at the end. As compared with the experience of China, the above calculations for India would seem to be quite insignificant.

#### DYNAMISM OF INDIA ECONOMY

Objections may be raised as to how such increases are possible now, if nothing could be done during the past century or so. Nobody would deny the fact that India had more or less a static economy for over a century. Our

experience with the First Five-Year Plan shows that India has emerged into a stage of dynamism. The rate of capital formation in the field of agriculture alone is estimated to have gone up by 100 per cent just within the first 3 years of the Plan from Rs. 166 crores in 1951. Real per capita income in the same period has gone up by about 17 per cent, the highest so far achieved anywhere in the world. All this should be sufficient to set at nought any of the criticism that may be levelled against our estimates.

#### POPULATION GROWTH

Now a word about the other side of the picture—the population. This is not the first time when ‘Malthusian Scarecrows’ have been raised. Fairfield Osborne, Dr. Chandra-shekhar, Dr. Gyan Chand, Mr. Wattal, Prof. Kingslay Davis as well as Mr. J. Russell Smith have painted equally dismal pictures. Furnas went so far as to say that the population of India has reached its “saturation points.” A close study of the Census Report will, however, reveal that there is no need for excessive alarm. First, we do not possess adequate data. Secondly, the Report’s method of calculation is not scientific. And thirdly, it has assumed static conditions of society and the social order, which may not continue to exist.

Let us see the extent to which a reconsideration of the whole problem is called for on the basis of the issues raised above. As regards our statistics, the less said the better. As and when any question of national importance crops up, we simply fumble due to the lack of necessary data. In the words of Mr. Gopalaswami himself, “Of all the countries in the world, Great Britain has perhaps the largest assemblage of the most reliable population data extending in a systematic time series over the longest period in the past. Yet the Royal Commission on population found that data insufficient in material particulars.” He adds, “We do not possess population data which can be compared even remotely with that available to the Royal Commission.” With such misgivings about our basic tools,

there is every possibility that we may be far away from the reality. If our population could remain stationary at 238 million during the period 1891 to 1901, could decrease from 252 to 251 million during 1911 to 1921 and show a little increase of only 277 million during the next decade, one wonders if we would be justified in calculating our future growth on the basis of the last 10-year period—1941 to 1951, when the increase was 445 lakhs.

The combined annual rate of growth for India and Pakistan even during the last decade works out to 1.2 per cent as against 1.4 per cent during 1931 and 1941. Because of unprecedented large movement of refugees on both sides of the border, it is very difficult to arrive at a correct estimate of the population in 1941 for the territory which now constitutes India; hence the likelihood of greater error. If we pay due consideration to the Hindu and Muslim social customs, the greater possibility is a lesser growth in India as compared with Pakistan. This would mean that the real annual rate of growth in India may be even 1 per cent, *i.e.*, the same as for 1921 to 1931. Clearly it would be wrong to form pessimistic opinions about the trends in population on the basis of such faulty data.

#### KUCZYNSKI’S THEORY

Even if we want to have some rough estimate of population, we should work, not on the basis of obsolete theories or rough and ready methods, but those internationally accepted and adopted by others already much ahead of us. For fixing the lower and upper limits of projected population, the Census Chief has worked on (a) the average of three decades 1921-50 and (b) the rate of growth during the latest of the three decades (when the growth was the highest). This way the lower and upper limits of 52 and 53 millions respectively have been fixed. This, on the very face of it, would seem to be a very crude method. The correct procedure would be the one based on the net reproductive rate. The conceptions of fertility and reproductive capacity were made familiar by the work of Dublin and Lotka

and particularly of Kuczynski whose findings were accepted by experts like Gini and Carr-Saunders. Dr. Enid Charlis in this connection rightly pointed out, "Of late years the treatment of population growth has been revolutionised by the introduction of a very simple and direct index of population growth in a series of important memoirs by R. Kuczynski." The excess of births over death is of little significance. What matters is whether a generation in its life time, until it dies out, produces more, less or equal number of children than their own number. The relation between the original and the excess represents the net reproductive rate. The gross reproduction rate is measured by the formula:

$$\text{TOTAL FERTILITY RATE} \times \text{FEMALE BIRTHS}$$

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TOTAL NUMBER OF BIRTHS

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and net reproduction rate is obtained by adjusting the mortality figures reached. This, in simple words, is found by the number of female births from the newly-born girls during the course of their lives. If the mortality and natality relations are such that 1000 newly-born girls give birth to only 1000 girls during their life time, the population will be just static.

For the calculation of this rate, we need know the child-bearing span of life in the case of females. This is universally accepted by all is 15 to 45 for India. The next problem is to find out the number of girls who survive during this period of their life and the number of female births given by them. Working on the basis of previous census reports, Dr. Radhakamal Mukerjee found that out of every 1000 females born 483 reach the age of 15 and only 238 the age of 45. The corresponding figures quoted by him for the various countries were: England 798 and 683; Japan 745 and 550; and Sweden 867 and 708 respectively. A margin is further required to be made for the widows whose number as much as 12.8 per cent according to the present Report. The net reproductive rate (as shown below) thus worked by Kuczynski seems to be quite favourable for India as compared with other countries.

Name of the country	Year	Net reproductive rate
Russia	1928	1.70
Japan	1925	1.495
India	1931	1.454
England	1921	1.087
Italy	1921-22	1.40
Ukraine	1929	1.40

According to Colin Clark, even today "The important point is that India now has a rate of population growth less than the world average and considerably less than that of many of the industrialised Western countries."

A study of our population increase during the period 1870 and 1910 would also reveal that the real increase in India—18.9 per cent—was the lowest when compared with 58.2 per cent in England and Wales, 73.9 per cent in Russia, 62 per cent in Netherlands, 59 per cent in Germany and 45.5 per cent for the whole of Europe. As would be seen from the table below, the actual increase was, however, much more. This was, in fact, due to the wider coverage and improvements in methods after every decade, which is unfortunately neglected by many of the demographers.

(See Table on next page)

#### SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Finally, even if it is accepted that we have got complete data at our command and our method of calculation is correct, there is hardly any justification to presume that social conditions would remain static. The greatest defect of neo-Malthusians according to De-Castro is to take population growth as an independent variable, isolated from other social phenomena. The real position, however, is that such increases are to a very large extent dependent on political and economic factors. The natural law of this growth was challenged by Marx who pointed out that the rate of increase and decrease changes from period to period in accordance with changing social organisations. Imre Perenczi, the well-known demographer thus proved after an exhaustive study that the Central doctrine of Malthus stood completely contradicted by historical evolution.



*Growth of India's Population in Million*

Year	Source	Population	Increase due to inclusion of new area	Improvements in methods	Real increase	Per cent increase
1872	First partial census	206.2	—	—	—	—
1881	Regular and rather complete census	253.9	33	12	3	1.5
1891	Third and complete decennial census	287.3	6	3	24	9.6
1901	Census	294.3	3	—	4	1.4
1911	Census	315.2	2	—	19	6.4

Eva M. Hubback in his *Population Facts and Policies* gives a detailed account of the various social and economic factors responsible for the startling reduction in the birth-rate since 1875 not only in the United Kingdom but also the whole of Europe. The most important from among them are changes in individual and social attitude, desire for the limitation of children, economic factors, changes in social life and the position of women, changes in family habits and diminution in religious belief. A detailed description of these factors and their applicability to the present conditions in India can form the subject-matter of a complete essay in itself. It would, however, be sufficient for the purpose of our present study to state here that all these factors are amply visible in the present-day India and can very well be presumed to have similar effect on our future population. With the improvement in the standard of living, and a shift from agricultural to industrial economy, there is no reason to believe that the present high birth-rate will continue.

Objections may, however, be raised on the basis of European experience that the immediate effect of industrialisation and other factors responsible for raising the standard of living is not only to increase the birth-rate but also to reduce the mortality rate. It is only after a time-lag of some 50 to 100 years, when the standard of living of the people has increased, that the fertility rate falls. The tendency towards falling death rates in Europe manifested itself at the close of the Eighteenth Century with the advent of the Industrial Revolution, but the fall in birth-rates came seven

decades later. It, therefore, took a long time for the 'demographic revolution'—shift from high to low demographic equilibrium—to take place there. It has been contended that in the initial stages India, too, will have to reap her harvest of plentiful children, before a fall in the birth-rate takes place.

It must, however, be understood that the position in Europe on the eve of the Industrial Revolution was quite different from what obtains in India today. Medical science progressed in Europe 'only' after industrial advancement. In India, however, we are at a much advanced stage in the public health measures. Even otherwise "1954 medical technique can be introduced briskly in a medieval economy." "Two centuries of groping" in the words of Sauvy, can thus be "spared at the population of underdeveloped countries which enter without difficulty the age of the tractor and the atom."

Again, economic development and expansion of production here have been stifled and artificially stunted, in the past. In the matter of contraceptives, while there was an opposition from the church as well as the society in the West, various enquiries made in India reveal that public opinion is favourably inclined to their adoption. While the *American Statute Book* even today contains a law—the Comstock Law of 1873—which prohibits the propagation, sale or even practice of contraceptive and there is a strict ban on birth-control clinics in the two States of Connecticut and Massachusetts, the Government of India is openly encouraging birth-control. The matter was further studied by Staley with regard to

under-developed countries. His conclusion was that Europe's experience is not bound to be repeated in these countries. Same is the view held by Bowen.

Besides these reasons, there have been cases of a heavy fall in the birth-rate in many countries during comparatively shorter period. While France took more than seventy years to experience a drop in her birth-rate from 30 to 20, Switzerland and Sweden took about 40 years and in England and Denmark the period was about 30 years. In Bulgaria, on the other hand, the birth-rate has fallen from 26 to 17, during the period 1924 to 1936. Again, while the birth-rate in Central and Southern Europe in 1922 was still as high as in Western and Northern Europe in 1881-85, it had dropped by 1935-36 to the level held by Western and Northern Europe in 1911. Similarly Poland and Czechoslovakia, achieved in 12 years before the Second World War a fall in birth-rate that France could achieve in 70 years. Thus the intermediate stage of reduced mortality and continuous high fertility which results in unprecedented growth in population, may be skipped in India.

Most of our economic theories are true only in a stationary state when shut up in a *ceteris paribus*—other things are taken to be equal. These assumed economic constants may, however, never remain so in this dynamic world, particularly in a case like that of future population. All our calculations based on static conditions may thus go wrong.

#### CONCLUSION

To sum up, the pessimistic picture painted by some of our demographers will turn into an optimistic one, if the latent powers of the multitude of our unprofitable children could be harnessed. There are serious objections to the calculations made by the Census Chief, but even if his findings are accepted, India's population by 1981 will not exceed 530 million. This would mean a little less than one and a half times the existing level. The achieve-

ments of India's Krishi Pandits on the other hand represent nearly ten times the existing yields. Food production in the coming 10 to 15 years, as stated already, can be increased by 100 per cent. This should be more than sufficient to provide for the increasing numbers, even if the increase turns out to be as large as is feared in some quarters.

Arnold Lupton prophesied some time ago that "this great people, with its enormous well-ordered population, sufficient for all work it has to do, could if wisely guided, support double its number in health, plenty and power." Guided properly it would not be surprising if India regains, in the very near future, its lost status as the granary of the East.

TABLE I

*Yield of Important Crops in Some Countries*  
(Yield in lbs. per acre)

Country	Paddy	Wheat	Sugar-cane	Cotton (lint)
The Netherlands	—	3505	—	—
Japan	4291	—	—	—
Belgium	—	3309	—	—
Germany (West)	—	2396	—	—
U. K.	—	2787	—	—
France	3693	1897	—	—
Italy	4549	1631	—	—
U.S.A.	3060	1106	48439	391
Hawaii	—	—	177515	—
Egypt	4638	1889	78341	366
India	1173	940	29113	79
China	4689	1336	—	544

Source: *Fertiliser News*, October, 1958.

TABLE II  
*Manurial Potential of India*

(Source)	No. in (millions)	Quantity (green) per cattle per day	Total annual quantity (million tons)	Percentage consti- tuents			Total constituents per year 1000 tons		
				N	P <sub>2</sub> O <sub>5</sub>	K <sub>2</sub> O	N	P <sub>2</sub> O <sub>5</sub>	K <sub>2</sub> O
Dung:									
Cattle—adult	113.9	40	742	0.3	1.5	0.2	2226	11130	1484
—young stock	45.0	20	147	0.3	1.5	0.2	441	2205	294
Buffaloes—adult	28.6	50	233	0.3	1.5	0.2	699	3495	466
—young stock	16.2	20	53	0.3	1.5	0.2	159	795	106
Total (cattle and buffaloes)	203.7		1175	0.3	1.5	0.2	3525	17625	2350
Sheep and goat	95.3	15	233	0.8	0.6	0.3	1864	1398	699
Horses and ponies	1.5	40	10	0.5	0.4	0.3	50	40	30
Other live stock	6.6	25	27	0.6	0.5	0.5	162	135	135
Total live stock	307.1		1445	—	—	—	5601	18208	3214
Poultry	97.4	5	0.8	1.6	1.5	0.9	13	12	7
Livestock urine	307.1	15 <sup>1</sup>	750	0.8	0.01	1.4	6000	75	10500
Cattle bones	30 <sup>4</sup>	30 <sup>3</sup>	0.401	3.0	23.5	—	12	942	—
Human excreta & urine	400	4 <sup>2</sup>	261	0.7	0.3	0.2	1827	783	522
Total							13453	24020	14243

1. Quantity of urine per cattle per day

2. Quantity of human excreta and urine per man per day.

3. Quantity of bone per cattle.

4. This has been calculated at 15 per cent cattle mortality.

TABLE III  
*Production of Main Crops in China*  
(In thousand metric tons)

Crops	1949	1952	1957	1958*				
					Soyabeans	5086	9519	10700
Food crops—					Cotton	444	1304	1600
					Jute & kenaf	37	305	700
					Cured tobacco	43	222	290
					Sugarcane	2642	7116	88000
					Sugarbeet	191	479	1180
					Peanuts	1268	2316	2900
					Rapeseed	734	932	1800
					Tea	n.a.	n.a.	113
								147
	108095	154393	185000	356364				

\* Estimated.

n.a. Not available.



# THE ROLE OF THE AMERICAN HERITAGE IN THE MODERN CRISIS

By DR. HARIDAS T. MAZUMDAR, M.A., Ph.D.\*

## I. IN THE THROES OF A PERPETUAL CRISIS

"Our generation is doomed to live in a state of perpetual crisis"—these words penned by me in May, 1952, for the Preface to my book, *Mahatma Gandhi: Peaceful Revolutionary* (New York, Scribners, 1953), assume critical significance every time mankind teeters on the brink of war. And there have been occasions aplenty fraught with danger to world peace, ever since the end of shooting hostilities of World War II.

The Soviet Government's unwillingness to carry out its part of the agreements arrived at in Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam is the root cause of the continuing crisis mankind has been passing through in the post-war era. Second, the rise of Chinese communists to power with the aid of the Soviet Russian Government and the unwillingness of the Red Chinese regime to abide by the standards of civilized governments create another major source of uncertainty and disturbance. Third, the reliance of the United States Government and its free world allies on a policy of expediency rather than on the policy of principle, until recently, has compounded worldwide uncertainty. Fourth, the possession of the A-bomb and the H-bomb, and the ICBM has led the leaders to frighten the world by the rattling of thermonuclear weapons.

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In this uneasy context, the constructive work of co-operation among the scientists of the world during the IGY (International Geophysical Year) has been all but forgotten. And yet, the way to world peace lies through such co-operation rather than through bomb-rattling or bomb-testing.

## II. AMERICA'S EMERGENCE AS A WORLD

### POWER

Against this background of world conditions, a statement of the principles inherent in the great American heritage is in order, precisely because what the American people and government believe and do has profound influence on the destiny of our generation and of succeeding generations as well.

It is obvious to every objective student of the American scene that America sought neither power nor leadership; that the American people were happiest when they were engaged in developing their own resources. But in the process of developing resources, the American people generated power. This power turned the tide of war in Europe during World War I. Also during World War I, for the first time, as an expression of the newly-developed power America ceased to be a debtor nation and became a creditor nation. Since World War I the money-market moved from Lombard Street, London, to Wall Street, New York. In the inter-war period, the American people faintly began to realize that their tremendous power carried with it tremendous responsibility for leadership. World War II scotched for good all the notion of isolationism and implanted in the hearts of the American people a due sense of responsibility for world leadership.

## III. THE AMERICAN CREDO

In the period following the end of World War II, America as a nation has made mistakes every now and then in the discharge of its responsibility as a leader of the free world; there is no need to deny several glaring mistakes committed by the American government.

touches on two of his major works: (1) *The Epic of India* and (2) *The Grammar of Sociology*, an introductory sociology text-book.



That some of the actions of the American government and people have been misunderstood and misinterpreted abroad is evident to all of us. What is not evident to the world at large is that the motives impelling Americans to action have been pure and calculated to serve the best interests of mankind.

The inner core of the American credo must be fully understood and appreciated by the world at large, if meaningful co-operation is to be achieved for the good of mankind as a whole. The inner core of the American credo harmonizes the highest interests of the American nation with the highest interests of mankind; indeed, in this One World of ours ushered in by the airplane and by atomic energy, I would go a step farther and say that our highest and noblest interests as a nation—as the American nation—are best served when we focus our attention upon serving the highest and noblest interests of mankind.

The logic of this sort of thinking alone explains American programs of emergency aid, development loan funds, and outright gifts without any strings tied to them.

The lessons of the last war seem to have been forgotten by some of the irresponsible policy-makers of the world. World War II demonstrated the changed nature of war: In total war the civilian is deliberately sought out as a target in preference to the military personnel. World War II also demonstrated that in total war there are no victors. To be sure, in a military sense, American and Allied arms and armies did triumph over the arms and armies of the Axis Powers.

But what kind of triumph was it? At the end of that global holocaust, we, the citizens of America, a victor nation, were impelled from within, by our own conscience, to give millions and billions of dollars to the so-called "enemy" nations in order to help them rebuild their economy and their "world." In the past, victors used to help themselves to the riches of the vanquished nations, and, unfortunately, our gallant ally, the Soviet Union, followed this policy at the end of World War II. For our part, we began to sense the oneness of the world humanity, and we have been

engaged in the task of promoting peace and goodwill through sharing.

It is no exaggeration to say that the American record of helping the needy peoples of the world, either friend or foe, has no parallel in human history. In humility the American people stand before God and thank the Almighty that through His grace we have been enabled to share of our substance with our fellow-citizens of the world. In this adventure of sharing with others, to the tune of several billions of dollars, we have no doubt made mistakes, as pointed out, among others, by the present writer in the Hearings before the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee (Hearings on S. 3318, 1958). But that our sharing has helped other nations in rebuilding their economies cannot be denied even by the most dull-witted.

#### IV. THE EVOLUTION OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

The orientation of American foreign policy is derived from the Founding Fathers. The famous Northwest Ordinance of July 13, 1787, laid down two fundamental political principles: (1) exclusion of slavery from the "North-west Territory," and (2) inclusion of the Territory—rather of Territorial units—as equal members of the emerging American Nation State on a par with the original Thirteen States, as soon as the Territorial units fulfilled certain requirements including population strength. This second principle threw overboard the old-world practice of subjecting and exploiting territories for the benefit of the "mother" country.

Outside of certain territories in the Southwest and on the Pacific Coast, ceded by Mexico in 1848, after the Mexican-American War, no part of the United States was acquired by the American people through war. The original Thirteen Colonies were acquired through colonization; with the overthrow of British (alien) sovereignty in 1776-1783, the new nation was born—the United States of America made up of Thirteen States. The Louisiana Purchase of 1803 from France carried the U.S. writ westward as far as the Rocky Mountains. The purchase of Florida from Spain in 1819 made the entire Atlantic seaboard American and national. The British recognition of the U.S.

claim to the Oregon Territory in 1846 firmly fixed the shape of the United States. And the purchase of Alaska from Russia in 1867 added an increment of one-fifth of its entire area to the American nation.

The Spanish-American War of 1898, precipitated by the desire of the American people to help Cuba in its struggle for freedom from Spanish overlordship, resulted in the incidental acquisition of certain outlying territories by the United States: Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippine Islands, and Hawaii. It is worthy of note that the Senate Resolution authorizing U.S. intervention in behalf of Cuba explicitly disclaimed any intention on the part of the U.S. "to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction or control" over Cuba, once it was freed from Spanish rule.

It may be recalled that the Republic of Hawaii voluntarily requested annexation by the United States; the Hawaiian islands were annexed to the United States on July 7, 1898, and incorporated as an integral territory of the U.S. in 1900. The Republic of Texas, likewise, had previously (1845) come into the Union of its own volition: Puerto Rico today vividly dramatizes the significance of the American policy of non-imperialistic association with other lands: In the face of the standing invitation from the U.S. Government that Puerto Rico is at liberty to be entirely independent, to enjoy Purna Swaraj, the people of Puerto Rico have of their own volition decided to remain an integral part of the United States.

The absence of imperialistic expansion at the point of the bayonet is a most important ingredient of the American heritage. From the North-west Ordinance of 1783 to acquisition of Hawaii and Puerto Rico as Territories in 1898, the unfolding story reveals absence of designs on other people's territory, on the part of the American people, by brute force methods. The Philippine Islands, not made an integral territory of the American nation, were promised and given freedom within less than half a century, whereas it took Great Britain two hundred years to grant freedom to India.

In pursuance of the logic of this non-imperialistic, neighborly policy toward other nations, America opened Japan to intercourse with the West in 1853, without imposition of

any imperialistic yoke upon a weak, feudal Japan. Likewise, it was in pursuit of the logic of neighborliness, rather than imperialism, that the American Government, through Secretary of State, John Hay's doctrine of the "Open Door" policy (1899), prevented the Chinese melon from being sliced among imperialistic powers—Britain, France, Germany, Russia, and Japan—and preserved the independence and territorial integrity of China.

#### V. THE OTHER SIDE OF THE COIN

In discussing the evolution of American foreign policy, I have presented an analysis of the reactions of the American people to the outside world. The foreign policy of every nation is and must of necessity be carried out by its government. The point to note, however, is that foreign policy may be an expression either of the will of the people in terms of the logic of their ideals or of the will of the government in terms of its notions of "practical politics," in terms of its notions of correct behavior, in terms of its notions of proper expedients to suit the exigencies of the situation.

Yes, I maintain that even in a democracy, there may sometimes be a contradiction between the people and their ideals on the one hand and their government and its policies on the other. Such contradiction is glaringly insistent in a society with a totalitarian governmental set-up, whether of the right or of the left, whether of the fascist or of the communist variety. While the contradiction is minimized in a genuinely democratic society, such as American society, the presence of the contradiction must be reckoned with. It is only on the basis of this contradiction between the people and the government that we can properly understand the other side of the coin, the less lovely aspect of American foreign policy.

In the course of its short-range as well as long-range policy decisions and actions, every government tends to develop its characteristic frame of reference, theoretically rooted in the will of the people, at least in a democracy, but often far removed from popular opinion and thus negating the central core of the people's social heritage.

This process can be advantageously analyzed in the evolution of American foreign

policy. The Founding Fathers of this nation had counselled the American people to keep away from "entangling alliances" (Washington) with European nations engaged in "perennial" quarrels (Jefferson). We should be friends with all but we should have entangling alliances with none—this sound prescription, embodied in American foreign policy, was rooted in the evolving ethos of the new nation. Hence, there was no contradiction between the people and the government. But the new-born nation had to be involved in a war with England, the War of 1812, because England refused to recognize and respect the freedom of the seas for American merchantmen. A sacred principle had been challenged, and both the American Government and the American people reacted similarly; here, again, there was no contradiction between the people and the government.

But the century following the end of the Napoleonic Wars (1815-1914) was destined to create a gulf between the American people's wishes and aspirations and their Government's actions in the field of foreign policy. During this hundred-year period *Pax Britannica* reigned supreme, enforcing peace in the world, keeping sea lanes open to the commerce of the world, safeguarding proper observance of rules and expectations in the relations among nations. Thus England appeared to the American Government as a symbol of stability in the world, not as the arch-usurper of other people's territories and resources.

A wedge was driven between the people and the government. The American people would fain lend a helping hand to all subject-peoples struggling for freedom; but the American Government, by tying its foreign policy to the apron-strings of England, France and other empire-nations of Europe, helped imperialist powers in the enjoyment of their ill-gotten possessions. The many eloquent pleas for the freedom of subject-peoples by eminent American citizens during that period attest to the contradiction between the American people and the American Government.

Indeed, during that period the American Government, relying upon logic thoroughly respectable in *Weltpolitik* but thoroughly repugnant to the conscience of the American people,

utilized to full advantage its attachment to the apron-strings of England. When England, for instance, fought the two Opium Wars with China (1839-1842, 1856-1860) and secured special advantages from the Chinese Government, the American Government promptly sought and secured the same advantages from the Chinese Government—without war and without bloodshed. A poll of the American people at that time would have overwhelmingly repudiated the securing of those immoral advantages by the American Government, which followed in the footsteps of Great Britain. Perhaps, as a corrective to this immorality, the American Government espoused, toward the end of the last century, the doctrine of the "open door" policy in China; this doctrine, which safeguarded China's integrity as a nation, was a true expression of the will of the American people.

America's participation in World War I could have been avoided if American foreign policy had been independent of the foreign policies of Great Britain and France. The dependence of American foreign policy on British foreign policy inevitably forced this country into the war—much against the will of many American citizens. Then as a sop to the people, the government began to glorify America's participation in the war with such rationalizations as "a war of democracy against autocracy," "a war to make the world safe for democracy," "a war of right against might" and "a war to end war."

America's participation in World War II was the result of the entangling alliances made by the American Government with the empire-nations of Europe. It is an open secret that President Franklin D. Roosevelt had pledged to England, France and the Netherlands the support of the American Navy if the Japanese should attack their colonial possessions in Asia. Had the American people been given an opportunity to express their opinion through a referendum, they would have overwhelmingly repudiated such a commitment by their Government to imperialist powers. Knowing of this commitment by the American Government to the imperialists of Europe, the Japanese militarists, bent upon conquest of south-east Asia,

had no option but to immobilize the American Navy stationed at Pearl Harbor.

There is one characteristic of the American people which had better not be overlooked by those who may dream of challenging America. In peacetime, the American citizen is temperamentally against the government; and if some policy of his government, whether domestic or foreign, happens to irritate him, he will leave no stone unturned in getting that policy revised or reversed. But once the nation is at war—even if it be through the ineptitude of their government—the American people close rank and become united as one man for the prosecution of war.

#### VI. THE EMERGING HARMONY BETWEEN THE PEOPLE AND THE GOVERNMENT

The gap between the people and the government was closed, so far as American democracy is concerned, by the present Republican Administration in 1956. Toward the tail-end of the American Presidential election, the British, French and Israeli Governments attacked Egypt—Israel to “end border provocations” perhaps to expand its territory; Britain and France to recover control of the Suez Canal. The precise moment for attack was chosen with foresight by the invaders who thought President Eisenhower would be forced to take a non-committal stand, if not to bless their effort, because of the impending election. But they reckoned without their man. President Eisenhower, in a dramatic radio-TV appearance on October 31, 1956, four days before the Presidential election, served notice on England, France and Israel to get out of Egyptian territories occupied by them, and admonished them to seek redress for wrongs—if wrongs there be—through peaceful methods, through the United Nations.

The Eisenhower Doctrine, for the first time in American history, cut America loose from the apron-strings of England and France. For the first time, the American people's intense feeling against imperialistic ventures by friend or foe found expression in the American Government's foreign policy. In addition to putting a damper on imperialistic ventures by

its friends, the Eisenhower Doctrine made it known to all concerned that any government, threatened by aggression or subversion *from the outside*, could request and receive aid from the American Government.

Both these principles of the Eisenhower Doctrine are thoroughly in accord with the American heritage and with America's role and responsibility as leader of the free world. It was in pursuance of the Eisenhower Doctrine that American troops landed in Lebanon on July 15, 1958, at the urgent request of President Camille Chamoun. Simultaneously British troops landed in Jordan at the invitation of King Hussein and his government. The sole purpose of these two landings was to safeguard Lebanon and Jordan against subversion by outside forces—not against internal revolution by the people themselves.

If tomorrow the people of Lebanon and the people of Jordan wish to have an internal revolution of their own, unaided and unabettled by outside forces, such as the Soviet Union or the United Arab Republic, I for one shall wish them success—and I am sure the American Government would not wish to interfere with the sovereign will of those peoples.

The exemplary behavior of American troops under trying conditions in Lebanon is a tribute to American young manhood and to their officers. The American Government's insistence that the United Nations take a hand in safeguarding Lebanon and Jordan against outside aggression and subversion was a genuine expression of the American people's sentiment and has met with world-wide acclaim. That American troops began to be withdrawn, once the United Nations took a hand in the matter and the Arab nations decided to co-operate among themselves, is proof positive of America's disinterested aid to Lebanon. All American troops were withdrawn from Lebanon by the end of October, 1958. Let no one interested in truth ever accuse the United States Government or the American people of imperialism and imperialistic designs!

#### VII. AMERICAN POLICY TOWARD THE TWO CHINAS

American foreign policy toward Taiwan (Formosa) and Red China (the People's Re-



public of China) has baffled many a friend of America. Let me set forth the nature of the problem as seen by the American citizen. The American thesis, accepted both by the government and the people, is that during World War II we as well as the Soviet Union had a treaty of friendship and mutual help with the Nationalist Government of China headed by Chiang Kai-shek; that in contravention of that treaty the leaders of Soviet Russia aided and abetted the Chinese Communists to overthrow the existing government; that the communist revolution of China was not a genuine revolution of the people against the Nationalist Government but subversion from the outside. The American Government, on its part, does not choose to make the treaty into a scrap of paper; and we have chosen to remain, as in principle we are bound to remain, loyal friends of the Nationalist Government of China, operating from Formosa since 1949. Hence the non-recognition of the Chinese Communist Government at Peking.

That Quemoy, Matsu and other islands on the very coast of mainland China, in the hands of the Nationalist Government, constitute a thorn in the side of the Peking Government has been recognized by the American people and their Government. A reasonable solution of the problem could be worked out, without either the Communist or the Nationalist Government losing face. At least, that has been the policy of the American Government. But the bombardment of Quemoy and surrounding islands by Red Chinese guns, begun on August 23rd, 1958, has created a crisis and brought mankind to the brink of war.

Regardless of the consequences, the American Government would not let down its ally under armed attack. Under no circumstances would the American Government permit acquisition of the islands by the Chinese communists at the point of the bayonet. A dependable cease-fire is a precondition to proper disposition of the islands, acceptable both to Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung.

In the China policy, the American people are divided, some condemning the policy of non-recognition of Red China, others approv-

ing it. But by and large, it would seem that the American Government's policy is in rapport with the dominant sentiment of the American people. Of course, in a democracy, popular opinion can be changed by a critical element in a situation, especially if it can be shown convincingly that the previous stand was unfair and unjust to the other party.

The American contention is that in recognizing Red China we may be doing great injustice and harm to the people of China, the American thesis being that the Red regime has been imposed upon the Chinese people. The American difficulty would vanish overnight if a free and unfettered plebiscite were held on the mainland of China under impartial auspices. If in such a plebiscite the majority voted in favor of the communist regime, the American Government would promptly recognize it. But knowing how allergic communists are to holding their elections under impartial supervision, this alternative is not available to us.

Under the circumstances, the American Government is committed to a short-range policy of non-recognition of Red China and a long-range policy of some day recognizing it. In the meantime, there should be no great difficulty in getting along with two Chinas, one on the mainland, the other on Formosa, just as we have been getting along with two Berlins, two Germanys, two Koreas, two Viet-Nams. In all these cases, the division was forced by the communists; in the case of China, for a change, the division is forced by the Nationalists. What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. The American people and their Government are willing to let matters rest there.

The Dulles-Chiang pourparler of October 20-23, 1958, and their joint communique enunciated principles which meet with the approval of the American people: (1) reaffirmation of friendly ties between Nationalist China and the U.S.A.; (2) declaration not to yield to force or threat of force by the Chinese Reds; (3) partial demilitarization of the Quemoy-Matsu complex of islands under conditions of dependable cease-fire by the Chinese communists; (4) renunciation of the use of force by



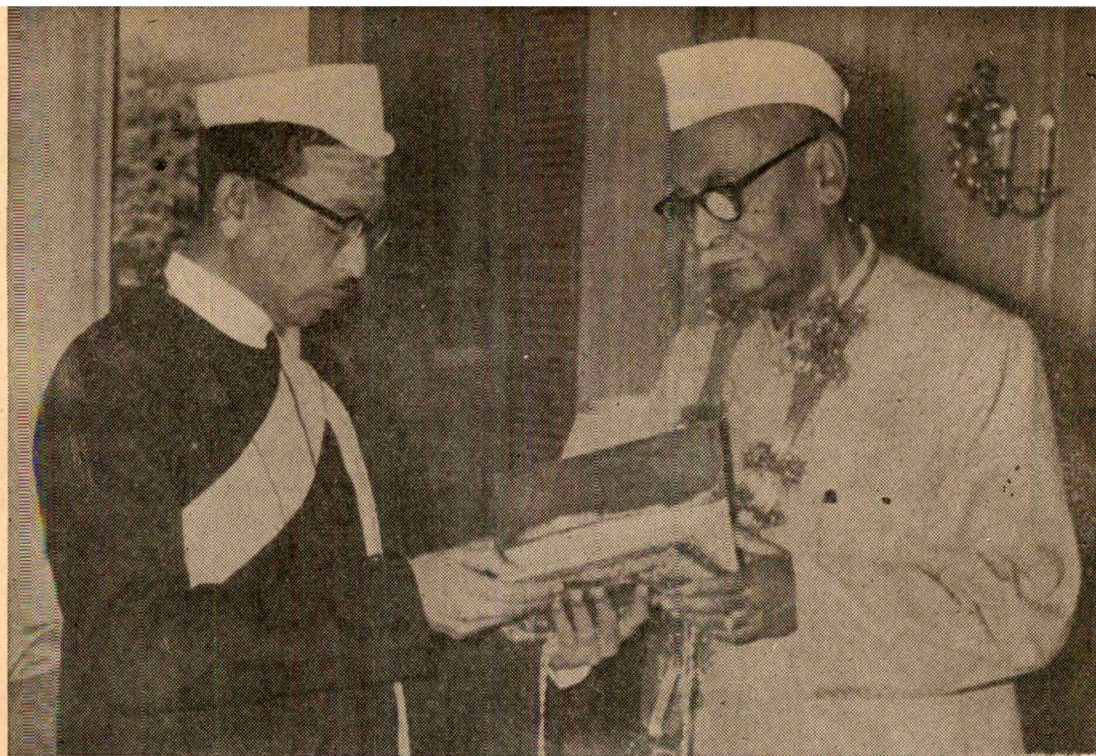


Mr. Einar Gerhardsen, Prime Minister of Norway, addresses the Members of Parliament in the Central Hall of Parliament in New Delhi. Sri Nehru, Dr. Radhakrishnan and Sri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar are seated on the dais



Sri A. K. Sen, Union Law Minister and other members of the Indian Lawyers' Delegation which recently visited the Soviet Union and Poland met Mr. N. S.





President Dr. Rajendra Prasad receives *Rajendra Prashasti*, a biography of the President in Sanskrit verse, from Pandit Vishnu Kant Jha at Rashtrapati Bhavan



Mr. John George Diefenbaker, Prime Minister of Canada in conversation with Prime Minister Nehru when he called on the latter in New Delhi on November 29



the Nationalist Government in its attempt to get back to the mainland, unless an internal revolution in China should invite Nationalist participation.

#### VIII. FUNDAMENTAL OBJECTIVES OF THE AMERICAN NATION

In view of the misgivings abroad concerning American policy and American motivation, let me now spell out within this framework the fundamental objectives of the American Nation.

First, the American people are committed to the right of self-determination for every nation in Asia, Africa, Europe and the Americas. We respect the right of every people to choose the form of government under which they shall live. This means that all subject peoples striving for freedom, for *Swaraj*, have our sympathy and, under appropriate conditions, shall have our military support in addition to moral support, regardless of whether they be satellite nations under the iron heel of totalitarian dictatorships or subject nations under the iron heel of colonial imperialism.

The American Nation was born of revolution, and we cherish and respect the right of other nations to achieve their freedom by revolution, either violent or non-violent. If, for instance, the citizens of Iraq were dissatisfied with their monarchical form of government and wished to establish a Republican form of government, they had a perfect right to revolution, so far as we are concerned. Let a caveat, however, be entered: Internal revolution by a people elicits our respect and admiration, but revolution in a self-governing country by underhanded outside pressure becomes a menace to all mankind and therefore a proper subject to be dealt with by the United Nations in the first instance and, failing that, by every freedom-loving country in the world in the second place, if need be.

Second, just as we respect the right of other peoples to embark upon revolution for freedom, so we also respect and highly approve of their right to develop regional co-operation by way of co-ordination, confederation or federation. The American people value highly the principle of federalism in government and may modestly

claim to have made significant contributions to the art and science of government. In pursuance of the logic of the American heritage, may I say that if all the Arab countries, through the freely expressed wishes of the citizens of each of those countries, desire to enter into a federal union of their own, they have the blessings of the American people. But another caveat is in order: Attempts at forcible imposition of federation upon any of the free countries of the Arab world will meet with stern opposition from the American people and Government.

If the citizens of Lebanon and Jordan and other uncommitted Arab nations, such as Saudi Arabia, can convince us and the United Nations that of their own free will they wish to enter into a federal union with the UAR, we should take prompt measures to help them achieve that objective peacefully and non-violently.

Third, we look upon Israel as one of the nations of the Near East. The destiny of this new nation is bound up with that of her Arab neighbors. We should be happy to offer our good offices in bringing about a reconciliation between Israel and the Arab world. Mankind cannot indefinitely afford the luxury of dividing lines with armies growling at each other—whether in the Near East as between Israel and the Arab world, or in the Middle-East as between India and Pakistan, in Indo-China at the 17th parallel, or in Korea at the 38th parallel.

Fourth, I come to the central point of the American credo. The American people are dedicated to the pursuit of peace as few other people in the world are. Unencumbered by the perennial rivalries and jealousies of European nations, the Founding Fathers counselled their fellow citizens to devote their attention to the development of the resources of their vast country. Whenever the Americans have taken up arms, it has been in obedience to the higher call of principles. Brother fought against brother in the Civil War (1860-1865) in order to get rid of the iniquitous institution of slavery. The American people entered World War I sincerely believing that they were thereby helping promote the cause of democracy—unfortunately, we discovered that Europe became heavily ridden with dictatorships in the



wake of the war to make the world safe for democracy. We entered World War II to scotch the impending tyranny of Nazi totalitarianism. Unfortunately, we have discovered that in the process of liquidating the Nazi dictatorship we have strengthened and reinforced the tyranny of other dictatorships.

We live and learn. Today the American people are beginning to realize the utter futility of war as an instrument of realizing worthwhile objectives. We hope other nations, too, realize the futility of war as an instrument to implement their national and international policies. It is to be hoped that nothing rash is done by the policy-makers of the Near-East, or of the Far-East, or of the Soviet Union.

It is important that the full significance of the American credo be set forth unequivocally: Much as we as a nation hate war and much as we disapprove of war as an instrument, we shall not budge an inch from eternal verities, from God-given principles, from the logic of the American heritage. Peace we shall always cherish and work for, appeasement never.

Fifth, the American people wholeheartedly believe that law should take the place of violence in the settlement of disputes among nations. The present administration, reflecting the will of our people, has wisely insisted upon strengthening the hands of the United Nations in solving the tensions of the Middle-East, and of the whole world.

Sixth, may I say that the first half of the twentieth century will be looked upon by future historians as having been notable for two great accomplishments: (1) the harnessing of atomic energy, and (2) the achievement of *Swaraj* by over a billion people in Asia and Africa. If in the latter half of this century we can achieve a basis for world peace by outlawing war on the one hand and by creating instrumentalities for peaceful change in the direction of justice on the other, future generations will look upon our deliberations and the deliberations of the United Nations as epoch-making landmarks in the history of mankind.

Finally, to the newly-freed, underdeveloped nations of Asia and Africa we say: First, we rejoice in your attainment of *Swaraj*; second, as sovereign free nations you are the equal of

older well-established nations; and we respect and salute you as our equals; third, in your understandable desire to raise the standard of living of your people, you may count upon our co-operation in terms of our know-how, technical skills, capital goods, and trained personnel. All this we stand ready to do not with a view to reducing you to the status of satellite nations but with a view to promoting the well-being of all of God's children.

Such, in brief outline, is the logic of the American Heritage.

#### IX. THE GANDHI GOSPEL AND THE AMERICAN HERITAGE

"Our generation," I said at the beginning of this article, "is doomed to live in a state of perpetual crisis." Let me finish the rest of my thoughts on the relevance of Gandhi's ministry to our day and generation. "You and I are called upon to be on the alert every moment of our lives. Truly, the price of liberty is eternal vigilance, but ceaseless effort and continuous vigilance, untempered by inner poise, are apt to lead to nervous prostration. Hence inner serenity in the midst of crisis must be cultivated if we are to safeguard our personal integrity, national freedom, and universal human values.

"In Mahatma Gandhi we have a sure guide to a happy, rich and meaningful life. A self-disciplinarian, he embodied the Hindu concept of the superior man—of the Mahatma, the Great Soul. Any one of us can become a Mahatma if we make a vocation of living the good life—putting principle above expediency, duty above pleasure, service above profit, God above the world, conscience above fleeting rewards."

If the Gandhi Gospel could be fused with the noble elements of the American heritage, the world would witness a spiritual re-birth. At any rate, there is an obligation laid upon the American people no less than upon Gandhi's "children" in India to work for a world order which shall banish wars and rumors of wars.

May the minds and hearts of the people of the world be directed toward a just and lasting peace! And may the dream of universal peace be realized in our time!

\* Muzumdar: *Mahatma Gandhi: Peaceful Revolutionary*, pp. IX-X.

## CIVIL SERVICE AND MINISTERIAL RESPONSIBILITY IN A WELFARE STATE

By PROF. B. B. JENA, M.A.

PARLIAMENTARY form of government is a responsible government. It marks the responsibility of the executive to the Parliament which is a small-scale replica of the nation. The institution of the cabinet supplies the connecting link between the executive and the legislature. Members of the cabinet head particular departments of the executive. "The real reason having ministers at the heads of departments is, however, that this is an effective method of bringing Government under public control."<sup>1</sup> The minister is said to be responsible to the Parliament for all acts of omissions and commissions of his department. Of course, he has under him an army of experienced men of civil service to assist him in due discharge of his ministerial responsibility. The minister is an amateur in the administration. He, therefore, depends upon his civil servants who constitute permanent executive. In that case what is the relationship that should exist between the civil servant and the minister? Sir Warren Fisher, Permanent Secretary to the Treasury, while giving evidence before the Royal Commission on Civil Service in 1929 on the principle upon which the Civil Servants act, said:

"Determination of policy is the function of ministers; and once a policy is determined, it is unquestioned and unquestionable business of the civil servant to strive to carry out that policy with precisely the same good will whether he agrees with it or not. That is axiomatic, and will never be in dispute."<sup>2</sup>

It is clear that the final decision lies with the minister; and therefore, he takes the responsibility for that decision. But, in case,

the civil servants who are experts in the field do not place all relevant facts and inferences from such facts before the minister and willfully withhold some vital information which might have enabled the minister to arrive at a decision otherwise, the responsibility cannot be thrown upon the minister concerned. To quote the Royal Commission once again:

"At the same time it is the traditional duty of civil servants, while decisions are formulated, to make available to their political chiefs all the information and experience at their disposal, and to do this without fear or favour, irrespective of whether the advice thus tendered may accord or not with the minister's initial view. The presentation to the minister of relevant facts, the ascertainment and marshalling of which may often call into play the whole organisation of the department, demands of the civil servant the greatest care. The presentation of inferences from the facts equally demands from him all the wisdom and all the detachment he can command."<sup>3</sup>

In the absence of the faithful compliance of the duty of the civil servant in the matter of determination of policy, it is difficult to hold the minister responsible. It may happen that the minister is kept dark about particular facts. In that case it may lead the minister in coming to an incorrect decision. Jennings goes a step further and says:

"Yet the civil servants' function is to advise and not merely to put relevant facts before the minister. He must, therefore, have opinions of his own."<sup>4</sup>

Here the civil servant's bounden duty is not only to place facts but also to advise with

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1. Jennings: *Cabinet Government*, p. 94.  
2. *Royal Commission on Civil Service (1929)*—Minutes of Evidence, p. 1268.

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3. *Ibid*, p. 1268.

4. Jennings: *Cabinet Government*, p. 98.

an opinion of his own. For the opinion so expressed and the advice so tendered to the minister, the civil servant shall be held responsible.

Ordinarily the minister has at his hand the services of the permanent head of his department who "is not (except by accident) a specialist in anything, but rather a general adviser of the minister, with the ultimate responsibility to the minister, for all the activities of the department (and of its officials)."<sup>5</sup> This permanent head because of his experience and association with facts "is able to put before the minister the possible alternatives, to select the weak points in the specialists' case, and to give his own opinion of rival thesis."<sup>6</sup> It is, therefore, clear that the permanent head is always responsible for the administration. Since in every department there is a substantial measure of delegation, "questions which come to the minister are usually of some political importance."<sup>7</sup> The rest is decided and acted upon by the permanent head and his subordinates on their secretarial responsibility as per the Rules of Business of the Government. The minister is not expected to look into the details of administration nor is he equipped to do so if he wishes to do. He is there, as Sir William Harcourt said, "to tell the permanent officials what the public will not stand."<sup>8</sup> He is experienced in only one thing, that is, in feeling the pulse of the nation and gauging the trend of public opinion. If he takes a decision which irritates public opinion, he is responsible. This is what precisely can be said of the ministerial responsibility. As a precursor of public interest, as a guardian of public liability and as a custodian of public purse, he has to tell his advisers, that is, his officials what the public would not like. If public officials will be allowed to run the administration without having some-body as their political head to tell them of the public mind, the coun-

try, as Sir William Harcourt said, "would be extremely well governed for twelve or eighteen months, and then the public would hang all the heads of the civil service to the nearest light-posts."<sup>9</sup> Perhaps, the sole responsibility of the minister, in whose name everything is done, was a real safeguard in the days of Sir William Harcourt who is reported to have told the officials of the Home Office when he was Secretary of State that his function was to prevent them from being hanged from lamp-posts in the White Hall.<sup>10</sup>

Before the beginning of the social reconstruction which followed the Industrial Revolution, the functions of Government in Britain, were so limited in their range, and (comparatively speaking) so simple in character, that they could be and were effectively conducted or controlled by amateurs.<sup>11</sup> The functions of the Central Government in the sphere of administration were, in fact, practically limited to four. The first was the conduct of foreign relations through Ambassadors and control of colonies and dependencies through Governors. The second function was the maintenance of the Navy with its dockyards, and of a very small Army. The third function was the raising of revenue, mainly by means of tariffs, which also served to regulate foreign and imperial trade. The fourth function was the maintenance of a rudimentary post office. The administration of justice was scarcely counted as a separate department; the nomination of judges and the appointment of local magistrates fell to the Lord Chancellor, but the police system and up-keep of gaols were left to the local authorities.<sup>12</sup> But gradually the enlargement and expansion of state functions made it hardly possible for the amateur to look personally into the matter. The volume of increased work made it more and more impossible for the politicians in nominal charge of the departments to exercise effective mastery; moreover, the new functions demanded more

5. *Royal Commission on Civil Service—Minutes of Evidence*, p. 1272.

6. Jennings: *Cabinet Government*, p. 56.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 96.

8. *Life of Sir William Harcourt*, II, p. 857.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 587.

10. *Economist*, "What is the Public Interest," June 19, 1957, p. 951.

11. Ramsay Muir: *How Britain is Governed*, p. 29.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

and more expert knowledge, which the politicians seldom possessed.<sup>13</sup> Notwithstanding this, the political head of a department is always compelled to accept the responsibility for everything that is done by his subordinates, and speak as if every act of theirs had been due to a deliberate decision made by himself; and the consequence was that excepting when a man of great capacity with a genuine interest in the subject took command of the office, the government was almost wholly under the bureaucratic control, and the responsibility of the minister and the sovereignty of Parliament were alike unreal.

In a majority of cases the minister has no special knowledge of the immense and complex work of the Department over which he is to preside. His permanent officials "bring before him hundreds of knotty problems for his decision; about most of them he knows nothing at all. They put before him their suggestions, supported by what may seem the most convincing arguments and facts. Is it not obvious that unless he is either a self-important ass or a man of quite exceptional grasp, power and courage (and both of these types are uncommon among successful politicians), he will, in 99 cases out of 100, simply accept their view, and sign his name on the dotted line?"<sup>14</sup>

It is clear how the minister has been reduced to act as a rubber stamp. In a welfare state the state assumes enormous functions which need, as we have seen, expert knowledge. The minister is said to be responsible for all that happens in his department. This is a mechanism to compel the executive to be responsible to the Parliament. But the minister should not be held responsible for all actions in toto. If a civil servant commits an error, either of judgement or of fact, which causes impediment to the society, the minister should not be held responsible unless he has acquiesced in the act by not taking any action against the official when it is brought to his notice. That is where the minister stands in a Welfare State.

In a Welfare State, "every one would agree that the public interest should, where necessary, override the desires of the individuals."<sup>15</sup> But what is public interest and who shall determine it? Ordinarily, it is the members of the civil service who do it. But appeal lies with the minister when some one is aggrieved.

If the department has committed a blunder, the minister shall be held responsible only when he leaves the official scot-free after the matter was put for his active consideration. Since the activities of the civil servants affect individuals not through any action or decision of the ministers, the latter should not be held responsible. The political chief may be ultimately held responsible only if the official concerned is left unpunished.

While discussing the responsibility of the Finance Minister in the Life Insurance Corporation Enquiry Report, Mr. Justice Chagla has said: "It is clear that a Minister must take responsibility for actions done by his subordinates. He cannot take shelter behind them, nor can he disown their actions. The doctrine of ministerial responsibility has two facets. The Minister has complete autonomy within his own sphere of authority. As a necessary corollary he must take full responsibility for the actions of his servants. It is true that this may throw a very great burden on the minister because it is impossible to expect that in a highly complicated system of administration which we have evolved, the minister could possibly know, leave alone give his consent to, every action taken by his subordinates. But it is assumed that once a policy is laid down by the Minister, his subordinates must reflect that policy and must loyally carry out the policy."<sup>16</sup> Here Mr. Chagla has brought the 18th century concept of Ministerial responsibility examined above. It has undergone a rapid change in the light of enlargement and expansion of the governmental functions in a Welfare State. It is the responsibility of the civilians as well

13. *Ibid.* p. 31.

14. *Ibid.* p. 42-43.

15. *Economist*, 'What is Public Interest?' June 19, 1957, p. 951

16. *Chagla Commission Report on L.I.C.*, p. 26.



as the ministers to deliver the goods. The members of the civil service are not agents where the minister stands as the Principal so that vicarious responsibility can be enforced. Mr. Justice Chagla is not nearer to correctness when he says that "if any subordinate fails to do so (carry out the policy determined) he may be punished or dismissed, but, however, vicariously the responsibility of his own action must be assumed by the Minister." If a subordinate is punished for any error, there is an end of the matter. There is no necessity to hold somebody else also responsible. The punishment to the wrong-doer is itself the enforcement of the responsibility. If the minister does not punish after the person is proved to be guilty, the minister alone should be held responsible because he acts here on his own judgment.

There is another case where the minister should be held responsible. When the minister takes a decision in his own pecuniary interest or with dishonest intention, he is responsible for that action. In the famous enquiry made by the Government of England in the Chrichel Down Farm case, Sir Adrew Clark, Q.C., who was appointed by the minister to enquire into the transaction<sup>17</sup> regarding the farm and the circumstances in which the decisions were taken, finds that the minister, in reaching his decision, was substantially misled as to the facts and that various other irregularities occurred. He added that "there was no trace . . . of anything in the nature of bribery, corruption or personal dishonesty"<sup>18</sup>

17. *Economist*, 'What is Public Interest?' June 19, 1957, p. 950.

18. *Report of Sir Adrew Clark on Chrichel Down Farm case.*

of the minister and as such the minister was not responsible unless the person or persons who misled the minister were left unpunished. In case a minister takes a decision to further his own interest with dishonest intention, the responsibility is his and not of the civil servants. This principle of ministerial responsibility is confirmed by the Bank-rate Enquiry in England.

A minister can be held responsible for the acts of the department if he is allowed to discharge his functions through a "Deputy" selected and appointed by him, who is personally liable to him. Such a 'Deputy' may be drawn from any source he likes, not necessarily from the Parliament. In this case the minister has a man under him who can be relied upon and who will always try to safeguard the minister in all matters. He may be called the conscience-keeper of the minister. Such a provision of having a 'Deputy' chosen and appointed by the minister will ensure enforceability of the ministerial responsibility.

Unless such a provision of appointment is made in the Constitution, the civil servants shall be held responsible for all their advice and opinions tendered to the minister in a Welfare State. The concept of ministerial responsibility of the 18th century *laissez faire* atmosphere must be modified in the light of the revolution that has taken place, the nature and scope of service conditions and the nature of activities of the civil servants in a Welfare State. If the action of a civil servant touches a citizen, the latter has right to demand that anybody doing anything which concerns him should be held responsible either to him or to his representative.



## WORLD BANK'S REPORT AND THE SECOND PLAN

By PROF. P. K. FADNAVIS, M.A.

THE World Bank's recent report entitled *Current Economic Position and Prospects of India* is a timely document. The report formed the basis of discussion at Washington where the World Bank had arranged recently a meeting of the five principal creditor nations to discuss the question of financial assistance to India to solve her foreign exchange difficulties and thus save her Second Five-Year Plan. The World Bank has made some important suggestions for maintaining and accelerating the course and tempo of economic development in India. The observations contained in the report are based on an on-the-spot study.

While appreciating India's impressive record of holding together the largest multi-lingual Federal State, and raising output to two to three per cent a year with little price inflation, the report observes that we should concentrate on consolidating the present investment before starting large new undertakings. Noting with concern the fact that India has heavily mortgaged her future foreign exchange earnings, the report stated that the Plans for future development must be based on a realistic assessment of the resources and in this light has suggested to cut imports of capital goods and defence equipment. Admitting some absolute increase in the total imports necessary for maintaining our future diversified industrial structure, the two-man expert team of the World Bank correlated the demand for imports in the Third Plan with the progress of agriculture.

The report has called into question the Government's excessive emphasis on welfare measures in the Community Development Programme and warns the Government not to pursue welfare at the expense of efficiency. The report has brought into focus some of the glaring pitfalls in our planning, namely, the conflict in our Plan between consolidation and expansion, the tendency of over-loading industrial costs with social overheads, deficiencies in the organisation of Planning at the Centre and the policy of Central Government to undertake additional economic functions and responsibilities.

### PRESENT ECONOMIC TRENDS

Viewed in the light of present economic trends, the findings of the study team appears to be realistic though not defeatist. In the third year of the Second Plan we are witnessing reduction in export, slowing down of private investment and industrial unemployment. Industrial production has risen in 1957-58 by 3.5 per cent compared to a rate of growth of seven to eight per cent in the previous three years. Capital market has shown signs of a slowing down of the rate of investment in the Private Sector. The strain and stresses of the economy could be seen on the Government's finances on account of increased expenditure and shortfall in resources. This has certainly resulted in a budgetary deficit of the Centre and States together of about Rs. 500 crores and increase in the non-development expenditure, particularly Defence. The higher Plan outlay has resulted in the rise in Government's expenditure to Rs. 861 crores, compared to Rs. 635 crores in 1956-57. The current account deficit of Rs. 451 crores, which is the highest so far, is mainly due to decreased industrial production which is again due to more import cuts and shortages of raw materials.

It is extremely doubtful in view of the low saving potentials in the country, whether we should be able to step up planned investment to Rs. 9,900 crores in the Third Plan. It is high time for our planners to realise that the prospects of our long-term economic development are bleak when the decline in the foreign assets amounted to Rs. 260 crores compared to the decline of Rs. 221 crores in 1956-57, after taking credit from drawings from the I.M.F. The World Bank's report has rightly attributed this depletion to the high rate of deficit financing. Considering non-availability of Sterling Balances upon which to fall back at the beginning of the Third Plan, the removal of existing export restrictions will go a long way in finding foreign exchange.

We have to maintain the process of economic growth during the remainder of the Plan period. Availability of rupee finance will cer-

tainly not solve the difficulty, which mainly stems from more demand for imports of investment goods and defence equipment. The contention that deficit in food supplies of food-grains can be made good through purchases under P.L. 480 is wishful thinking.

#### PROBLEM OF RESOURCES

Mr. G. L. Nanda's remarks in the Lok Sabha that the difficulties in implementing the Second Plan were more due to accidental circumstances rather than because of any deep-seated 'malady' makes the confusion worse compounded in the context of the World Bank's report. It is wrong to suppose that our imbalance in economic development is mainly due to international developments and bad monsoons. Also it is equally fallacious to presume that the recent Five-Power aid to India would virtually bridge the Rs. 560 crores foreign exchange gap in the Second Plan. Our main concern is how we should be able to find resources for proposed investment to finish projects heavily mortgaging our present and future earnings. Mr. Nanda's emphasis on increasing the rate of saving shows how we are following doctrinaire policies. There will be considerable agreement with the Planning Minister's remarks that 'the level of productivity had to be raised in the context of foreign exchange resources.' This has brought forth the question of promoting exports and granting facilities to export industries. The World Bank's report deserves consideration in this respect as it has drawn pointed attention to some of the policies of the Government which have resulted in conserving supplies of some of the exportable commodities for home consumption and overloading of export industries with social overheads and multiplicity of taxes.

In a country where private export trade is inefficiently organised, Governmental intervention makes a strong case for securing better prices. The need is more urgent in the case of our country, where 'the people' as aptly remarked by the expert team 'have never been traditionally export-minded.' Mr. Nanda's efforts to impress upon the people on the one hand that 'there is no deep-seated malady in

the Second Plan' and his call on the other hand 'for a revolutionary touch in dealing with the problems' rather ignore one basic fact pointed out by the World Bank's experts that there is a conflict in the present Plan between consolidation and expansion.

#### CONSOLIDATION VERSUS EXPANSION

The reappraisal of the Second Plan resulting in an additional outlay of Rs. 150 crores over the ceiling of Rs. 450 crores for the implementation of the 'core' and 'inescapable' schemes of the Second Plan, shows that we are expanding without consolidating at all levels. There is no scope for augmenting the additional outlay either by way of more taxation or saving. If Government thinks of more deficit financing for raising the additional resources it will drive the country towards complacency of ambitious planning.

It is extremely doubtful whether the State Governments will be able to raise an additional tax revenue of Rs. 60 crores in the coming two financial years. The failure of States so far in raising programmed outlay for the Plan is noteworthy in addition to their uninspiring record of increasing agricultural production. The total expenditure of State Governments has already gone up from Rs. 214 crores to 312 crores. According to the reappraisal of the Plan the overall deficit in internal resources will be Rs. 390 crores. This amount is to be raised by the Central and the State Governments in the next two years. Popular discontent in the States against the present burden of taxation leaves little scope for fresh taxation. The Central Government has already reached their target for raising revenue from fresh taxation. To raise additional resources of the order of Rs. 150 crores over the next two years will be a trial of financial endurance for the States, whose failure in reaching the annual target of small savings of Rs. 100 crores in the last three years is noteworthy. Mr. Nanda seems to have realised this, when he feared that 'the plan would remain at Rs. 4,500 crores unless efforts were made to raise more resources.' The Planning Commission would do well to think over the proposal of the World Bank's expert team

that no commitments should be made for new projects in the Third Plan involving substantial foreign exchange until there is reasonable assurance that the country will be able to afford them. The basic defect of our present planning must be accepted, namely the contradiction between consolidation and expansion as suggested by the study team.

#### AGRICULTURAL POLICY

Yet another defect to which the report has drawn the pointed attention of the Government is the present agricultural policy of the Government which makes grim reading, poor harvests, drought and failure of monsoons have reduced the output of foodgrains in 1957-58 by 6.2 millions less than 1956-57. Though we have received 1.8 million tons of foodgrains from abroad and hope to receive more from the U.S. under P.L. 480 the five million people added to the population each year provides no immediate solution to the chronic problem of food shortages. The World Bank's report has stressed that agricultural development should be accorded higher priority without which all plans for raising India's living standards must ultimately fail.

With minimum investment of foreign exchange the agrarian sector can give us increased output. Development programmes for agricultural reconstruction should be pursued from the point of view of export promotion which will expand overseas sales of agricultural products and raw materials. This may reduce the supplies in the home-market but the stepping up of the exports of agricultural products in the short period will certainly enable us to pay for imports of steel and engineering goods to increase the pace of industrial development in the Third Plan. Russia has followed the same policy after introducing the New Economic Policy which gradually prepared a runway for successive five-year plans. Examples are not wanting in the history of industrial development of some countries where agricultural production was increased and diversified to pay for imports necessary for industrialisation.

Agricultural production in India according to the World Bank's report has been slow in terms of potentialities for growth, but is generally responsive to price incentives and specific price supports. But they observed that 'greater demand for chemical fertilisers appear to have been successful but now shortage of fertilisers is holding back production all over India and is probably hampering parallel developments in agriculture.' In view of this the Union Food Minister's announcement in the Lok Sabha that the supply of fertilisers is going to be a limiting factor in the future agricultural production on account of paucity of foreign exchange is a matter of concern. More concerted efforts are needed on the irrigation front by way of phasing the water rates and providing liberal finance to change the present crop pattern. More insistence on co-operatives which cover only 10 per cent of the farming population, is not enough. The failure of co-operatives in the rural sector has much to do with linking of the supply of rural credit on proper lines with the distribution of fertilisers. Adequate credit along with incentives and inducements to ensure stability of agricultural prices would yield better results. Here, according to the World Bank's experts 'single-minded approach might yield better results' as they pointed out in agricultural sector 'the efforts have been dispersed over too wide a field instead of being concentrated on a few key points.'

#### STATE TRADING AND PRICE POLICY

The World Bank's report has made a strong plea for positive State intervention in the marketing of agricultural produce and formulation of price support policy therein. In this light Government's decision to extend State Trading in the wholesale business of foodgrains to prevent hoarding and speculation supplemented by regulation of consumption and directioning of food production is to be welcomed. The failure of the States in preparing and implementing the schemes of land reforms to provide complete security of tenure to the tiller continues to restrict food produc-



tion. Uncertainty about land reform is no doubt holding up food production and Mr. Jain's plea for some sort of peace on the land reform issue needs careful consideration by the States and all political parties. Equally it is necessary for the Central Government to carry out its policy of State trading to its logical conclusion with regimentation. The fixation of floor and maximum prices before the sowing season is also necessary. It is high time for the Planning Commission to be more responsive to the suggestions of the World Bank to achieve the revised target of an additional increase of 15 million tons of foodgrains as envisaged in the Plan.

#### TIMELY OBSERVATIONS

The World Bank's willingness to finance India's planned development, if reasonable understanding is given that a programme can

be worked out giving suitable assurance that the balance of payments deficit will be financed without adding to our future debt, is significant. The evaluation of India's planning in the World Bank's report has been fairly constructive. The timely observations and comments of the two-man study team of the World Bank deserves close consideration by the Government as it has provided a much-needed perspective to the problems of economic development of underdeveloped countries. The report has made us conscious about our economic imbalance and doctrinaire policies, but also encourages us to strengthen our traditional export industries, and has suggested not to overload our high cost economy with social overheads. The consideration of the Bank's report by the Government and implementation of the recommendations will certainly remove the gap between promise and performance.

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## A TRIUMPH OF ART

By ART CRITIC

In recent months in India there has been controversy about statues but to art critics like myself it appears that the emphasis has been wrong as it has been placed on the political, not the artistic merits of the works under discussion.

Speaking personally, I should support one hundred per cent any movement to do away with what the Prime Minister of India terms "these caricatures"; those monstrosities in stone or other material erected in honour of either Indians or British. To me it is a pity that philanthropists in their desire to erect statues in memory of great men and women, allowed their purses to rule their hearts and so they commissioned, to execute their wishes, men with little claim to renown as sculptors, solely because they made the lowest tender to do the work.

Take, for example, the statues in Madras. Few of the many to be seen all over the city will go down to history as masterpieces, with notable exceptions like the magnificent work depicting Munro on horse-back looking over the Island Grounds towards the sea; the rest should be consigned to oblivion or kept in

arts colleges as horrifying examples to the students of what not to do.

Keeping all this in mind it was with some trepidation that one day last week I went out to Chrompet to see a statue which I was told was to replace that masterpiece of the sculptor's art, Outram's statue, recently removed from its site in Calcutta because I wondered if it would be in any way worthy to replace its predecessor.

On arrival at a small studio I found burly, genial Devi Prosad Roy Chowdhury putting the finishing touches to a vast statue of Mahatma Gandhi. There can be few art critics who will deny that Chowdhury is the outstanding sculptor in India today with a worldwide reputation because of the masterpieces he has created and so I was agreeably surprised, after greeting him, to hear him say: "Before you judge this work remember how difficult it is to depict personality in a statue when the sculptor has only photographs to guide him."

Despite this handicap I consider that Chowdhury has once again produced a masterpiece, in this twelve-foot high statue of

the Father of the Nation. Here imprisoned in plaster, as it had not then been cast in bronze, are all the well-known characteristics of Gandhi. His dress and stick are typical though perhaps one misses the spectacles perched on his nose. He is obviously striding along the dusty village roads of India, as Chowdhury has even included a typical thorn bush, intent on either bringing harmony to the different communities or to arouse enthusiasm for the Independence Movement.

It is no caricature but a life-like master-

piece, as here, once again, created by the skill of Chowdhury's hands is the man whom all the world knew; typically Indian yet with a heart large enough to embrace all mankind. Let us all hope that when it is erected in Calcutta it will prove the needed incentive to encourage India's youth to carry out the Mahatma's wishes of making India into one nation in which the peoples of every community may dwell together in peace and good-will.

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## LEBANON—LAND OF MILK AND HONEY

By Z. H. KAZMI

The Lebanon, a tiny Arab Republic in West Asia, has been much in the news during the past six months. The sanguinary civil war which rocked the country during this bleak period of its history has now happily ended. This article gives a brief account of the various aspects of life of Lebanon.

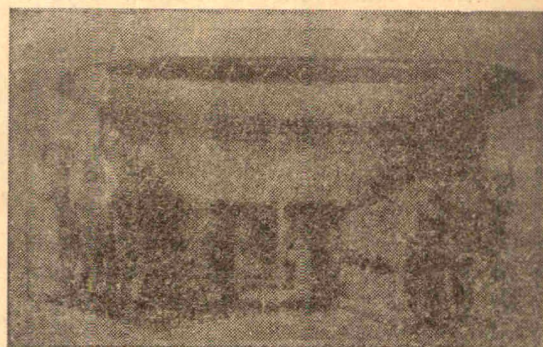


The remains of the Temple of Jupiter  
at Baalbek

• • Referred to in the Bible as the "Land of Milk and Honey", modern Lebanon was called Phoenicia in the days of yore.

Emigrating from their original home in South-East Arabia, the Semitic Phoenicians settled in the country's narrow but very fertile seaboard wedged in between the majestic Mt. Lebanon and the Mediterranean. Their new home was, however, too small to sustain them. Naturally, therefore, the ambitious Phoenicians looked seaward. And

the ever-smiling face of the Mediterranean invited them to seek new avenues of fortune. Soon the sea became their empire and the maritime trade their main source of wealth. Many bustling seaports and busy commercial centres sprang up on the Lebanese coast. Prominent among them were Tyre, Sidon,



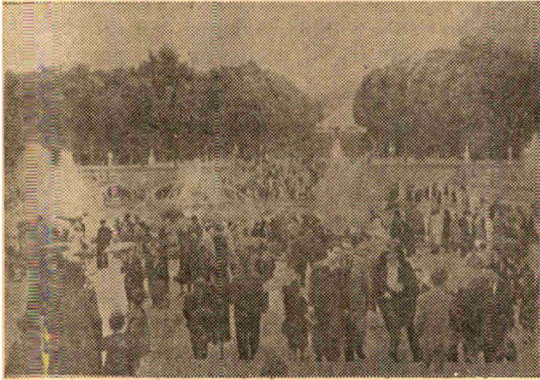
This bronze water-tank, a masterpiece of Phoenician workmanship, was presented to King Solomon of Palestine by King Hiram of Tyre

Byblos and Arvad. Like the Greek city-states they, however, remained isolated kingdoms, and there lay their weakness as is evident from the subsequent events of their chequered history. Bereft of their former glory, these big trading centres of ancient Phoenicia have today dwindled into insignificance.

It was from these broken-down ports that the great sea-faring Phoenicians pushed their



voyages westward about 2000 B. C. to establish colourful colonies along the northern coasts of the "Dark Continent". Carthage, the "Queen of the Mediterranean" and a rival of the imperial Rome, was a colony of these daring Phoenicians whose marine exploits formed a stirring page of romantic history.



Foreign tourists and Lebanese enjoying an evening in a Beirut park

In the mountain-draped Lebanon, smaller than Kerala State, one is seldom beyond the enchanting sound of the church-bells and the inspiring calls of the Moazzins (a moazzin calls the Muslim devotees for prayer from the tower of a mosque), for here live in complete harmony the adherents of both Christianity and Islam.

Although long familiar with the Christian thought, the Lebanese speak the eloquent language of the Koran. A large percentage of the people, however, understand English and French as well.

Of its total population of one and a half million about 51 per cent are Christians and the rest Muslims. They have been living together, through the ages, fully sharing their joys and sorrows. Even the French, during their twenty-seven years of domination (1920-46) failed to sow the seeds of communal hatred among them. Both the religious communities are, however, divided into many sects, some of which are considered heretics. Persecuted by the orthodoxy of their respective religions as and when they sprang up, the followers of these 'heretical sects' took refuge in the mountains of Lebanon. Of these the most notable are the Druzes. Strange as it may seem, the mem-

bers of this sect, an 11th century outgrowth of Islam, believe in the Hindu doctrines of the incarnation of God and the transmigration of the soul.

The tenacious Druzes, known for their bravery, gave the toughest time to French forces of occupation and, were therefore, subjected to utmost brutalities. Many of them fled to the U. S. A. where they have permanently settled in Flint, Danbury and elsewhere. Some one lakh and twenty-four thousand Druzes still live in Mt. Lebanon, their earliest refuge. At home they are farmers, stock-breeders and landlords.

The system of government in Lebanon is parliamentary and democratic. The religious communities are represented in parliament on the basis of population. Executive powers are exercised by the President and the Council of Ministers, responsible to Parliament. Under the Constitution of the Republic, the President must be a Christian and the Prime Minister a Muslim.

The modern State of Lebanon occupies a strip of land—120 miles long and 30 miles wide—along the east end of the Mediterranean, bounded on the north and east by Syria and on the South by Israel. On the east of the fertile coastal belt lie the mountains—Mt. Lebanon Range—rising to over ten thousand feet. Then comes the Bekka, the Lebanese section of the great rift valley succeeded by the second mountain barrier—the Anti-Lebanon—which forms a natural boundary between Syria and Lebanon.

The seaward slopes of the snow-capped Mt. Lebanon and the sides of the long profound valleys that run down its high crest are covered with wonderful cultivated terraces which support the surprising number of villages concealed in its recesses. Here the hardy Lebanese farmers are seen repairing their terraces or tending their fruit-laden orchards, their prototypes of the fabled 'Hanging Gardens of Babylon'.

Nature has endowed Lebanon with fascinating scenery and delightful climate. Everywhere its golden, glittering beaches are in close proximity of the towering Mount Lebanon. If, on some fine spring morning, one has warmed up on its sunny seashore,



he may very well ascend the nearby snow-capped mountain within an hour, just to cool down.

A place of rest and recreation, Lebanon is the Switzerland of the sun-baked Middle East and attracts tourists from far and near.



Loading a camel in a Lebanese village

Ahead of all of her sister Arab nations in the modern system of education and hospitality to Western thought and practice, Lebanon boasts of three big universities and a network of up-to-date schools and colleges. The American University established in 1871 at Beirut plays a dominant role in the educational set-up of the country. Equipped with all the faculties of art, science and commerce, it is the largest American educational institution outside the U. S. A. Besides some 2,400 Lebanese it has students from many other countries on its roll.

The economy of Lebanon is today tied up with its agricultural produce, fishery and the booming tourist trade. Most of the Lebanese live in villages where they work hard to eke out a living. Almost all the cultivable land is devoted to farming. The rolling land of the rocky regions and the plains below produce a profusion of luscious fruits and a bountiful crop, a part of which is exported.

Long ago the main wealth of Lebanon was its forests. Mount Lebanon once abounded in the gigantic trees known as cedars. Since the dawn of civilization the cedars have been the most-prized possession of the

country. They provided planks for the Phoenician ships which coursed the unknown seas. These monarchs of mountains even travelled a distance of 1,000 miles across the 'Fertile Crescent' to support the huge roofs of the Iranian King's great palace at Persepolis. And it was from these eternal cedars that the mighty Pharaohs of Egypt obtained wood for their 'solar boats' and 'royal coffins'; while later King Solomon the Wise, used them for his magnificent temple and palace in Jerusalem.

Their indiscriminate felling and continual export over a period of 4,000 years has, however, turned the cedar-clad hills of Lebanon into naked rocks. Some 75 miles north-west of Beirut at an altitude of 6,300 ft.



A pretty Lebanese shepherdess with a lamb

the remnants of the majestic cedars—a snowy bouquet of four hundred trees—are now concentrated in a grove called the "Cedars of the Lord"

Today the cedar finds a place of pride



on the national flag of the country and adorns the hats of its civil and military officers.

Beirut, the lovely Capital of the Republic, has for a variety of reasons more attraction for the Western tourist than any other town of the Middle-East. Its busy streets—lined with shops and stores overflowing with Western goods, filled with cars and buses, mostly of American make, and crowded with shoppers of diverse races and nationalities—present a cosmopolitan spectacle. Here the Occident rubs shoulders with the Orient. Beirut is perhaps out to repudiate the Kipling maxim, "East is east and West is west and the twain shall never meet."

The metropolis of Lebanon boasts of luxurious hotels, art and sporting clubs, beautiful beaches and air-conditioned theatres. No less attractive are its fabulous National Museum—which houses archaeological finds dating back to 3000 B. C.—Grand Mosque, amazing "Pigeon Rocks" grotto, and colourful oriental bazars.

Hardly five miles from Beirut's orange groves and vineyards Lebanon's 5000-year-old history is carved on the rocky walls of Nahr-el-Kulb (Dog River) whence the drinking water is pumped down to the Capital. On its matchless cleft the conquerors since Rameses of Egypt have set up tablets commemorating their passing.

A motor trip from Beirut along the picturesque, coastal road northward to Tripoli and southward to Tyre comprises what might well be described as "seeing ancient Phoenicia in six hours." On the way to Tripoli this bustling highway crosses the river Adonis, whose water runs red during the winter rains. Though the geologists say the iron-ore colours its flooded water, the local folk still believe in the Greek legend that it is Adonis's blood, spilled by the wounded boar and mourned by Venus. At Byblos, not far from this legendary river, stand the musty relics of an almost forgotten past. Thousands of years before Christ, the Lebanese cedars were shipped to Egypt from Byblos, whose Greek name meaning "book" is perpetuated in the much-too-familiar word "Bible". Jewellery, arms and sarcophagy unearthed in this great commercial and religious centre of the ancient world, and now preserved in the National Museum at Beirut, throw light on its past

grandeur. The monuments pertaining to the Amonite, Hyksos, Egyptian, Phoenician, Greco-Roman and medieval periods are still seen in this 6,000 year-old city.

Situated on the edge of the forests of olive and mulberry trees and orchards laden with the multicoloured fruits, Tripoli—the nerve-centre of the Lebanese politics—carries on the Phoenician's trading tradition.



Girl students of an English Mission School at Beirut

As in the Phoenician times, silk, fruits and olive oil worth millions of rupees are still exported from its busy harbour. Here the giant pipelines bring tons of petroleum from the oil-rich deserts of Arabia for shipment to the oil-thirsty Western World.

About fifty-six miles south of Beirut lies the fallen city of Tyre. Tyre was the Bombay of bygone days. During the reign of the celebrated King Hiram (1000 B. C.), it was at its zenith. The splendid structures, built of granite brought from Egypt, lined its humming harbour. Their owners monopolized the sea-trade of their time.

Unfortunately, the Tyrians believed that the famous or infamous god Moloch governed their destinies. His worship demanded children's sacrifice. And so hundreds of ill-fated children were, as a matter of routine, sacrificially committed to the flames perpetually rising in his temple. This horrific ritual at last provoked the indignation of Prophet Ezekiel of ancient Israel and the proud Tyre is said to have crumbled under his curse. The present-day Tyre actually looks like a victim of the Heavenly wrath.



Midway on the Tyre-Beirut road is Sidon, which has somehow preserved some of its attractive features. The fishing boats huddled up in its broken-down harbour and its small ship-building yards denote that Phoenicia's spirit of navigation still lives in her descendants. On its acropolis stands the remains of the crusader castle recalling to 'memory history' some of the bloodiest battles fought between the European Christians and the Arab Muslims over the possession of the Holyland. Incidentally, Sidon was also the farthest point north of Palestine where Jesus Christ went and preached.

Winding its way through the fertile Bekaa valley, as the spectacular Beirut-Damascus railway climbs up the Anti Lebanon mountain, one comes in full view of the fantastic temple city of Baalbek. Nestled in a green grove, it is a curious mixture of

ancient ruins and modern habitation. Baalbek was found by the Phoenicians for the worship of Baal, their "god of light." Among its historic remains are the Roman temples of Jupiter and Bacchus whose gigantic columns create at once a feeling of awe and admiration; a strong subterranean passage and enclosure wall, presumably of the amphitheatre: and the 12th century citadel and great mosque.

As I bade good-bye to Husain-al-Azam, my young Lebanese friend at the Baalbek railway station, he told me proudly that nowhere else the old and the new blended better than in his country.

A land of legend and history, Lebanon is, indeed, the Gate way of the East, the bridge between East and West and the Central pivot of one of the world's most strategic and coveted areas.

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## ✓ "INDIA 1958" EXHIBITION

### A Glimpse of Progress

BY PARIMAL CHANDRA MUKHERJEE

SEEING is believing. Otherwise, it is hard even to guess that such a show as now on display in Delhi—"India 1958" Exhibition could be produced in India. According to a press report some foreign dignitaries while seeing the exhibition with Prime Minister Nehru, are understood to have stated, "The exhibition would take us more time to see than it actually took you to build it." Although the Indian Industries Fair in 1955 organised in Delhi on the same site can be stated to be the fore-runner of the present display, there is a fundamental difference between these two. While the former was mainly an International Industrial Fair organised by the Government of India in which India was one of the participating countries, the present exhibition is claimed to be a purely Indian show in the strictest sense of the term.

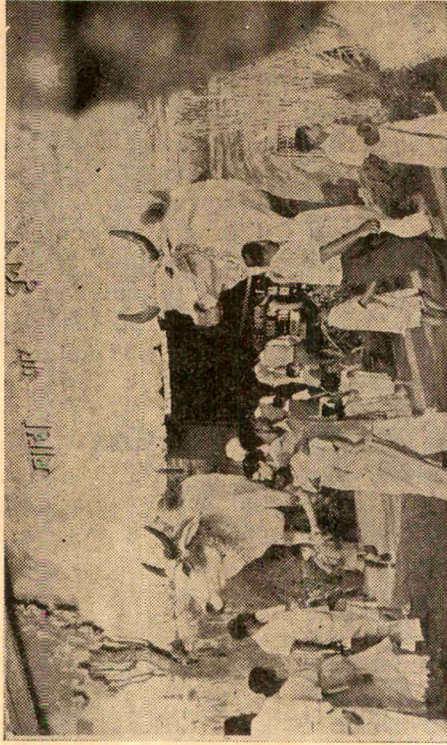
It is eleven years ago that we achieved our independence. During this period we have crossed the first Five Year Plan, are in the middle of the Second, and talking about the Third Five Year Plan.

Further, conflicting claims of progress and retrogression are being heard from various quarters. Under such a confusing state of opinions the general mass of the people are bound to be confounded which is likely to make them apathetic towards efforts to further the interest of the country as a whole.

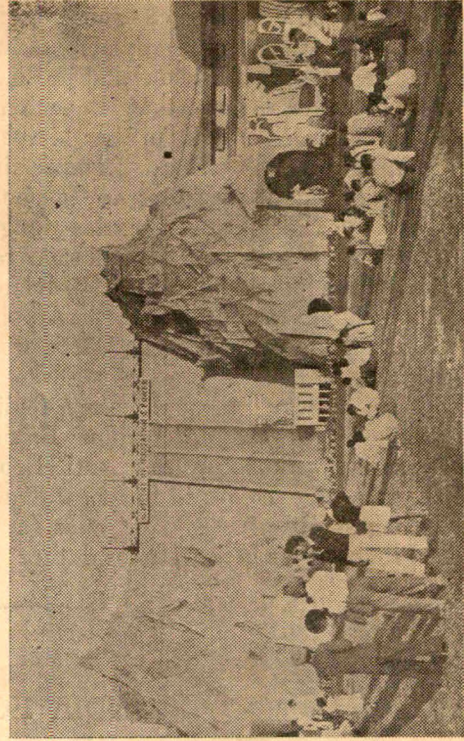
Viewed in this context, the arrangement of the "India 1958" Exhibition has been timely and proper. For the same reason the scope and layout of the display has naturally to be wide and representative. The result is that the exhibition covers an area of about 110 acres of land compelling you to walk some twenty three miles when you have come out after seeing every stall or pavilion. It has the look of a city within the city of Delhi except that trams, buses and taxis are not plying.

One can see today's India in her various moods of Science, Technology, Commerce and Industry, both public and private sector, Defence and Security, Food and Agriculture, Transport and Communication, Information

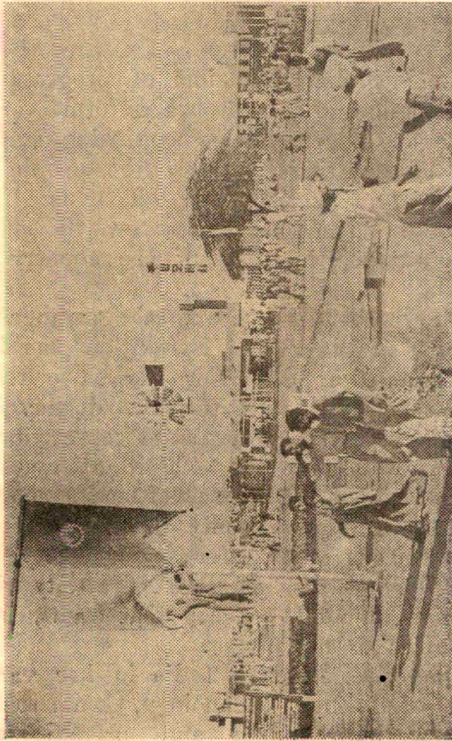




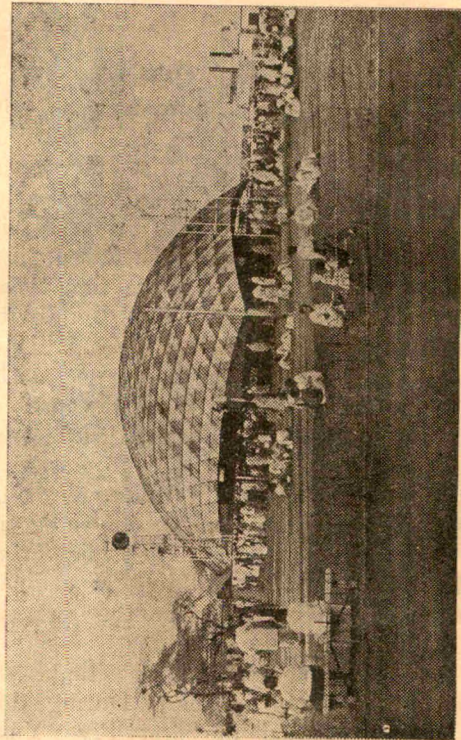
Greeting Bulls—Food and Agriculture



Irrigation and Power



A General View



Calico Dome



and Broadcasting, Health and Works and Housing, Natural Wealth, Education, Culture and Universities, Aviation, Shipping, Ports, Exploitation of Atoms, different states of India with their special features and problems, and several other features which though minor are all the same important in the making of our country. The whole affair has therefore been so big and extensive that one may spend weeks together with profit. But few have such spare time at their disposal. A hurried walk round the exhibition is bound to leave an impression of conviction, even to the uninitiated, that India can do her bit in her own way.

As progress in any country is inalienably linked up with its scientific advancement, it is but natural that "Science and Technology Pavilion" will dominate the public mind. Some sixty different Institutions such as National Laboratories and CSIR Units, Research and Technological Institutions, Surveys and Government Departments, National Research Development Corporation, and twenty-one different Universities of India have participated in the display. Authorities regret to say that accommodations for all those to whom invitations were extended for participation could not be afforded and that every thing that should have been displayed could not be arranged for obvious reasons. But, even this selective show definitely proves that of the three important M's—'men', 'material' and 'money'—India is not certainly lacking in the first two, and will surely be able to overcome the third if she can master the three L's—'labour', 'loyalty', and 'leadership'.

Exhibits displayed in the Science Pavilion represent both basic and applied research. For obvious reasons it is not possible to mention all of them; only a few of common interest are being mentioned here.

Glasses required for the manufacture of Optical Instruments are cent per cent imported. A lump of crystal-clear optical glass made for the first time in India by the Central Glass and Ceramic Research Institute, Calcutta (CGCRI) and certified by Technical Development Establishment (Instruments), a Research and Development Organisation under the Ministry of Defence, is a ray of high hopes towards self-sufficiency.

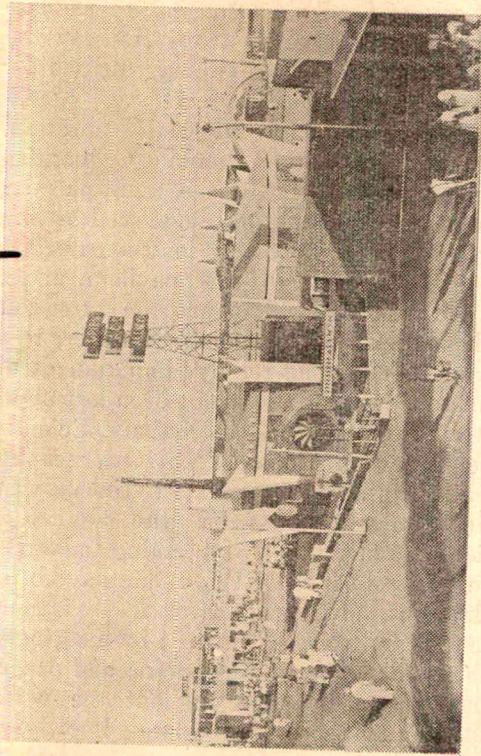
In the year 1953 when on a visit to Kodarma, a centre of Mica mines in Bihar, I was wondering at the pile of Mica Waste lying unused. Today it gratified me a lot to see the Mica bricks on view in the same pavilion processed out of waste Mica which are invaluable for conserving heat in high temperature furnaces.

Expensive selenium metal used as a colorant in the bangle industry is an imported item. The CGCRI has offered an alternative process which in view of the great demand for bangles will mean something in the process of saving foreign exchange. In the case of red signal glasses used for railway and traffic signals this process is being utilised for their commercial production.

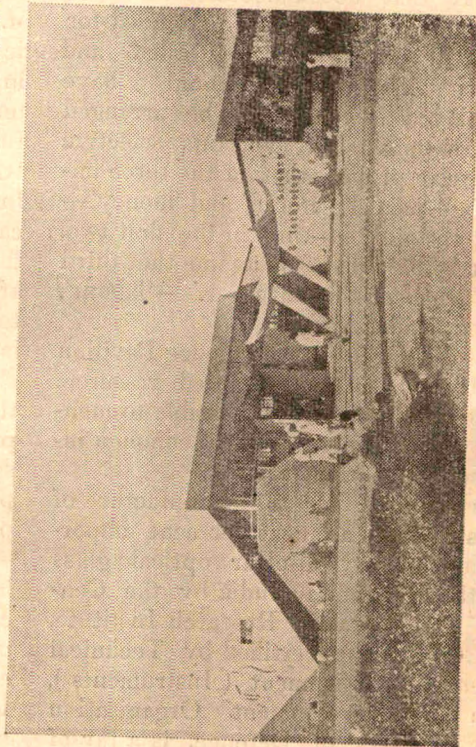
Various plant models of coal utilisation, cement, and synthetic Vitamin C, various processes of drugs, medicines, multipurpose and infant foods should not be missed by any visitor. Apart from many instruments and appliances exhibited in this pavilion, maps, charts and paintings will attract the attention of both scientists and laymen. Further, it is gratifying to note that relative importance of scientific documentation has not been lost sight of. Activities of the Indian National Scientific Documentation Centre (INSDOC) set up in 1952 by the Government of India with technical assistance from the UNESCO functioning under the CSIR having administrative control of the NPL, India, have been fully laid out. Justification for its existence can be well appreciated when it is mentioned that thousands of scientific books and papers are being published throughout the world to-day. Unless therefore the latest knowledge is acquired by persons or institutions engaged in a particular branch of research they are likely to spend wasteful labour on problems which are already known and solved. The INSDOC is making efforts to provide information on request at nominal price.

With due stress on Science and Technology it is expected that our foreign exchange commitments on account of Defence Equipments will be gradually minimised if not eliminated altogether and a visit to the Defence Pavilion will give us a hopeful impression in this direction. While Instruments like Binoculars, Telescopes Photo-Enlargers, Still

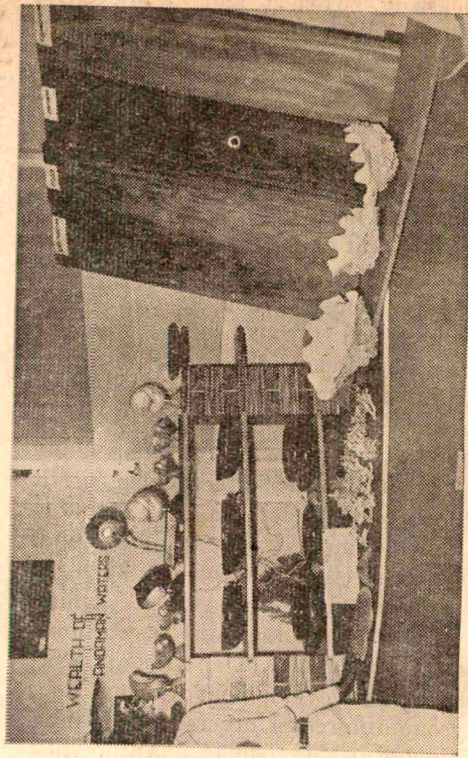




Streamlined constructions



Science and Technology



Wealth of Andaman Waters



Projectors, Microscopes of certain types and similar other things are already on the production list, there are many more items required by the army for which heavy amounts are paid to foreign countries. An astronomical telescope, an electronic gun for shooting practice without bullets and a dummy parachute landing device will easily catch the attention of the general public. Medical appliances required by the army will also impress many.

From the industrial progress-point of view 'Steel, Mines, and Fuel' are some of the most important factors; and the pavilion, put up by the Ministry concerned, definitely brings home to all visitors the world of rich resources that are being carefully preserved by the mother earth for our benefit. Gigantic efforts for the exploitation of natural resources have been successfully brought out by means of huge models, charts and pictures. One can see a bottle of earth-mixed oil, recently drilled at Cambay under the pavilion of the Oil and Natural Gas Commission.

On the Transport and Communication side, the Railways have occupied a very large area. The coaches on view may bring hope to hundreds of people who are suffering untold miseries daily. The progress has however to be viewed against the problem of satisfying the need of three hundred and sixty million people. The Indian Railways constitute Asia's largest and the world's fourth largest system. There are some 7000 trains running daily covering an aggregate distance of approximately 562,000 miles which are equivalent to 25 journeys round the earth at the equator.

Coming round to Health and Works and Housing Ministries pavillions three dimensional models of the CPWD are quite interesting. The Health Ministry has brought out the health problems—Malaria, Tuberculosis, insanitation, increase in population and lack of medical care. They have also depicted the five National Health Programmes—Malaria eradication, Tuberculosis control, Water-supply and Sanitation, Family planning, and Establishment of primary health centres. According to figures, Malaria has been reduced by 74 per cent, 185 T. B. clinics have been established, the number of T. B. beds have been increased by 16,000 and

111 million people have been vaccinated with B. C. G.

The Housing Division depicts schemes which include subsidised Industrial Housing, Low Income Group Housing scheme, Slum Clearance, and Village Housing Project schemes. Designs of small houses to suit the hot, arid and humid climates of India are quite interesting.

The Indian Panorama Pavilion has successfully shown the different parts of India, her people and her culture in an impressive manner. The respective ministry of Small Scale Industry, Irrigation and Power, and Food and Agriculture has made their respective Pavilion well-laid and informative. In the entrance to the Food and Agriculture Pavilion two bullocks of plaster, life-size and life-like, greet all visitors. They seem to be in a asking mood, "At man's command I stir, ... I am his stern messenger, does he do his duty well, as I do mine?" Considering the invaluable service rendered by the animals, I think, they have every right to ask this question, and it is for us to answer it in a befitting manner.

The little corner from the Andamans drives away from the minds of the people the dread of the place and brings home to us our inseparable tie of human as well as economic relations between the people of the island and those of the rest of India.

As regards the Private Sector, the grand show produced by the Tata with a live Locomotive Engine in front will raise high hopes of India's prosperity and self-sufficiency. The orange-and-white Waterproof Cloth geodesic dome of the Calico Mills is a distinguishing feature of the exhibition. The dome is some 40 ft. high, 100 ft. in diameter—covering a floor area of about 7000 sq. ft.

What have been described above are by no means representative. For such an exposition a full-sized, thick volume is necessary, and the scope of this article does not permit the writer to do so. But it would be improper to conclude this sketchy note without a mention of its amusement, parks, restaurants and cafeteria, sanitation arrangements, aesthetic surroundings and a dreamland appearance at sundown.

Considering its popularity and the huge expenses involved in establishing the show, the decision to extend it beyond 30th of



November, understood to be originally scheduled to close, will be welcome from all quarters. Further, however popular it may be, it is physically impossible for even a minority of the people of our vast

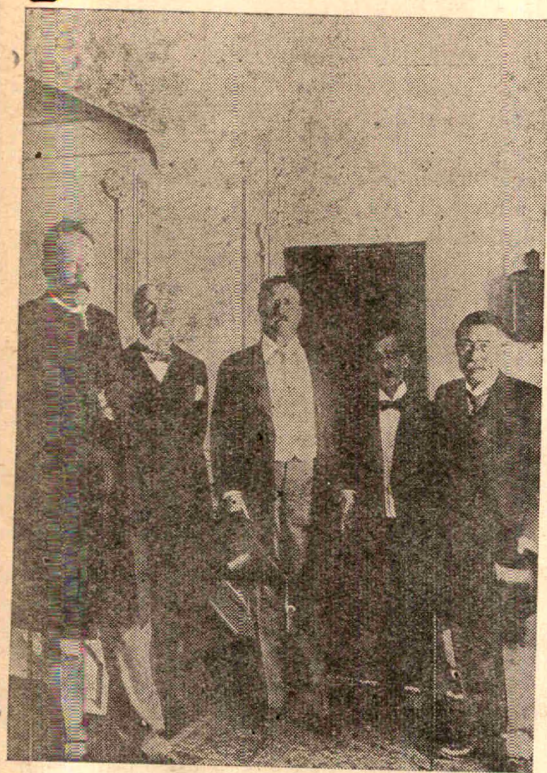
land to see and benefit by it. It is, therefore a matter for consideration whether different regions of India should not be chosen for sites alternately for future shows.

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## THEODORE ROOSEVELT : THE MAN

THEODORE Roosevelt, 26th President of the United States, the centennial of whose birth is being celebrated this year, is remembered as a vivid, dynamic personality who, overcoming tremendous personal handicaps, transformed weakness into notable strength.

This trait of indomitable resolution was revealed in his development from a frail, sickly lad unable to play with boys of his own age to the most athletic man who has ever reached the White House as the nation's Chief Executive.



Acting as mediary, President Theodore Roosevelt is seen in this photograph with the representatives of the two nations at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where the peace treaty which ended the Russo-Japanese War was signed

Roosevelt's characteristic ability to surmount difficulties and handicaps by leaping over obstacles or battering them aside with persistent determination was a quality that made him a reformer and public servant who fought furiously for what he considered the rights of the people.

In the international field, he was an executive with lofty sights—an idealist who worked vigorously to bring about practical realities. Outstanding among his achievements are his role in furthering construction of the Panama Canal to expand world trade and his mediation to end the Russo-Japanese War.

Theodore Roosevelt was born in New York City on October 27, in a comfortable brownstone house which is now a museum memorializing the statesman he became. The weak-sighted baby was so wracked with asthma that he was often bundled late at night into the family carriage for hurried visits to the neighbourhood physician.

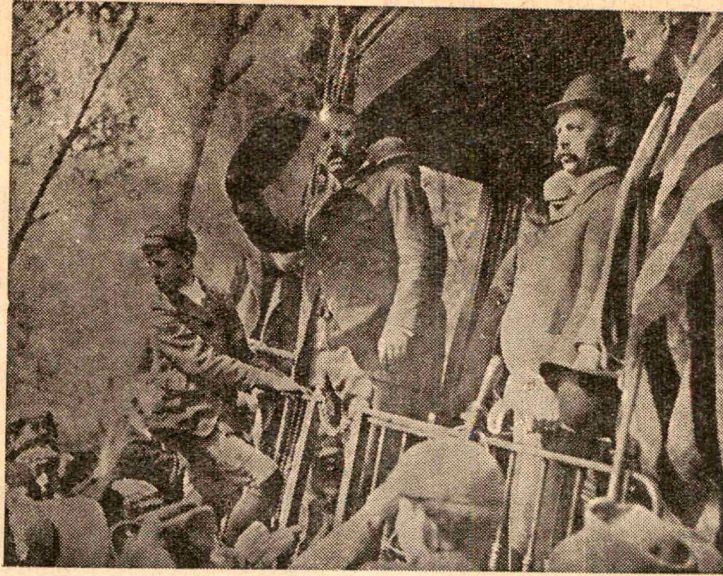
Young "Teddy's" future seemed dismal as he faced the life of a semi invalid unable to develop fully the keen intellectual potentialities apparent early in the precocious child.

However, he was challenged one day by a statement that changed the course of his life. Theodore Roosevelt, Senior, a strong, understanding father, advised him: "You have the mind but...you must make your body. It is hard, drudgery, but I know you will do it."

Teddy became indefatigable in his determination to build a strong, rugged physique. He exercised regularly in a small gymnasium that he set up in his own home, participated in group athletics, and hiked for days through the New England woods.

The programme was so successful that years later when he was a young man he rode the ranges in western United States as a cowboy, remaining in the saddle for many





During his campaign for election as President Roosevelt was seen speaking to a gathering from a car platform

hours at a time. As the nation's Chief Executive in the White House from 1901 to 1909, visitors and government aides struggled to keep pace with him in sporting matches and in vigorous walks through Washington parks.

Roosevelt's versatility, another of his outstanding qualities, was also developed during his boyhood years. His parents encouraged him in his study of nature and his love for books.

As a result, in later life he read poetry while exploring the hazardous "River of Doubt" in Brazil. He wrote a biography of a Missouri statesman while operating a cattle ranch in North Dakota. He identified 64 different bird-calls in an English forest while strolling with a British Foreign Secretary before World War I.

Roosevelt, the man, was so versatile in his interests that the contrasts in his personality sometimes astonished even his family and closest friends. He was a man of vigorous action yet his reflective nature is revealed in the fact that he nearly had a book in hand or nearby. He was considered one of the best-read men of his time.

Roosevelt was an able and prolific writer on a variety of subjects. His published works included history, biography, diaries, monographs, nature studies, and political exhortations. Among his compositions, which were marked by a clear and swiftly-moving style, were a large number of letters.

As a soldier Roosevelt was an energetic extrovert who headed the colorful cavalymen known as the "Rough Riders" during the Spanish-American War. He was a leader to whom his men were loyal and deeply devoted. They followed Roosevelt through waist-high undergrowth in a widely publicized charge against Spanish defences outside Santiago in Cuba—a feat that captured the admiration of the American populace.

When Roosevelt returned home after the war as a hero of great renown, his fairness and generosity with the Cuban government were revealed in his stand as a government leader. As President he reiterated and stood firmly behind his nation's previous promise that Cuban independence from Spanish rule would be supported and that the small republic's right to determine its own destiny would be upheld.



Roosevelt was recognized by scientists as a good naturalist and a particularly trustworthy observer of wild-life. Also noted as a hunter of big game, he sailed for Africa in 1909 on a scientific expedition under auspices of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington.



Roosevelt was a vivid speaker who emphasized many of his statements with strong gestures

In 1913 Roosevelt went to South America to address numerous scientific groups and to obtain jungle specimens in Brazil for the Museum of Natural History in New York City. At the request of the Brazilian Govern-

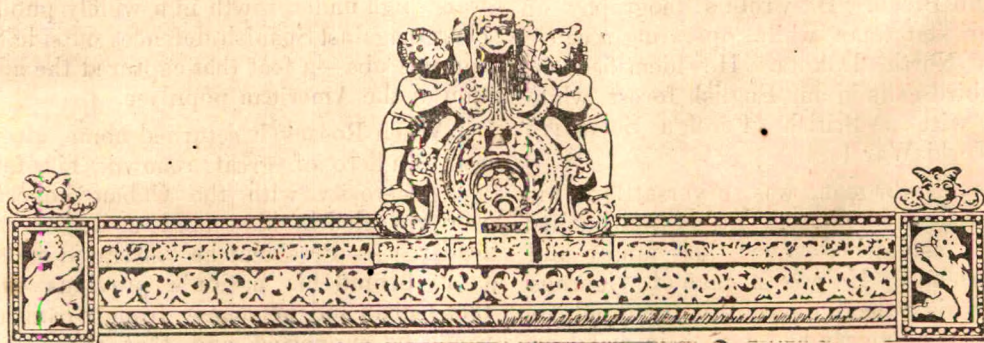
ment, he set out with a Brazilian exploring party to determine the course of an unknown waterway shown vaguely on maps as the "River of Doubt".

In the course of the perilous journey through 900 miles (1,450 kilometers) of wilderness, Roosevelt became seriously ill with fever. Loss of supplies added to the party's hardships. When they returned from this exploit, the Brazilian Government named the river in honour of Roosevelt.

Though he enjoyed travelling in other countries, Roosevelt was also devoted to his family and home. He always found time to give fond attention and advice to his children and many of his letters to them are displayed this year in exhibits presenting this side of Roosevelt's character.

After serving his country in many levels of government, Roosevelt volunteered for overseas service in World War I, but because of his age and physical disabilities caused by accident and tropical infections, his offer was not accepted. However, his four sons served overseas. One son died in aerial combat. Death came quietly to Roosevelt at his home in 1919.

In the anniversary observance this year his life is cited as an excellent example of "Responsible Citizenship." This was the celebration theme chosen by the centennial commission authorized by the U. S. Congress to direct the year-long observance. And remembered also in the numerous events and tributes is Roosevelt the man, versatile in tastes and talents, with an insatiable curiosity about life and a warm and endearing friendliness.—USIS



## GLIMPSES OF A GREAT SOUL

By DR. ROMA CHAUDHURI,  
*Principal, Lady Brabourne College, Calcutta*

SELDOM it is that the world is fortunate enough to witness the advent of a great soul, who is really great not only in one respect, but also so in many others. A hundred years ago, our beloved Mother India produced such a great son in the exquisitely sweet and lovable person of Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose, whose Birth-Centenary is being celebrated all throughout the country with due reverence and affection. It would manifestly be wrong to characterise him only as a great Scientist. To our mind, he was more, much more, than that, for, he was an Artist, and a Poet, and above all, a Philosopher, in the truest sense of the terms.

We were very fortunate, indeed, to get opportunities to come into a close contact with this Great Soul for many years. He was our father's maternal uncle, our grand-mother Swarnaprabha being his eldest sister. Swarnaprabha married Ananda Mohan Bose, the great scholar and patriot, and a close friend of Jagadish Chandra. His second sister Subarnaprabha married Mohini Mohan, brother of Ananda Mohan, and their youngest son Dr. Debendra Mohan Bose is the present Director of the Bose Research Institute. His other two sisters Labanyaprabha and Hemaprabha were, respectively, a celebrated writer and a Professor of Botany. Thus, Jagadish Chandra hailed from a highly cultured family which, in those days, became a foremost torch-bearer of Learning and Culture.

My childhood memories go back to Jagadish Chandra's beautiful residential house where we lived for many years with him, and the adjoining serene gardens of the Bose Institute which always enchanted us as a Fairy-land and a garden of Eden. My eldest sister Uma was born in that house, and was a special pet of Jagadish Chandra. He himself was childless, but his paternal love poured in ceaseless effusion over all his grand-nephews and nieces. We called him *Dadamasaya* (maternal grand-father) and not *Thakurda* (paternal grand-father), according to the usual custom. <sup>2</sup>Manv. indeed, are our sweet

memories regarding our beloved *Dadu*, full of sweet jokes and lovely pranks, which made our childhood days so flowing with joy and excitement.

But there was also another side of his nature which we all learnt to love and respect from our childhood days. That was his almost passionate love for his own work. Here, he brooked no interference, no break of any kind whatsoever, and we also, under his benign influence, learnt to restrain our childish glee and giggling when we found him at work, submerged in his researches, oblivious of everything else.

Science, it is a common saying, is a jealous mistress. But Jagadish Chandra's devotion to his work has to be seen to be believed. It was not an ordinary research, but a sublime *Tapasya* as found in the case of *Muni-Rishi*. He inculcated this spirit of devotion to all around, and in his moments of relaxation, delighted us with simple anecdotes of great scientific discoveries and the morals thereof.

Jagadish Chandra's supreme strength of character manifested itself in another way, no less, *viz.*, in his indomitable courage, infinite self-confidence and undying optimism. He not only *accepted* but also *lived* the great maxim of Gita, "Work out your own salvation by your own Self,—never make the self depressed—for self is your greatest friend, again, self is your most dangerous enemy." Acharyadeva found in his own self his greatest friend, and that is why, in the midst of all his early struggles and frustrations, he remained absolutely firm in his path and finally succeeded in reaching the great goal.

Our great Sanskrit Poet Bhavabhuti has very aptly and beautifully described the hearts of Great Men as "harder than thunder-bolt, but softer than flower." This is really an all-time maxim, for, no one can be great unless one possesses, on the one hand, tenacity of purpose, and on the other, love for Humanity. In Jagadish Chandra these two combined to make him a Great Philosopher in the lan-



age of Indian Philosophy, a *Drasta*, a Seer, has exhorted all to love the Universe, and who sees "God in everything and everything in then alone, he asserts with firm faith, can we God" (Isa-Upanishad). What did he see in understand its language, unravel its secrets and God, what did he see in everything? He saw feel its pulses within our own. nothing but *Prana*, nothing but Life, nothing Such was our beloved *Dadamasaya*—a but Love. He was, indeed, one of the greatest living symbol of Love and Sweetness, who brains of the century, but he unlocked the spread Honey and Nectar all around through doors of the Mysterious Universe, not through his every gait and gesture, word and action. Reasoning, but through Feeling, through that May his message of Universal Love and Frater-sweetest, most sublime, most serene Feeling nity inspire the war-mad world to a new Path viz., Love. In one of his beautiful articles he of Peace and Bliss.

### THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF BIPIN CHANDRA PAL

By DR. VISHWANATH PRASAD VARMA, M.A. (Patna), M.A. (Columbia), Ph.D. (Chicago)

*Professor of Politics, Patna University*

FIERY orator, keen and intrepid patriot, inspired educationalist, journalist and writer Sri Bipin Chandra Pal (1858-1932) was the prophet of a strong, bold, self-reliant, vigorous nationalism in India. He flourished at a time when Bengal had been undergoing the ferment of an intellectual and moral renaissance.) He had personally experienced the exhilaration of the intellectual emancipation initiated by the Brahmo Samaj although later on he subscribed to the traditional creed, philosophy and theology of Hinduism. He was one of the supreme exponents of a vigorous, reawakened national spirit. He first attended the Congress session in 1887 in Madras. He also visited England and the United States and returned home in 1900. The partition of Bengal roused his deeply sensitive soul and through the spoken and written word he began to preach the Gospel of a pure and self-assertive nationalism. He stood for autonomy and absolute freedom from British control. In 1907 he was arrested and imprisoned when he refused to testify against Sri Aurobindo Ghosh when the latter was charged with a sedition case. He toured throughout the country and eloquently preached the sacred and powerful *mantra* of *swarajya* and *swadeshi*. He did not live to complete the *Memoirs* of his life, only one volume for which could be published in 1932. His extant books—*Indian Nationalism* and *Nationality and Empire*

are marked by great theoretical insight. Valentine Chirol has paid tribute to the "great intellectual force and high character of Bipin Chandra Pal."

As a political philosopher Pal accepted divine determinism in history. History to him was not a discontinuous purposeless medley of discreet events. History was the manifestation of a divine teleology. There was an immanent meaning and supreme purpose in history. The history of India was also the revelation of a supreme meaning. It was the quest for autonomy and for the enshrinement of the good. The inner significance and deep import of all the historical movements and transformations in Indian history—from the days of the Aryan settlers to the days of the Moslem conquerors, and the political activities of the Palas, the Senas, Pratapaditya, the Mahratta confederacy, and the imperialistic rule of Great Britain—had been the realisation of our divinely appointed destiny as a people. Against Darwinian evolutionism, Spencerian agnosticism and Humean scepticism Pal stood up as the prophet of the Vedic and Puranic doctrine that history is the field of habitation (*Isavasyam*) or the playground (*Lila*) of the divine being. Like Bosanquet Pal says that social and civic institutions are instruments and vehicles for the "progressive revelation and realisation of God in and through man." Servitude is alien to the human

spirit. "God made man in his own image, essentially and potentially free and pure; shall man keep him in eternal bondage and sin?" Hence, for the sake of civic and national emancipation it was essential to conquer the *Maya* or the illusion of British suzerainty by methods of passive resistance. He repudiated the medieval tendency to abstract the ideal from the real, the spiritual from the material and the individual from his environment. As a political thinker Pal criticized Leo Tolstoy in an article entitled "Civic Freedom and Individual Perfection" dated the 22nd April, 1905. He spoke against the individualistic ideas of Tolstoy in so far as the latter regarded the individual as ethically independent of the social and civic institutions of his country. He reverted to the old social and political philosophy of India according to which the individual obtained fulfilment not through the negation of social and civic obligations but through voluntary and joyous fulfilment of his duties to the society.

Pal accepted the organic theory of the nation. The nation is not a mechanical contract. It is not the agglomeration of separate individuals. It is an organism and is informed with an all-pervasive intelligent and moral bond. The nation is the magnified and extended self of men. Hence, Pal accepted the necessity of sacrifice for the sake of the greater body. The nation is an abiding continuity of persistent historical memories and future purposes. Hence Pal declared in an article entitled *Bande-mataram* on July 6, 1906:

"In a nation, the individuals composing it stand in an organic relation to one another and to the whole of which they are limbs and organs. A crowd is a collection of individuals; a nation is an organism, the individuals are its organs. Organs find the fulfilment of their ends, not in themselves but in the collective life of the organism to which they belong. Kill the organism—the organs cease to be and to act. Paralyse the organs, the organism also ceases to live and work. An organism is logically prior to the organs. Organs evolve, organs change, but the organism remains itself all the

same. Individuals are born, individuals die, —but the Nation liveth for ever."

Pal was the champion of a revitalized resurrected New India, and in his paper *New India* he had written in expounding his concept of Composite Patriotism: "This New India is neither Hindu,—though the Hindu unquestionably forms the original stock and staple of it,—nor Mahomedan,—though they have made very material contributions to it,—nor even British,—though they are politically the masters of the country now,—but is made up of the varied and valuable materials supplied in successive stages of its evolution, by the three great world-civilisations, which the three great sections of the present Indian community represent." Pal preached a vigorous new patriotic spirit during the *Swadeshi* days. He condemned the outlandish rootless education system present in the country in those days and stood for national education. (He founded the paper *Bande Mataram* and through its columns preached the *mantra* or the Logos or divine-idea of *Swarajya*. Pal repudiated the cult of mendicancy and said: "There can be no reform, social, economic or political, that can be got from outside. You must gradually enquire your right." He stood for the triumph of the Indian spirit. He wanted to impart a comprehensive political connotation to the concept of boycott and did not favour it as a mere economic technique. On the meaning to be imparted to boycott, Pal and Madan Mohan Malviya differed at the historic Calcutta Congress of 1906. Pal emphatically declared: "It is impossible to work out a divorce between politics and economic, politics and industrial advancement in India. Swadeshism must associate itself with politics; and when Swadeshism associates itself with politics it becomes Boycott; and this Boycott is a movement of Passive Resistance." Along with Sri Aurobindo Ghosh, Pal was the prophet of renascent Bengal. Pal and Aurobindo belonged to the Extremist party of New Nationalism. In his famous Uttarpara speech Sri Aurobindo said with reference to Pal: "When I came I was not alone; one of the mightiest prophets of nationalism sat by my side. It was he (Pal) who



then came out of the seclusion to which God had sent him, so that in the silence and solitude of his cell he might hear the word that he had to say."

Pal stood up as the champion of spiritual nationalism. He would not subscribe to the doctrine of mere political acquisition of rights. He felt that the country was witnessing a spiritual enlightenment or risorgimento and "to regard it as either a mere economic or political movement is to misunderstand it altogether." But the spiritual interpretation of the movement of national emancipation did not mean any philosophic absorption in idealism and contemplation. Pal was a realist and he compared politics to a game of chess. He refused hence to offer any cut and dried formula and openly stated that the programme of the nationalists would be determined by the ways and tactics of the British bureaucracy. By stressing the religious character of the new nationalism in India Pal wanted to bring home to the people two essential ideas. First, religion means the attitude of judging things from the standpoint of life itself. "It judges economics, politics, art, morals, all—from the standpoint of the whole." Hence the religious character of nationalism implied the full and comprehensive outflowering of the Indian national consciousness so that it could make its effective contribution to the universal life of humanity. Secondly, it emphasized the cultivation of moral virtues. Nationalism could not be served according to Pal without *san-yam* or discipline.

In 1918 Pal accompanied Lokamanya Tilak to England as a member of the Home Rule League Deputation. At Amritsar in 1919 he had not wholeheartedly favored Tilak's slogan of "Responsive Co-operation." He opposed the Non-Co-operation Movement launched by Mahatma Gandhi and in 1922 he definitely asserted that India should take to the positive policy of "Responsive Co-operation" sponsored by Tilak and not to the negative creed of Gandhian Non-Co-operation.

During the First World War Pal sponsored the concept of "Imperial Federation" which would be composed of Great Britain, Ireland, Egypt, India and the dominions each absolutely autonomous internally but combined for the

purpose of progress and protection. This scheme of Pal is a remarkable testimony to the foresight of the great leader.

Pal gave us the inspired concept of "Divine Democracy". He said:

"The ideal of *Swaraj* that has revealed itself to us is the ideal of Divine Democracy. It is the ideal of democracy higher than the fighting, the pushing, the materialistic, I was going to say, the cruel democracies of Europe and America. There is a higher message still. Men are Gods; and the equality of the Indian democracy is the equality of the divine nature, the divine possibilities and the divine destiny of every individual being, be he Hindu or Mahomedan, Buddhist or Christian. It is on account of this general training of the Indian people in the past, whether they be Hindu or Mahomedan, it is on account of this spiritual emphasis of the Hindu character and the generality also of the Indian character that we have had the supreme privilege of seeing before us the revelation of a democratic ideal, superior to that which has as yet been revealed to the general consciousness of European humanity."

This theory of divine democracy has its roots in the Vedantic concept of the unity of existence. According to the *Bhagavadgita* all beings have the divine spirit in them and hence are equally entitled to reverence, dignity and rights. This concept of "Divine Democracy" can strengthen the mechanical formula of 'one man one vote' with a spiritual content which can find a ready response in the hearts of the people of this country.

According to Bipin Chandra Pal patriotism was sacred but it was not enough. It has to find its fulfilment in Humanity which is the eternal revelation of God to men. The political message of Pal, the great leader and prophet, is contained in his inspired utterance:

"Blessed is the perfected life of the individual. Blessed is that larger and diviner life of the nation wherein the individual finds his highest fulfilment; and blessed, thrice blessed, is that Universal Life of Humanity wherein is the fulfilment and fruition of all national life and aspirations."

# IMPLICATIONS OF THE SOUTH-EAST ASIA COLLECTIVE DEFENCE TREATY

BY PROF. KHAGENDRA CHANDRA PAL, M.A., W.B.E.S.

## GEOGRAPHY OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA

IN the mid-twentieth century world-wide balance of power the area widely known as South-East Asia plays and can play for a considerable period a significant role in world politics. Yet nobody knows exactly what is South-East Asia. For no accepted law, national or international, ever attempted to define accurately the geographical limits of this area. "South-East Asia," says Dr. B. R. Chatterji, Reader in South-East Asian History and Institutions at the Indian School of International Studies, New Delhi, "comprises from East to West, the Philippines, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand and Burma and towards the South, Malaya and the Indonesian Archipelago from Sumatra to New Guinea." According to him, "During and after World War II 'South-East' Asia has come to be recognised as a distinct geographical region just as, on the other side of the continent, 'Middle-East' (West Asia) has come to denote a certain definite area".<sup>1</sup>

This definition of South-East Asia, admittedly, a new concept, is not, however, universally accepted. Indeed, it has not been accepted by those who framed the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty in 1954. This Treaty, signed in Manila on September 8, 1954, and effective since February 19, 1955, refers to the treaty area as "the general area of South-East Asia including also the entire territories of the Asian parties," viz., the Philippines, Thailand and Pakistan, and "the general area of the South-West Pacific not including the Pacific area north of 21 degrees 30 minutes North Latitude".<sup>2</sup> South-East Asia is under

this Treaty inseparably linked with what is vaguely known as the South-West Pacific and may thus be even supposed to include the latter. Here it is important that the Treaty authorises the eight States, viz., the U.S.A., the U.K., France, Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Thailand and the Philippines, which are the parties to the Treaty, to amend by unanimous agreement the definition of the treaty area so as to include within it the territory of any State acceding to the Treaty, and even to change the treaty area "otherwise," i.e., even if there be no such accession. The whole machinery of the Treaty could also be set in motion in any area outside the treaty area by a simple procedure of "designating" that area by unanimous agreement among the parties to the Treaty,—the designated area then getting all kinds of economic, political and military aid subject to the condition that an invitation from, or consent of, the Government concerned will be necessary for any action within its territory.<sup>3</sup>

Thus the area of South-East Asia, which is evidently vague, has been made vaguer still by the elastic provisions of the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty. Professor Brian Harrison in his book, *South-East Asia: A Short History*, first published in February, 1954, marks a map of the area by a rectangular figure with a small hunch at the north-western corner.<sup>4</sup> This figure covers parts of both the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean, and includes now the whole territories of such states as Burma, Thailand, Malaya, Indonesia, Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam (both North and South), the Philippines, the British possessions like

1. *India Quarterly*, Vol. XII, No. 4 (A Journal of International Affairs, published by the Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi), October-December, 1956, p. 388.

2. Article VIII of the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty, 1954. The text of the Treaty is printed as an Appendix to *Asia and Africa in the Modern World*, edited by S. L. Poplai and published under the auspices of the Asian Relations Organization by Asia Pub-

also there in *An Introduction to World Politics* by W. Friedmann, Third Edition, 1957, p. 412. There are some minor discrepancies between the two texts here referred to.

3. Article IV of the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty and the Protocol attached to the Treaty.

4. *South-East Asia: A Short History* by Brian Harrison, 1957, Front endpapers and

Hong Kong, North Borneo, Sarawak, Brunei and Singapore, and the Portuguese possessions like Macao and Timor, and only parts of the territories of the States like Pakistan, India and China. It only touches Australia, barely misses Formosa (Taiwan), and has nothing to do with New Zealand.

Obviously the framers of the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty had a very peculiar idea as to what is South-East Asia. In the South-East Asia Collective Defence Organization the only States which may be truly called, partly or fully, South-East Asian are Pakistan, the Philippines and Thailand. Australia and New Zealand are not in South-East Asia proper and might well be excluded from a treaty intended for the protection of this limited region. The U.K. joined the Treaty in view of her possessions in the area, among which Malaya since August 31, 1957 has been an independent Dominion, though subject to an agreement between the Malayan and the British Government entrusting to the latter the military control of the former for a limited number of years. Malaya became an independent member of the United Nations, on September 17, 1957, though still under the South-East Asia Collective Defence Organization's sphere of operation. If and when the U.K., consistently with her policy and the Declaration regarding Non-self-governing territories in Chapter XI of the U.N. Charter, renounces her colonial control over the remaining territories in South-East Asia, she also will have no *locus standi* in any collective defence treaty for South-East Asia.

Following negotiations after the Geneva Agreements of July 21, 1954, France also, it is believed, has given up her colonial empire in the Associated States of Indo-China comprising Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam. By 1949 the Governments now in control of Southern Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia had already gained different degrees of independence with the status of Associated States within the French Union according to the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Constitution of the Fourth Republic of France. Soon after, they also applied for independent membership in the United Nations.

under Dr. Ho-Chi-Minh had applied for separate membership of the United Nations even earlier on November 22, 1948, though that application was not circulated as a Security Council document until September 17, 1952.<sup>5</sup> As these applications for membership of the United Nations were treated as separate weights in the scales of the world-wide balance of power under the lead of the U.S.A., and the U.S.S.R., on opposite sides, the different organs of the United Nations did not consider them on their merits or justice. Not until December 15, 1955 were Laos and Cambodia admitted to the United Nations as members. The applications of South Vietnam and North Vietnam, like those of South Korea and North Korea, are still pending before the United Nations. If and when Vietnam, either partitioned into two States as it is today, or united with a single national ideal as it may well be in near future gets full independence, France, like the U.K., should have no *locus standi* in any collective defence treaty for South-East Asia.

It is of the greatest significance in this context that the U.S.A. joined the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty, in fact sponsored it, though she has no possessions in the "fairly well-defined" area known as South-East Asia. Evidently the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty represented a major change in the foreign policy of the U.S.A. For by taking leadership in the South-East Asia Collective Defence Organization, the Government of the U.S.A. was in fact accepting a commitment extending to the mainland of South-East Asia,—a commitment which the U.S. Government had hitherto been unwilling to extend beyond the "island chain". In the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty the U.S.A. went beyond a suggestion made by General MacArthur in his message to the Veterans of Foreign Wars on August 29, 1950, when he had described the chain of islands extending

5. Everyman's *United Nations* (1945-55), Fifth Edition, published by the United Nations, Department of Public Information, p. 76.

<sup>6</sup> *South East Asia: A Short History* by



from the Aleutians to the Marianas as a "natural" defence line in the Pacific. "From this island chain", said General MacArthur, "we can dominate every power over the Asiatic ports from Vladivostok to Singapore and prevent any hostile movement into the Pacific". Should Formosa fall,—it had been under the protection of the 7th Fleet under orders from the U.S. President since June 27, 1950,—the General declared, it "would constitute an enemy salient in the very centre of this defensive perimeter".<sup>7</sup>

#### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE TREATY

The new shift in the foreign policy of the U.S.A. was dictated by historical circumstances following the Korean war which began on June 25, 1950. It was a great war, localised of course in Korea, but having within it all the possibilities of a world war, with South Korea on the one side having active political and military support from sixteen members of the United Nations, including the U.S.A., the U.K. and France, and North Korea on the other with similar but covert support from Communist China and the U.S.S.R. The U.S.A. was immediately driven to the aim of reducing the Pacific Ocean into a Western American lake for her naval forces by gathering allies in the East in the same way as she had reduced the Atlantic Ocean on the other side of America virtually into an Eastern American lake for the same purpose with her Western allies under the North Atlantic Treaty of April, 1949 and the Treaties of *Rio de Janeiro and Bogota* during 1947 and 1948.

On August 30, 1951 the U.S.A. signed with the Philippines a treaty by which the signatory nations served notice on any potential aggressor in the Pacific area that they would stand together in the face of any armed attack from outside. In September, 1951 in spite of opposition from the U.S.S.R. and India, the U.S.A. along with 48 other States signed with Japan a peace treaty. Japan signed imme-

diately, indeed simultaneously, a mutual security treaty with the U.S.A. Under the Japanese Peace Treaty of September, 1951, until the U.S. Government seek and obtain trusteeship over "Nansei Shoto, south of 29° north latitude (including Ryukyu Islands and the Daito Islands), Nanpo Shoto, south of Sofu Gan (including the Bonin Islands, Rosario Island and the Volcano Islands) and Parece Vela and Marcus Island", "the United States will have the right to exercise all and any power of administration, legislation and jurisdiction over the territory and inhabitants of these islands, including their territorial waters".<sup>8</sup> Although all occupation forces of the Allied Powers were to be withdrawn from Japan as soon as possible after the coming into force of the Peace Treaty, and in any case not later than 90 days thereafter, "nothing in this provision shall prevent the stationing or retention of foreign armed forces in Japanese territory under or in consequence of any bilateral or multilateral agreements which have been or may be made between one or more of the Allied Powers, on the one hand, and Japan on the other".<sup>9</sup>

Under the U.S.-Japan Mutual Security Treaty of September, 1951, "Japan grants, and the United States of America accepts the right, upon the coming into force of the Treaty of Peace and of this Treaty, to dispose United States land, air and sea forces in and about Japan. Such forces may be utilized to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security in the Far East and to the security of Japan against armed attack from without, including assistance given at the express request of the Japanese Government to put down large-scale internal riots and disturbances in Japan, caused through instigation or intervention by an outside Power or

7. Quoted from *Foreign Affairs Reports*, Vol. III, No. 3, March, 1954, published by the Indian Council of World Affairs in co-operation with the Asian Relations

8. Article 3 of the *Treaty of Peace with Japan*, 1951. A text of Treaty of Peace with Japan signed at San Francisco on September 8, 1951, was issued by the United States Information Service of the American Embassy and the Consulates General in India.

9. Article 8 of the *Treaty of Peace with*

Powers".<sup>10</sup> While the U.S. thus accepts responsibility for the defence of Japan, without, of course, committing herself to defend Japan in all cases, and even promises the use of American troops for the suppression of a Communist rising, Japan promises not to grant any bases to a third power.<sup>11</sup>

In September, 1951 the U.S.A. also concluded a security treaty with Australia and New Zealand which in substance and form was closely modelled on the North Atlantic Treaty. Under it, "each party recognizes that an armed attack in the Pacific area on any of the Parties would be dangerous to its own peace and security and declares that it would act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes".<sup>12</sup> This ANZUS Treaty—this is the brief name of this treaty—further defines an armed attack as including "an armed attack on the metropolitan territory of any of the Parties, or on the island territories under its jurisdiction in the Pacific or on its armed forces, public vessels or aircraft in the Pacific".<sup>13</sup>

Meanwhile the localised war in Korea continued side by side with negotiations for peace until July 27, 1953 when a Truce Agreement was signed. This was quickly followed by the signing of a Mutual Security Treaty between the U.S.A. and South Korea on August 8, 1953. The international situation towards the South of China now tended to become worse. Already on February 2, 1953 President Eisenhower had announced that he had decided to denationalise Formosa. Necessary orders were issued to the 7th Fleet, for he believed, "There is no longer any logic or sense in a condition

that required the U.S. Navy to assume defensive responsibility on behalf of the Chinese Communists".<sup>14</sup> The Armistice in Korea enabled the Chinese to divert greatly increased supplies of equipment to the Vietnamese Communist forces under Dr. Ho-chi-Minh. This in turn enabled these forces to increase their pressure on the French Union forces in Indo-China, so that France in desperation appealed for help to her Western colleagues. Fearing the new and unknown forces of Nationalism plus Communism in the East, the Western Powers hesitated to act. Dien Bien Phu fell on May 7, 1954 making the whole Western position in the area rather precarious.

Under such critical conditions the U.S.A. gave more serious thought to Eisenhower's suggestion announced earlier on April 6, 1953 that there should be a collective arrangement for assuring the security of South-East Asia. On January 13, 1954 Mr. Dulles announced that the Eisenhower Administration had decided to develop massive retaliatory military power to deter aggression. At the Berlin Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the U.S.S.R., the U.K., the U.S.A., and France from January 25, 1954 to February 18, 1954 the deadlock on Austria, Germany and European security continued, but these Foreign Ministers announced that they had agreed on a Korean Conference to be held at Geneva, that the problem of peace in Indo-China would also be discussed at the Conference, and that the U.S.S.R., the U.K., the U.S.A. and France and other interested Powers would be invited. On April 13, 1954 after a two-day Conference in London, Anthony Eden and John Foster Dulles announced that the U.K., and the U.S.A. were ready with other interested countries to examine collective defence arrangements for South-East Asia and the Western Pacific. The Geneva Conference was held according to schedule from April 26, 1954 to July 21, 1954. Convened primarily to settle difficulties arising out of the implementation of the Korean Truce Agreement of July 27, 1953, it was ultimately hailed for having settled only the question of Indo-China

10. Article 1 of the Security Treaty between the U.S.A. and Japan, 1951. A text of this Treaty is printed as an Appendix to *An Introduction to World Politics* by W. Friedmann, Third Edition, 1957.

11. Article 2 of the Security Treaty between the U.S.A. and Japan, 1951.

12. Article 4 of the Security Treaty between Australia, New Zealand and the U.S.A. A text of the Treaty is printed as an Appendix to *An Introduction to World Politics* by W. Friedmann, Third Edition, 1957.

13. Article 5 of the Security Treaty be-

14. Quoted from *Foreign Affairs Reports*,

through the Agreements of July 21, 1954. But the precarious nature of the Geneva Agreements is evident from the fact that neither the U.S.A. nor the State of South Vietnam concurred in the Final Declaration.

The U.S.A. was thus out to give shape to her policy of massive retaliation on a world-wide scale "to depend primarily upon the great capacity to retaliate instantly, by means and at places of our choosing".<sup>15</sup> It was during 1953 and 1954 that South Korea, Spain, Iraq, Pakistan, Lybia, Nationalist China, etc., entered into military agreements with the U.S.A. It was in this race for gathering allies against World Communism that the U.S.A. persuaded her friends in South-East Asia to sign the Manila Treaty on September 8, 1954. Only about a month earlier the Balkan Military Pact based on the Balkan Friendship Treaty of February, 1953 was signed on August 9, 1954 by Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia evidently under inspiration from the U.S.A. It was as if only to give provocation to Communist China that the U.S.A. in December, 1954 signed a Mutual Security Treaty with Nationalist China in Formosa.

In his State of the Union Message on January 6, 1956 President Eisenhower proudly proclaimed: "We have now Security Pacts with more than forty other nations". A significant link in this chain of alliances round Communist China and Russia was the Baghdad Defence Treaty signed on February 24, 1955 between Iraq and Turkey, and joined later by the U.K., on April 5, 1955, Pakistan on September 23, 1955 and Iran on November 3, 1955. The U.S.A. who inspired all these military pacts, could not long remain outside the Baghdad Pact. Accordingly she joined in 1956 the Economic and Anti-subversion Committees of the Baghdad Pact and in 1957 even its Military Committee probably for full implementation of the new Eisenhower Doctrine of the same year for active economic and military assistance to the general area of the Middle East.

#### TELEOLOGY OF THE TREATY

In the light of this genetic study it is difficult to believe that the real purposes of the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty have been sufficiently stated in its different provisions. Its Preamble and its Articles are all full of very high-sounding phrases. The Parties to this Treaty recognise the sovereign equality of all of them, and reaffirm their faith in the purposes and principles set forth in the U.N. Charter and their desire to live in peace with all peoples and all Governments. They uphold the principles of equal rights and self-determination of peoples. They declare that they will earnestly strive by every peaceful means to promote self-government and to secure the independence of all countries whose peoples desire it and are able to undertake its responsibilities. They desire to strengthen the fabric of peace and freedom and to uphold the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law and to promote the economic well-being and development of all peoples in the Treaty area. They declare publicly and formally their sense of unity, so that any potential aggressor will appreciate that the parties stand together in the area. They desire to co-ordinate their efforts for collective defence for the preservation of peace and security.

To give shape to all these objectives, "the parties undertake," as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, "to settle any international disputes in which they may be involved by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered, and to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations".<sup>16</sup> "In order to achieve more effectively the objectives of this Treaty, the parties, separately and jointly, by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid, will maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack and to prevent and counter subversive activities directed from without against their

15. The statement of John Foster Dulles on January 12, 1954.

16. South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty Article I.



territorial integrity and political stability".<sup>17</sup> "The parties undertake to strengthen their free institutions and to co-operate with one another in furthering the development of economic measures, including technical assistance, designed to promote economic progress and social well-being and to further individual and collective efforts of governments towards these ends".<sup>18</sup>

"Each party recognizes that aggression by means of armed attack in the Treaty area against any of the parties or against any State or territory which the parties by unanimous agreement may hereafter designate, would endanger its own peace and safety, and agrees that it will in that event act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes".<sup>19</sup> To the Treaty was added a Protocol, coming into force simultaneously with the Treaty and stating that for the purposes of assistance against armed aggression or other economic measures under the Treaty, the parties unanimously designated the States of Cambodia and Laos and "the Free Territory under the jurisdiction of the State of Vietnam." Measures to meet the common danger of armed attack "shall be immediately reported to the Security Council of the United Nations".<sup>20</sup>

"If, in the opinion of any of the parties, the inviolability or the integrity of the territory or the sovereignty or political independence of any party in the Treaty area" or any other State or territory which the parties may by unanimous agreement hereafter designate, "is threatened in any way other than by an armed attack or is affected or threatened by any fact or situation which might endanger the peace of the area, the parties shall consult immediately in order to agree on the measures which should be taken for the common defence".<sup>21</sup> "It is understood that no action on the territory of any State designated by unanimous agreement" or "on any territory so designated shall be taken except at the invitation

or with the consent of the Government concerned".<sup>22</sup>

The parties to the Treaty established a Council, on which each of them is represented, to consider matters concerning the implementation of the Treaty.<sup>23</sup> This Council is authorised to provide for consultation with regard to military and any other planning as the situation obtaining in the Treaty area may from time to time require. The Council is so organized as to be able to meet at any time. It consists of the Foreign Ministers of the member countries and directs the activities of the organization through the Council of Representatives which maintains constant contact with the various committees, viz., military advisers' committee, committee of economic experts, etc. These committees, in turn, have a number of special sub-committees, the committee of military advisers having as many as eight sub-committees. Provision has been made for the post of a Secretary-General of the South-East Asia Collective Defence Organization, and he was authorised on March 11, 1958 by the Ministerial Council of the Organization to contact the Secretary-General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization for exchange of information.

#### REAL PURPOSES OF THE TREATY

From a realistic point of view the South-East Asia Collective Defence Organization, certainly not a "mere paper structure"<sup>24</sup> as some take it to be, was the only possible response, though a bit belated one, to the French SOS during the fall of Dien Bien Phu in May, 1954. It was visualised that "the power which politically controls Indo-China has Thailand at its mercy, can exercise great pressure on Burma, and ultimately isolate the Malayan Peninsula".<sup>25</sup> President Eisenhower once compared the situation aptly with "a row of dominoes, where the fall of one brings the whole lot down".<sup>26</sup> As a leading participant in the worldwide balance of power of the mid-twentieth century, the U.S.A. thought that it had no other

17. *Ibid.*, Article II.

18. *Ibid.*, Article III.

19. *Ibid.*, Article IV.

20. *Ibid.*, Article IV.

22. *Ibid.*, Article IV.

23. *Ibid.*, Article V.

24. Friedmann, *An Introduction to World Politics*, Third Edition, 1957, p. 309.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 297.

alternative but to act as quickly as possible to save whatever is possible from the combined forces of Communism and Nationalism in South-East Asia, though she had no possession of her own in the region. She was guided by the idea that the colonial frontier had disappeared with the consummation of colonial expansion by the beginning of the 20th century and that "the periphery of the balance of power now coincides with the confines of the earth".<sup>27</sup> For the U.S.A. the immediate purposes in organizing the South-East Asia Collective Defence Organization was to guarantee South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos against Communist aggression through violation of the Geneva Agreements, and her ultimate purpose was to develop a massive retaliatory military power against Communist forces headed by the U.S.S.R. and China. Thus it is American hatred of Communism anywhere in the world which brought the U.S.A. to South-East Asia. To make this clear, the U.S.A. added to the Treaty, though somewhat inconsistently with its original provisions, an "understanding" that her recognition of the effect of aggression and armed attack and her agreement to meet the common danger in accordance with her constitutional processes apply only to Communist aggression, though she affirmed that in the event of other aggression or armed attack she would consult other members immediately according to the relevant provisions of the Treaty.

Like the U.S.A., all other parties to the Treaty were more or less afraid of World Communism. But for the U.K., the importance of the Treaty lay in this that it committed the U.S.A. in those parts of the globe where hitherto the U.K. had had to maintain peace alone. Face to face with a victorious and confident enemy, France saw in the Treaty the only possible guarantee of maintaining the political independence and territorial integrity of Cambodia, Laos and South Vietnam under some form of French supervision. Thailand as a small power on the borders of Indo-China had the greatest fear of Communism. On May

29, 1954 the Government of Thailand had even appealed to the U.N. Security Council for U.N. observation of the situation along the Indo-Chinese border. When on June 18, 1954 a resolution for the purpose was put to vote, it was vetoed by the U.S.S.R. Australia, New Zealand and the Philippines in joining the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty were mainly interested, without saying so in so many words, in developing strength against the probable revival of Japanese or any other Asian power anywhere in the Pacific.

As for Pakistan, she imagined that by joining the South-East Asia Collective Defence Organization she would get support from the Western Powers to have a position of strength in solving her disputes with India, especially the problem of Kashmir.<sup>28</sup>

The Asian neutrals like India, Burma, Ceylon and Indonesia oppose the South-East Asia Collective Defence Organization, and some see in it "not a Pacific Security system but an organization of Imperialist Powers for the protection of their interests".<sup>29</sup> In a debate in the Indian Rajya Sabha on August 27, 1954, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon described the South-East Asia Collective Defence Organization as the "modern version of a protectorate" to defend an area being defended against its will. On September 9, 1954, just one day after the Treaty was signed, Mr. Nehru referred to it as an instance of double talking and double thinking over peace, i.e., professing peace and uniting against aggression while simultaneously adopting language and means which led inevitably to opposite results. Alliances of this type were also characterised by Mr. Nehru as "interlocking of politics" and as having an unfortunate effect on colonial policies, for colonial people as a result had to deal, not with one Power but with a combination of Powers.

28. *The Dawn*, December 1, 1955. Quoted in Kashmir: A Factual Survey, published by the Information Service of India in December, 1956, p. 61.

29. *Hindustan Times* quoted in Far East Survey, Oct. 8, 1952. The present quotation is from *Dynamics of International Relations* by Ernst B. Haas and Allen S. Whiting, 1956,

27. Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics among*

Even American scholars admit that in the U.S.A., interest groups "concerned with historical Christian missionary activity in the Far East, with investments and trade in the Pacific, and with undoing the Communist Victory in China all insist on the importance of SEATO",<sup>30</sup> i.e., the South-East Asia Collective Defence Organization. Indeed, if the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, essentially a political organ for Western Civilization, became a protecting cover to the colonial domains of the powers concerned and extended its scope even to Goa in India, it is reasonable to wonder where the South-East Asia Collective Defence Organization will extend to, starting as it does at the very doorstep of India.

It is ominous in this respect that the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty "shall remain in force indefinitely", though "any party may cease to be a party one year after its notice of denunciation has been given to the Government of the Philippines".<sup>31</sup> (1) If France, the U.K., and the U.S.A. want to retain the validity of the Treaty "indefinitely" in spite of their occasional promises to relinquish their colonial and imperial ambitions and in spite of a possible denunciation of the Treaty by all the other members in it, (2) if the U.S.A., New Zealand and Australia joined the Treaty, even though they are not strictly in South-East Asia, (3) if of the eight Powers in the Treaty, only three, viz., the Philippines, Pakistan and Thailand are really Asian, (4) if arrangements are made for the "defence" of Laos, Cambodia and South Vietnam and possibly of other territories in the East in future, by the Western Powers simply by a procedure of "designation", (5) if, indeed, the Treaty itself would have entered into force in spite of any opposition from the Asian members for its entry into force required ratifications of only a majority of the signatories<sup>32</sup> and (3) if, moreover, the Treaty is so drafted that with the obedient support of only three Asian nations in it, the white members in it

could easily stuff it with all the nations of Europe and America when it suited their purpose to do so, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the Manila Treaty is looking dangerously in the direction of sphere of influence to be exercised by the whole West over the East. Perhaps, the influential members in the Treaty have already been thinking of smuggling into it the Netherlands and Portugal who have some, though not any legitimate, territorial interests in the Treaty area. Treaty only provides that "any other State in a position to further the objectives of this Treaty and to contribute to the security of the area may, by unanimous agreement of the parties, be invited to accede to this Treaty".<sup>33</sup> "Any State so invited may become a party to the Treaty by depositing its instrument of accession with the Government of the Republic of the Philippines".

#### LEGAL VALIDITY OF THE TREATY

It is difficult to imagine that with such imperialistic elements in it, the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty could be called a regional treaty under the terms of the U.N. Charter, such as (1) the Pact of the League of Arab States, 1945, (2) the Rio Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, 1947, (3) the North Atlantic Treaty, 1949, (4) the ANZUS Pact, 1951, (5) the Balkan Pact, 1954, (6) the Warsaw Pact, 1955, (7) the Jedda Pact, 1956, etc., were intended to be. Aiming at imperialism and colonialism in those regions of the East wherefrom Western Powers were driven out during and after the World War II, the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty, like the Baghdad Pact, 1955, hits a basic purpose of the United Nations, viz., "respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples".<sup>34</sup>

The legal validity of this Treaty, along with most other regional treaties, may be doubted from various other points of view also. While founding the United Nations, the peoples of the United Nations determined (a) "to unite" their "strength to maintain international peace and security," (b) "to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of

31. *Dynamics of International Relations* by Haas and Whiting, p. 527.

32. South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty, Article X.

33. *Ibid.*, Article VII.



methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest," (c) "to take effective and collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace," and (d) to make the United Nations "a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these ends."<sup>35</sup> Through the regional pacts the Members of the United Nations have virtually decided (a) to disunite their strength against the cause of peace, (b) to use the armed forces of one region against another, (c) to issue threats and counter-threats against one another on a regional basis, and (d) to make the United Nations a centre for serious disharmony. None of these collective arrangements had been sanctioned by the Security Council, the most central organ of the United Nations in the cause of peace and, therefore, they conformed to the "pre-United Nations era of colonial alliances," old world procedures which the United Nations tried to do away with.<sup>36</sup>

They talk of self-defence recognized in Article 51 of the U.N. Charter. But the right of self-defence arises only *if, i.e., after* an armed attack occurs. These "offensive and defensive arrangements," offensive according to one party but defensive according to its rival, were being made under the old system of a balance of power, and this is what the U.N. Charter wanted to overcome. "Our contention is that they do not come under Article 51, because there is no armed attack to warrant defensive agreements."<sup>37</sup> If these so-called defensive arrangements were utilised to give protection to the ex-enemy States like Japan, Germany, Italy, Bulgaria, Hungary or Rumania, when attacked by any other U.N. Member in accordance with Article 107 which provides that against an ex-enemy State armed attack may be legitimate in certain cases, it would be going against the obligation to refrain from the threat or use of

force under Article 2(4),—an obligation evidently not restricted in the case of ex-enemy States by Article 51. Besides, when a regional body takes enforcement action in the name of self-defence without being authorised by the Security Council for the purpose, it will directly hit Article 53 which expressly provides that no enforcement action shall be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorization of the Security Council except in case of aggression by the ex-enemy States.<sup>38</sup>

The Charter of the U.N. in its Article 2 gave primary responsibility for international peace and security to the Security Council, so that there might be prompt and effective action by the United Nations. But all these so-called self-defence treaties work on the hypothesis that prompt and effective action of the United Nations must be taken, not through the Security Council, but through the self-defence organizations. The Councils under the North Atlantic Treaty, the ANZUS Treaty, the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty, etc., are required to meet "at any time"<sup>39</sup> for what has been called self-defence action. But the Security Council is also "so organized as to be able to function continuously," and for this purpose each member of the Security Council is "represented at all times at the seat of the Organization."<sup>40</sup> The Security Council is thus confronted by rival councils for identical purposes. Under these circumstances it will certainly be impossible for the United Nations to fulfil its role as "a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations" in the attainment of peace and security of the world.

Neither the members of the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty, nor those of the

35. Preamble and Article I of U.N. Charter.

36. V. K. Krishna Menon's speech in the Political Committee of the General Assembly of the U.N. on December 9, 1955.

38. Some of the arguments noted here were also stated by me in my paper "Revision of the U.N. Charter" read at the 17th session of the Indian Political Science Conference and published in the *Indian Journal of Political Science* Vol. XV, No. 4, October-December, 1954.

39. Articles IX, VII and V of the respective Treaties. All of them are printed in the Appendix to *An Introduction to World Politics* by W. Friedmann.

Bagdad Pact constitute separate well-defined geographical regions. As such, these Treaties cannot be justified under Chapter VIII of the U.N. Charter relating to "regional arrangements." Moreover, the arms and armaments of all these collective bodies are closely guarded secrets, though the U.N. Charter under Article 54 requires that "The Security Council shall at all times be kept fully informed of activities undertaken or in contemplation under regional arrangements or by regional agencies for the maintenance of international peace and security." Finally, if the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty and the U.N. Charter are legally inconsistent with each other, the former may also be deemed illegal as having hit certain provisions of the Geneva Agreements of July, 1954. For these Agreements required that there should be no foreign bases in any of the Associated States of Indo-China and that there should not be for these States any military alliance which threatens the cease-fire or is incompatible with the U.N. Charter.

The U.S.S.R. was a leading opponent of regional self-defence treaties for a long time. But on March 31, 1954, Molotov handed to the three Ambassadors in Russia a Note expressing the Soviet Government's readiness to consider with the interested governments the question of the participation of the U.S.S.R. in the North Atlantic Treaty. "Pending the unification of Germany," the Note said, "the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic could be parties to the Treaty." The Western reply delivered on May 7, 1954, rejected the proposal of Soviet membership of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and challenged the U.S.S.R. to give concrete proof of goodwill by working with the West on (1) Austrian Treaty, (2) Union of Germany, (3) Control of Atomic Energy and Disarmament, (4) Peace in the Far East and (5) Conformity with the U.N. Charter. The Peace in the Far East came through the Geneva Agreements of July, 1954, and the Austrian Treaty was approved by the Big Four on May 14, 1955. But before there could be further reduction of tension among nations, on May 14, 1955, the U.S.S.R. herself also signed the Warsaw Pact for self-defence among the Communist States of

Eastern Europe. Apparently, the U.S.S.R. realised that in the world-wide struggle for power scrupulous respect for law is not for the present a paying proposition or that the legal arguments against the collective defence treaties were not really very strong.<sup>41</sup>

#### POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE TREATY

This, however, does not weaken the case against the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty from the points of view of economics, politics and culture of the whole human race. An offshoot of the policy of massive retaliation on the part of Western barbarism masquerading under the garb of Western civilisation, this Treaty is based essentially on the primary enemies of the whole mankind: Hatred, Violence, Greed, Falsehood, Pride and Disunity, and is thus opposed to the great integrating ideals of Love, Non-violence, Sacrifice, Truth, Service and Unity. Politically, it has been responsible for a trend towards autocracy in all its members. It has also brought back to the East the old colonialism and imperialism of the West now led by the U.S.A., one of the most violent nations in the world today,—indeed, a new Eve throwing us all into a most deadly hell by dropping, first among nations and most brutally against the law and conscience of mankind, atom bombs on Japan when she was about to surrender on August, 1945. Since then under the mechanics of the world-wide balance of power uncontrolled by any respect for the great truth about the One World or the Balance of

41. Professor Hans Kelsen in his *Recent Trends in the Law of the United Nations*, published in 1951 maintained that viewed retrospectively regional treaties, among others, may be considered "unconstitutional," but directing his view towards the future, he saw them as "the first step in the development of a new law of the United Nations," constituting as they do "one of those cases of which we may say *ex injuria jus oritur*." Oppenheim, however, does not believe that law can originate in an illegal act. According to him, "*Ex injuria jus non oritur* is an inescapable principle of law." Kelsen, *The Law of the United Nations*, published under the auspices of the London Institute of World Affairs by Stevens & Sons, Ltd., in 1951, p. 912. Oppenheim, *International Law*, Vol. 2, edited by H. Lauterpacht (7th edition, 1952) p. 210.

Truth, this Eve has been competing with the U.S.S.R. in developing still more violent weapons capable of rendering the planet sterile for centuries, and thus bringing, jointly with the U.S.S.R., the whole humanity to a most terrible "brink of war" where, in Churchill's famous phrase, safety is "the sturdy child of terror and survival the twin brother of annihilation."<sup>42</sup>

It is outright falsehood when the Manila Pact declares that its parties undertook military commitments for "defence" purposes and for combating "subversive activities directed from without against the territorial integrity and political stability." As one commentator has said, "In the vocabulary of the Western Powers the term 'political stability' means the maintenance and consolidation of the colonial system, while 'subversive activity' is the tag attached to the national-liberation movement."<sup>43</sup> According to the same commentator, "The SEATO military bloc, whipped together . . . by Washington, with the help of London and Paris is a manifestation of the concept of a world ringed by a system of aggressive blocs to carry out insane U.S. plans for gaining world domination."<sup>44</sup>

#### ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES

With such blatantly colonial and imperialistic aims, it was simply impossible for the South-East Asia Collective Defence Organization to do anything for the economic prosperity of the treaty area or the world as a whole. The conferences of its economic experts are fewer than those of its military experts, and even these, as is evident from their communiqués, examined economic problems mainly in the light of war preparation programmes. As

42. Sir Winston Churchill's declaration on March 1, 1955. Other similar views have been referred to in my paper, "The Problem of Disarmament in the World Today," published in *The Modern Review*, Calcutta, in April, 1957.

43. *International Affairs* (A monthly journal of political analysis, No. 3, March, 1957, published in Moscow), p. 88. This journal gives various details regarding the economic consequences of the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty.

44. *Ibid.* p. 87.

Professor W. Macmahon Ball of the Melbourne University observed: "Recent years have seen a marked trend in the United States to end or reduce economic aid to Asia that does not directly serve military purposes."<sup>45</sup> Washington, moreover, usually grants military aid only if the receiving country undertakes to make big appropriations for military purposes from its own budgets. In Thailand, direct military expenses exceed 48 per cent of the whole budget, while only 1 per cent is spent on public health. At the end of 1956, a Thai journal, *Siamrat Weekly Review*, pointed out that Thailand lost 3,000 million baht in 6 years because of the embargo on trade in strategic goods,—an embargo imposed by the United Nations against Communist China since May 19, 1951, at the suggestion of the U.S.A. American aid to Thailand during the same period amounted only to 2,000 million baht. The South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty inspired the Army in Thailand to dominate the country in all its policies. No wonder that in Thailand a military dictatorship as well as martial law has been imposed since October 20, 1958. Obviously, it would be better for Thailand to dissociate herself from the foreign policy of the U.S.A. and follow in respect to Communist China and other States a policy of peaceful co-existence.

Similar is the case with Pakistan where direct military expenditure has swallowed up 40-50 per cent of the entire budget in recent years, and where since October 7, 1958, a military dictatorship has been imposed, abrogating Pakistan's Constitution, dismissing the Central and State Governments, dissolving the National Parliament and State Assemblies, abolishing all political parties and placing the whole country under martial law. The House of Representatives of the Philippine Legislature in a resolution adopted on April 13, 1956, demanded a revision of the American-Philippine economic and military agreements. This strikingly revealed the growing desire of the Philippines to pursue its own foreign policy free from American dictat.

#### IDEAL OF HUMAN UNITY

The worst effect of the South-East Asia

45. *Ibid.* p. 90.



Collective Defence Treaty and similar other treaties is that with their narrow ideals they prevent the normal growth of the United Nations towards a universal ideal which recognises the cultural, political and economic unity of the world as a whole, a world which in the 20th century has been reduced by modern science to the dimensions of a small city of ancient times. The South-East Asia Collective Defence and other similar Treaties lessen the pace of the human race towards its inevitable destiny—a Democratic, Socialist and Federal World State, which looks like an L.C.M. of the ideals pursued in the different States of the world today.<sup>46</sup>

More than four centuries ago during the period from September, 1519 to September, 1522, the first voyage round the world was completed by sailors led by Magellan, Del Cano etc. The geographical unity of the world was thus discovered for the first time in history. But the economic, political and cultural unity of the world has yet to be discovered. The task must well be taken up by the leaders of thought in South-East Asia, where all the religions and civilizations have met. It may not be "without significance that no part of South-East Asia finds a place in Toynbee's list of 21 major civilizations."<sup>47</sup> Here in the course of centuries all retreating cultures of the different parts of the world have met, perhaps to build in our times a civilization which is truly human. In building this human civilization, South-East

Asia will have done a great service to the whole humanity by exercising in our times what may be called a casting vote in the most significant tie among lesser civilizations in the whole history of mankind.

But for this it is not enough that there be only an Asian Conference in Delhi in 1947, or an Asian-African Conference in Bandung in 1955. There must be, supplementing all, also, a series of world-wide people's conferences for understanding not only the Nehru-Chou Principles of Panch Sheela for international conduct, first announced in April, 1954, but also the Buddha's Panch Sheela for "inter-individual" conduct announced more than 25 centuries ago and since confirmed by all sages in all countries. The problem for three or four centuries has been Western supremacy over many parts of the world, not always through moral superiority, but often through hatred, violence, greed, falsehood, pride and disunity armed with the devilish powers of modern science in the sphere of technology, economics and military affairs. But with the independence of Asian and African countries during and after the World War II and with the rapid disappearance of the technological, economic and military differential between the white man of Europe and America and the coloured man of Africa and Asia, the problem may well be of the East meeting the West on terms of equality and finally of One World. In this respect we are, perhaps, assisting at one of the final rounds in the great relay race of history lasting for more than fifty centuries.\*

43. My paper on "Implementation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights," published in *The Modern Review*, Calcutta, October 1949.

47. *India Quarterly*, Vol. XIII, No. 2, April-June, 1957, p. 106.

\* A paper accepted for discussion at the 21st session of the Indian Political Science Conference at Ujjain, Madhya Pradesh, from December 27 to 28, 1958, under the auspices of the Vikram University.





# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

## ENGLISH

TRAVELS IN AND DIARIES OF INDIA AND BURMA: By I. P. Minayeff. Published by Eastern Trading Co., 64A, Dharamtalla Street, Calcutta. 1958. Pp. 284. Price Rs. 14.

In the middle seventies and the eighties of the last century three successive journeys were made to India and neighbouring lands by the foremost Russian Orientalist of his generation, Ivan Pavlovich Minayeff. While the records of the first and the longest journey (1871-75) were published by this scholar in his well-written work, *Sketches of Ceylon and India: From the Travel Notes of a Russian* (St. Petersburg, 1878), those of his second and third journeys (1880 and 1885-86) lay buried for a long time in manuscript in the archives of the Institute of Orientology, Academy of Sciences, U.S.S.R. The edition of these precious manuscripts was seriously taken in hand by the Russian scholar A. P. Barannikoff in 1950 on the occasion of the 110th anniversary of the birth and 60th anniversary of the death of Minayeff. Interrupted by the premature death of Barannikoff they have since been published with the addition of explanatory notes and a few illustrations (including those prepared by the great Russian painter V. Vereshchagin) by the labours of Barannikoffs colleagues at the Institute. The present translation made directly from the original Russian by a band of three Bengali scholars (Hirendranath Sanyal, Samil Bhattacharya, and Sailesh Chandra Sen Gupta) does credit to their command of both the languages, while it is remarkably free from printing mistakes.

The diaries reveal an extraordinary range of interest of the great Russian traveller. It was but natural that he should take keen and intelligent interest in the architectural monuments of Ancient and Medieval India (including above all the wonderful cave-structures of

Western India and the Mughal palaces of Delhi, Agra and Fatehpur Sikri) and still more in the manuscript-libraries of India and Burma. It was equally to be expected that he should contact the schools, colleges and universities and other learned institutions as well as the leading Sanskrit scholars in India and Pali scholars in Burma. Equally welcome are his informative notes on the lives of the students with minute sketches of their residences, their studies and their monthly expenses and so forth as well as his impressions of Brahmanical religious *kirtans* and Jaina religious sermons, the Holi festival and marriage processions which came within his experience. We have likewise very interesting stories of his discourses with a large number of high British officials, with a few ruling princes and their ministers and with the middle-class intelligentsia. In these are reflected the supercilious pride and arrogance of the ruling-class towards the indigenous population, the senseless imitation of English manners by high and low alike and the widespread though as yet ineffective discontent of the people due to causes like the recent costly Afghan War, the heavy burden of taxation on the peasantry, the tax on salt and the iniquitous press-laws.

The author's criticism of the trend of British policy in India as well as in Burma is trenchant but not undeserved. Speaking of the training at the Princes' College at Ajmer he says, "Captains and Majors, Residents and Agents, people for the most part not blessed with brilliant education and not infrequently even completely indifferent to education take upon themselves the task of education of the young rulers. . . . The teachers engraft unbelief in the minds of their wards and corrupt them so that they look upon their motherland with contempt. They take pride in their skill for training the young prince-apes" (p. 91). Referring to the so-called civilizing effects of British rule upon the people he writes, "For

whom are all those fancies of Western Civilization in the East necessary? The answer is quite clear: all this is necessary for the ruling foreigner" (p. 106). Writing in a more eloquent vein about the probable effects of British conquest of Upper Burma he observes, "The friends of humanity will of course be glad that this will open up a new and wide field of activities for the Western Civilization. . . . But those same friends of humanity should ask themselves: Would this progress in which they are rejoicing really accomplish their object? . . . All this shall not make the conquered better and happier and shall not rouse in them intellectual productivity. . . . And ultimately all the innovations will prove to be of advantage to the minority of the incoming rulers" (114-115). Equally severe and almost as well-merited is the author's criticism of the shallow patriotism of the contemporary Indian political reformers. "In India," he says (p. 106), "there is actually a weak minority trained in British political ideas, who have learnt to repeat aphorisms taken from English books word for word, but it is doubtful whether this same minority would support legislative measures calculated to change any religious or social customs." By contrast a certain falling-off in the author's unusually high standard of justice between peoples is noticeable in the following assessment of Russian expansion of Central Asia. "They (the British) can explain and understand this only as a threat to India. They cannot understand that this overflow of Russian might into the sands of barren steppes is an evidence of sincere service to the cause of humanity" (p. 112).

We cannot conclude this review without wishing the present work a wide circulation among the reading public in our country.

U. N. GHOSHAL

**KASHMIR PRINCESS:** By A. S. Karnik. Jaico Publishing House. Price not mentioned.

On the 11th April 1955, the *Kashmir Princess* of the Air India International crashed into the South China Sea near Sarawak. It is not, according to India's Defence Minister Mr. Krishna Menon, an ordinary plane disaster but an international crime, deliberately planned and executed. She was due to carry Prime Minister Mr. Chou En-lai and a Chinese Delegation to the Bandung Conference of Asian and African nations to work out ways and means for peace and progress. Mr. Chou En-lai happily was not one of the passengers.

On the 13th April, *Reuter* foisted on the

Ground Engineer, the author of the book under review and one of the three survivors the responsibility of saying that the plane crashed because of fire in the hydraulic system in the port. Mr. Karnik stoutly denied having said this at any time. American papers like *Time*, and *American News Agency Report* sought to pass it over as a common accident and no sabotage. After a long, painstaking enquiry the British Colonial Office reported in January, '56 that a Hongkong Airport employee sabotaged the plane and escaped to Formosa and the Kuomintang authorities refused to hand him over for trials.

The author gives us a moving description of the eight agonising hours they were in the water escaping—providentially unaware of the clutches of sharks and barracudas with which the South China Sea abounds. He wields racy, vigorous style and it keeps the mind absorbed and at times sends a shiver down the spine.

JOGES C. BOSE

**THE NEW ECONOMY OF CHINA:** *Factual Account, Analysis and Interpretation.* By Gyan Chand. Vora & Co. Publishers Private Ltd., Bombay-2. April 1958. Pp. xiv, 429. Price Rs. 16.

**THE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS OF CHINA:** By Dr. A. N. Agarwala M.A., D.Litt. Kitab Mahal. 1958. Pp. viii, 118. Price Rs. 3.

Dr. Gyan Chand's work provides the first coherent and objective description of the leading aspects of the new economy of China and would be welcomed by all students of Chinese affairs. Dr. Gyan Chand's wide background of academic and administrative experience combined with a sane outlook on the process of economic development in general, and Chinese developments in particular, lends the book a rare depth. It would easily remain the standard work of reference on the Chinese economy of the period between 1949 and 1955. The only criticism about the book is that there is no bibliography (a fact accounted for perhaps by the fact that the material for the book was collected by the author mostly from direct observation and contact during his six-months' stay in China), the index is an indifferent one and there is occasional looseness in describing the official position of Chinese leaders (Liu Shao-chi is Chairman of the Standing Committee of National People's Congress and not a Vice-Chairman of the Government as has been stated on p. 75). The use, in part, of paper of inferior quality in such



a costly book does not speak very highly of the publishers.

Dr. Agarwala's book hardly bears any comparison with Dr. Gyan Chand's either in volume, content and quality. This is the pedestrian sort of work on China (written mostly by avowed "friends" of China) which leads one neither here nor there and is so tiresome. It really passes beyond one's comprehension why anybody, who has the temerity to write in 1958, that "China has not expropriated national bourgeoisie" when there is perhaps not even a single bourgeoisie left to be expropriated, should attempt writing on Chinese Government and politics—even if he be a leading university professor. It is questionable how far this book is going to promote Indian understanding of China; there is, however, little doubt that it would show the author, who is one of the leading authorities in economics, in a very poor light.

SUBASH CHANDRA SARKER

#### SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

**BHASA** [*Indian Men of Letters Series*]: By A. S. P. Ayyar, M.A. (Oxon), I.C.S., Bar-at-Law. Published by Ramaswamy Sastri & Sons, 292, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose Road, Madras-1. 1957. Price Rs. 5/- or 7sh. 6d.

We are glad that a 'second, revised and enlarged edition' has been issued on Ayyar's interesting work on the great old Sanskrit dramatist Bhasa. "There has been", we are told by the learned author, "a persistent call for a second edition from friends in India and abroad, and especially from the rising dramatists of the Indian Republic from all the fourteen languages of the Union." This is encouraging not only to the writer of the book but to all Indologists who have to murmur against the apathetic attitude of the general reader who takes little interest in old Indian culture and literature. There is no indication of the nature and extent of revision undertaken for the second edition. No notice appears to have been taken of the points raised by us in our review of the first edition in these pages (January 1943). Of course new materials have been added here and there. A long extract, for example, has been reproduced from Justice Rajamannar's article on ancient Indian stage in the chapter on Bhasa's stage which is based on the above-mentioned article and really gives an account of the stage as described by Bharata whose date and relation to Bhasa are not definitely known.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

#### BENGALI

**KESHAB CHANDRA SEN:** *Biograpjes Chandra Bagal, Published by Bangiya Sahitya Parisad, Calcutta-6. Price Re. 1/ Pages 128.*

This is the 97th publication of the Sahitya Sadhak Charitamala of the Bangiya Sahitya Parisad giving in short the life and work of one of the noblest sons of Bengal, nay India Keshab Chandra Sen, (1838-1884) was a born genius and his contributions for the uplift of his countrymen were immense. Very early in life he came in contact with Maharshi Debendra Nath Tagore father of Poet Rabindra Nath, who loved him as his son and placed him in important position in the Brahmo Samaj of which Maharshi was the head. Keshab had to part with Maharshi's company afterwards for fundamental differences with him but Maharshi had always a soft corner of his heart for him in spite of disagreement. Keshab Chandra travelled all over India—North and South for several times for preaching religion and Indian unity. In this respect he was a forerunner of Surendra Nath Banerjee Father of Indian Nationalism. He was a powerful speaker and his speeches inspired the youth into action. He was a journalist and a powerful writer. He introduced one pice newspaper (*Sulav-Samachar*) for the first time. He was a great social reformer. He went to England in 1870 and his lectures there roused the interest of Englishmen at home on Indian questions. It was in England that he got acquainted with great men like Prof. Max Muller, John Stuart Mill and Gladstone. Queen Victoria received him very kindly and enquired about conditions in India. Keshab Chandra was no less an educationist. The Victoria Institution for women stands as a monument of his educational activities. Above all he was an architect and builder of Indian nationality. He never thought in terms of a province or part of the country—to him India was one indivisible. This he practised and preached and most of the leaders of the later nineteenth century of Bengal and India got inspiration from him.

Several biographies have been written of the life of Keshab Chandra Sen, but the present one is very nicely written by one who has made a special study of the history of the 19th century Bengal. Against the background of contemporary history, the life of Keshab Chandra has been depicted in broad relief to draw the attention of the present generation on hundred years back, when our country was

struggling ahead to come to its own. It will be a national misfortune if the sacrifices, struggles and contributions for freedom and emancipation of our predecessors are ignored and forgotten. The life of Brahmananda Keshab Chandra Sen deserves a very wide circulation.

A. B. DUTTA

#### HINDI

**THAKKARBAPA:** By *Kantilal Shah*. *Nandjivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad*. Pp. xv + 455. Price Rs. 5/-.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad in his introduction tells us that Thakkarbapa, with rare exceptions always travelled third even in his advanced old age. An engineer in lucid post he threw up the job to join the Servants of India Society. His was thus the life of a poor man by choice for the service of the poor. He worked among the Bheels. That seminal work of his led others in other parts of India to take up Adivasi-Seva. Amritlal Thakkar lovingly called Bapa was, however, best known as a Harjan-Sevak. The author depicts the life-story of such a true servant of the poor and the despised. He could exclude much to make

room for much else for which as the publishers say room could not be found.

BIRENDRANATH GUHA

#### GUJARATI

**AMBAR CHARKHA:** Edited by *Vishnu-das Maganlal Kothari*. *Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad-14*. 1957. Pp. 200. Price Rs. 1-8.

A collection of papers, written by various specialists, constitutes the present volume. We begin with an article on 'Khadi and Village Industries and Their Political Importance,' 'Why Decentralization of Industries?' 'From Hind Swaraj to Ambar,' 'Mills versus Ambar,' etc. Then it proceeds to technicalities—the plans and criticisms of different committees, the names and meanings of different parts of Ambar Charkha, the schemes of improvement, the measurements and prices of different parts, the mathematical side of it, connected problems and their solutions. There are certain appendices to complete the work—training for workers, sheds for Ambar Charkha, etc., etc.

A valuable handbook for those who are practically interested in Ambar Charkha in particular and cottage or rural industries in general.

P. R. SEN

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# Indian Periodicals

## Our Cultural Crisis

✓ In the course of an article in *The Aryan Path* Dr. Sita Ram Jayaswal observes :

Someone has defined culture very simply : "Culture is what is left over after you have forgotten all you definitely set out to learn." Culture is the essence of our learning and education. It is no use discussing the many definitions. But I should like to state one more definition of culture, that which appeals to me most. According to this definition, culture is the style of social living. In every society, a style of social life is developed which is cherished by the people and regarded as "a significant human achievement, the core of which is the goal values which people seek to attain as defined in their religion and arts, and which have been translated into symbols and institutions, rituals, relationships, tools and techniques and their social order."

In other words, broadly stated, there are two major aspects of culture. One is material and the other is abstract. Some students of culture state that one aspect of culture is related to techniques and the other pertains to values. Inter-action between techniques and values leads to the development or degeneration of culture, as the case may be. If either of the two dominates, equilibrium is lost and cultural crisis results.

Our cultural crisis today is indicative of the dominance of techniques over values. While we have advanced in the realm of techniques of production, our values of life have not been strong enough to maintain the cultural homeostasis. What do we see around us ? In the world we find a great paradox. Atomic and hydrogen bombs devised by man are threatening our very existence. It is feared that there will be nothing left. For the first time in world history, we have discovered means to wipe out poverty, sickness and ignorance. We produce so much that no part of the world need remain hungry. We have the means to control diseases. We have the required techniques and tools to banish ignorance. And yet these enemies of humanity are still thriving ! Why ? Because

we do not rise to the occasion, because our values of life are not in tune with times. The signs of the times indicate a cultural crisis. Incidentally, it may be pointed out that a daily paper (*The Peoneer*), published from Lucknow, has a permanent column named "Signs of the Times." In this column are published facts which bring out how deep cultural crisis is.

This cultural crisis exists on all levels. The individual is a victim of fear and has lost his faith in himself. He doubts too much and has no ability to resolve his problems. Science suggests its own method of solving the problems of life. But this scientific method is more useful in matters which are static than in those which change from moment to moment. Human expressions are too dynamic to be examined by the scientific method. The reliance on the machine in the search for Truth is indicative of the depth of our cultural crisis. Man has lost faith in man and see what man has made of man !

On the family level the crisis is seen in the lack of harmony between members of the family. The institution of the joint family is disintegrating. It is not suggested that the joint family is perfect in all ways. Nothing is perfect except perfection, from one point of view. But what is important to remember is that industrialized countries, especially in the West, where the institution of the joint family does not exist, have brought about utter loneliness. The psychological support which is given in a joint family in times of stress and sorrow is missing in a single-family unit. If there is a conflict between husband and wife, there are no mediators at hand, with the result that life becomes unbearable for them and for their children, if any. It is gradually being realized that the individual in the group has better chances for sanity than when he is all alone. The development of group therapy and the psycho-drama is based on this hypothesis.

Our cultural crisis appears in all aspects of human relations. There is a crisis of character, in the words of Shri Patanjali Shastri.



The standards of education are falling. There is little reverence for elders. There is lack of all those qualities which are considered good for life. Some time ago, Prime Minister Nehru referred to this problem. He is deeply concerned with the general lowering of our cultural life. The Five-Year Plan, though good in its own way, suffers from lack of the proper personnel to work it. We have excellent schemes, but where are the people to carry them out? Even the economists are realizing the importance of what they call the "human factor" in economic development. "Investment in Man" is a new economic expression freely used now. It is high time that we got out of the cultural crisis, for, as Dr. S. Radhakrishnan said in his Convocation Address at the Allahabad University on November 13th, 1934, it is "so stupid and yet so serious in its consequences that civilization itself may be ruined. Man-kind must be dragged out of this rut."

### Economic Bond Uniting the Commonwealth

F. Cassell writes in *The Indian Review*:

The Commonwealth is not primarily an economic association but economic bonds play an important part in its cohesion. Those bonds are mostly loose and informal and the strongest of them are not the result of deliberate policy but have evolved quite naturally as the Commonwealth has developed.

The economic strength of the Commonwealth is not to be sought in preferential tariffs—though those are still important—or in foreign exchange controls. It lies rather in the resources, skill and initiative of members and the trading, financial and personal relationships to which these have given rise.

A Commonwealth whose frontiers stretch from the northern-most tip of Canada to Antarctica, and from Hong Kong and Sydney to Vancouver and the Falkland Isles embraces almost all geographic and climatic conditions.

This variety has made the Commonwealth the major source of many of the world's most important primary commodities. It supplies more than half the free world's wool, jute, sisal, cocoa, tea, pepper, barley, asbestos, manganese, platinum and gold, and more than a third of its tin, chrome, rice, groundnuts, copra and natural rubber.

It is also an important producer of aluminium, copper, lead, zinc, silver, wheat, sugar, diamonds, wood pulp and vegetable oils. Even more important, the Commonwealth is particularly richly endowed with the new minerals such as uranium, zirconium and titanium which will be consumed in increasing quantities as the nuclear and electronic age develops. If the Paley Commission's forecasts of the United States' growing dependence on imported raw materials prove correct, the Commonwealth should become, in the future, an even more important source of the world's raw materials.

This natural wealth, however, is no more than the foundation of the Commonwealth's prosperity. Capital and enterprise are needed if that wealth is to be exploited.

It is here, perhaps, that the Commonwealth partnership—and the imperial relationship before it—has made its greatest contribution. The Commonwealth has meant stable government, and the confidence this inspired has encouraged the free flow of capital and labour between members, and, in recent years, also attracted much capital from outside countries.

The United Kingdom remains the commercial and financial hub of the Commonwealth and the pattern of trade is still very broadly

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the exchange of United Kingdom manufactures against the primary products of other members, according to their balance of payments needs.

This pattern is gradually changing as more and more Commonwealth countries build up their industries and the process is causing some difficulties, as for instance in the Lancashire cotton industry, because the United Kingdom puts no tariff or other obstacles in the way of Commonwealth imports. But the general complementary nature of Commonwealth trade remains.

The "sterling" Commonwealth—that is virtually the entire Commonwealth except Canada—provides one vast market of some 50,000,000 consumers in which there are no currency barriers to trade.

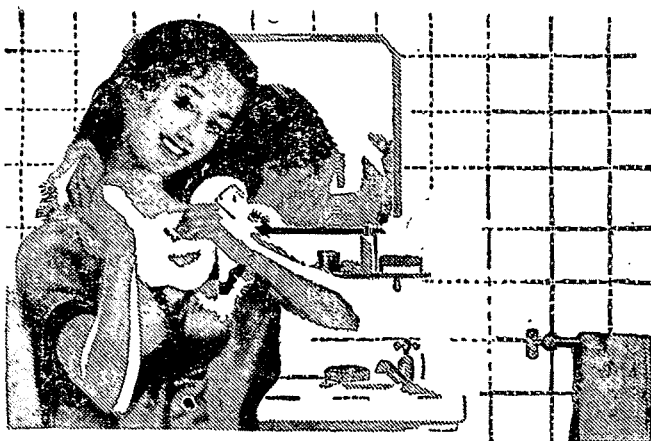
But the Commonwealth is not a closed system: rather more than half its trade is done with outside countries.

The strength of the Commonwealth, however, is something greater than the mere addition of its resources and trade. The partnership itself contributes to that strength notably by sterling members pooling their hard currency earnings and by overseas sterling members holding most of their reserve in the form of

balances in London, to be run up or down according to their balance of payments needs. In the days of soaring commodity prices which followed the outbreak of the Korean war, overseas sterling countries allowed much of their increased earnings to accumulate in London and thus considerably eased the pressure which Britain's higher import bill might otherwise have put upon the pound.

In the past year, when commodity prices have been falling, these countries have been able partially to offset the reduction in their export earnings by drawing on their balances in London, and their drawings have in effect been financed by the bigger balance of payments surplus which lower import prices have given Britain.

This complex system of Commonwealth trade and payments has grown up unplanned and unco-ordinated by any central body. The system is not perfect; at times, since World War II, it has shown serious signs of strain, but it still affords members an important element of stability which, with prudent administration, should enable them to avoid the extremities of inflation and deflation.



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# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## **Impressions of the Russian Orthodox Church**

In course of an article in *the International Review of Missions*, October, 1958, Mathew Shaw writes :

Early this summer, I was a member of a party of Anglican Religious who spent a fortnight in Russia as the guests of the Patriarchate. We were looked after with every imaginable courtesy and were everywhere impressed by the freedom with which our hosts conversed with us. There was none of the sense of constraint that we had feared.

We visited monasteries and convents and theological seminaries in Moscow, Kiev, Odessa and Leningrad. We also saw many parish churches and took part in several of their services. In Moscow we called on the President of the Baptist Union.

Our primary purpose was to learn what we could of the revival of the monastic life for men and women. One monk told us that about half the monks who had left Russia in the early days of the Communist Revolution had since returned.

We learned that there are now, in all, five thousand monks and nuns in the Orthodox Church. There are about seventy monasteries and convents. This growth in numbers is the more important to the Russian Church in view of the Orthodox rule that bishops must always be monks.

Everyone who comes back from Russia says that the churches are crowded and that the congregations mostly consist of old women. We have been asked if we agree with these reports. There is no doubt that the former is correct. On weekdays as well as Sundays, in the early mornings as well as in the evenings, services that we attended in parish churches were crowded. But the proportions of young to old and of women to men are not so disparate as is commonly said. Young men and women are certainly to be seen in reasonable numbers ; and since most women wear headscarves in church, they tend to look older than they really are. People are much more demonstrative in their devotion than they are in England. Frequently in the course of a service there would be a long queue of men and women—some of them most unlikely-

looking types—waiting to kiss the priest's hand and to receive his blessing.

English visitors might be surprised to find that there are no collections at Orthodox services. In fact, the custom is that practising Christians buy and burn votive candles, and the Church's financial support comes largely from the sale of these candles. During public services the pricket stands are constantly manned by attendants who replace burned-out candles by new ones from a container into which worshippers put the candles they have bought. Sometimes offerings of money can be seen being passed from hand to hand over the heads of the congregation from those who are unable to get through the press to the front of the church. We were told that church membership is calculated partly on the basis of sales of candles, and that by this means it is reckoned that there are between two and thirty million practising members of the Orthodox Church in Russia. (There are about seven million members of the Communist party in the country.)

We acquired some of our most interesting information from our visits to Orthodox seminaries. There are eight of these ; selected students go on from them, at the end of their four-year course of studies to one of the two academies where they do a further four years of study of a more advanced character. There seems to be no shortage of candidates for the ministry, and the church leaders express themselves well-satisfied with the standard of their students.

It is inevitable that the question which everyone asks me is, 'What about the State ?' And this is much the hardest of all questions. Naturally we kept our eyes open but in view of the history of the last few years we felt that our own enquiries had to be delicate and tactful. I am unwilling to indulge in speculation. Let me confine myself to one fact. We learned that in every province there is an official appointed by the Ministry for Church Affairs. I met two of these men ; they were extremely pleasant. Our hosts described them to us as put there to help in material things. For example, the nuns at a particular



ent want some new machinery, they ask the bishop; he tells the State official, who thereupon sets about procuring it. One can readily understand the advantage of having such help in a bureaucratic society. We see many signs of what seemed to be effective co-operation between Church and State. Nearly all the churches and monasteries visited have been recently restored and decorated. No doubt the Church is hemmed about with restrictions, but she is working vigorously if unobtrusively. Of that I have no doubt.

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#### Ghana

The following talk by Mr. Edward O. Asafu-Adfaye, High Commissioner for Ghana in the United Kingdom has been published in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, October, 1958:

Until 6th March last year Ghana was known as the Gold Coast, a name which recalled the handsome returns which merchant adventurers derived from the country. There is evidence that the Gold Coast was known to the Phoenicians; certainly the country was

known to European navigators in the fourteenth century. It was not, however, until 1471 that the Portuguese began the first permanent European settlement on the coast. The Portuguese were followed to the country by the Danes, the Dutch, the Swiss, the French, and the Brandenburgers. The main interest of these foreigners was trade.

In the initial stages the method was very simple. Fanciful objects would be left on the coast by the European merchant adventurers, who would then retire to their boats. Quantities of gold dust would then be placed beside these fancy goods by interested Africans, who would then retire. The European merchants would then return and remove the gold dust if they found the amount acceptable as fair exchange for the goods. When the merchant adventurers had left, the African traders would go back to the scene and remove the goods left in exchange for their gold. Soon this interesting trade was superseded by the slave trade, and the country entered what was perhaps the darkest period of her history, when millions of her sons and daughters were ferried across the seas under great humiliation and suffering.

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to distant lands. The abolition of the slave trade and the return to legitimate trade saw rapid progress in the country. Today Ghana exports no less than £74 million worth of goods, consisting mainly of cocoa, gold, timber, diamonds and bauxite. These exports enable us to earn sufficient foreign currency to buy some of the daily necessities of a reasonably decent life and also to provide the capital goods needed for our development plans.

To carry out to a successful conclusion such an ambitious programme, a stable and progressive government is an absolute necessity. In the colonial days, generally, the Colonial Office-appointed Governor ruled with or without the advice of Legislative and Executive Councils composed mainly of British administrative officials. Today the Government is similar to that of Britain, except that we have no Upper House in the Ghana Parliament. Dr. Nkrumah's Convention Peoples' Party controls 72 out of the 104 seats in Parliament, and there is no danger of a fall of government every month!

And what does consolidation of Independence mean? It means the realization of, and the determination to provide for, our shortcomings and needs, without which our independence would be only in name and not a reality. For example, democracy and a full life are extremely difficult in a country with much illiteracy. Thus, to maintain our independent and democratic government, priority must be given to education. Realizing this, the Ghana Government is spending over £7 million on education in the current financial year.

The foundation for a sound educational system has been laid by missionaries and the colonial government, and a great impetus was given to educational expansion by the national Government in 1951. Higher education is not being neglected: Kumasi, the capital of Ashanti, can boast of a fine College of Arts and Technology, while Accra, the capital, has fine University College where, by the co-operation of the University of London, internal degrees of that University are awarded.

Sound minds must be in sound bodies,

and so the eradication of disease and improvement of the health of the people receiving great attention. Today malaria is under reasonable control in the towns, and the larger hospitals have the services of a fair number of African as well as foreign specialists. In the villages, dispensaries and health centres form important links in the plan for the control and cure of diseases.

In our determination to build a modern state, we are not forgetting our past. At all, we chose the ancient name of Ghana, our free country to remind us of our link with the past. When the Ghana Empire which flourished in the Western Sudan over a thousand years ago fell to the warrior Islam, some of the Ghanaians fled southwards and are believed to have settled what was until recently known as the Gold Coast. And so, when we became independent, we adopted the ancient name of Ghana as a link with the past and an inspiration for the future. The name Ghana is, therefore, a formal expression of our belief that we must take the good of the past and blend it with what we believe to be good and true in the culture of the civilization we are now embracing. Thus, active steps have been taken to encourage the survival of our traditions; these are as varied as the many languages of the four and a half million people of Ghana. Each tribe has its own folk songs and customs, but there is one institution which is common to all—Chieftaincy, and the ceremonial associated with it. This institution is fundamental to the traditional way of our popular Government, and it is the declared intention of both the Government and the Opposition to maintain the institution of Chieftaincy in a progressive form. Other expressions of our traditions and culture like drumming and dancing, carving and weaving, are actively encouraged. In this way we hope that, in our forward march, old and new may be merged together to produce a deep and satisfying harmony which may not only be the expression of African personality, but also of the African contribution to modern civilization.